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The Return-to-Origins Motif in Pauline Theology and its Significance for a Theological Interpretation of Messianic and Millenarian Movements in Melanesia

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THE RETURN-TO-ORIGINS MOTIF IN PAULINE THEOLOGY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR A THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF MESSIANIC AND MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS IN MELANESIA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Return-to-Origins Motif in Pauline Theology

This study has two focal points. The one is a motif of Pauline theology. The other is a religious phenomenon in Melanesia.

The first focus of attention is a motif in Pauline theology which I have called the "return-to-origins" motif. The phrase is intended to serve as a descriptive summary of Paul's practice of conceptualizing present problems of existence, and of offering solutions to those problems, by using as models the conditions and events described in the history of the origins either of mankind or of the people of Israel. As far as I am aware, the motif of return-to-origins has not been identified previously as a distinct Pauline motif.

Through the centuries scholars have isolated and scrutinized a variety of Pauline motifs and concepts. There has been much debate on the relative importance of these motifs and concepts in the theology of the apostle Paul. A sampling of recent opinion indicates that up to the present time no consensus has been reached on the question of which motif dominates Paul's theology.

Jervell, for example, is convinced that at the heart of Pauline theology lies the concept of <u>imago Dei</u>.[1] Robinson, however, claims

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[1] Jacob Jervell, <u>Imago Dei: Gen. 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und im den paulinischen Briefen</u> (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), p. 214.

that the concept of "the body" forms the keystone of Paul's theology.[2] In 1935 Stewart proposed that "union with Christ . . . is the real clue to an understanding of Paul's thought."[3] Whitely is of the opinion that many of Paul's fundamental doctrines can be understood only if his concept of human solidarity is presupposed.[4] Scroggs writes that "the resurrection of Christ is a central motif in Paul's theology."[5] The same author also argues that the motif of Christ, the last Adam, is a basic one in the theology of Paul.[6]

The thrust of the present study is not that the return-to-origins motif dominates Pauline theology to the exclusion of all other themes. It is, however, suggested that such concepts as "the body," "image of God," "in Christ," and "the last Adam," should not be treated as unrelated concepts. They should rather be seen as parts of a larger whole. This larger whole is the return-to-origins motif. The frequent use which Paul makes of this particular motif to answer some of the basic questions of human existence is a measure of the important place which the return-to-origins motif occupied in the thinking of the apostle.

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[2]John A. T. Robinson, The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology (London: SCM Press, 1957), p. 9.

[3]James S. Stewart, A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. vii.

[4]D. H. Whitely, The Theology of St. Paul (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p. 45.

[5]Robin Scroggs, The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. 92.

[6]Ibid., p. 99.

Our concerns up to this point may be summarized in the form of two questions: (1) To what extent does Paul make use of the motif of return-to-origins? Our conclusion may be anticipated. The return-to-origins motif permeates Paul's theology. (2) What is the function of the return-to-origins motif in Pauline theology? Our preliminary answer is that Paul utilizes this motif chiefly in order to answer the perennial problem of man's search for salvation.

The Search for a Return to Origins in Melanesia

One focal point of the present work is the return-to-origins motif in Pauline theology. A second interest arises from the writer's experience as a missionary in New Guinea.

The region of the world known as Melanesia,[7] of which New Guinea is a large part, has been fertile soil for the growth of many indigenous religious movements. In popular parlance these movements are known as Cargo Cults. Anthropologists, sociologists, historians of religions and other students prefer to describe the movements by such adjectives as nativistic, prophetic, revitalistic, millenarian or messianic.[8]

We are interested in the movements which exhibit millenarian and messianic tendencies.[9] An important element in these movements is the

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[7]"Melanesia" is usually defined as the area of the South Pacific bounded by New Guinea, Fiji and New Caledonia. Cf. Palle Christiansen, The Melanesian Cargo Cult: Millenarianism as a Factor in Cultural Change (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1969), p. 6; Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia (2nd edition; London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), p. 12.

[8]Cf. the discussion by Georg Höltker, "Schwarmgeister im Neuguinea während des letzten Krieges," Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, II (1946), 204-205.

[9]I accept the definition of millenarian movements given by P. Worsley, "Millenarian Movements in Melanesia," Rhodes Livingstone Institute, XXI (March 1957), 19: "I define millenarian movements as

expectation of a radical change in the cosmic or social order. There will be a new order, which will be patterned after an original state. A certain amount of ritualistic activity is required to usher in the anticipated new order. Often a messiah-like figure is expected.[10] He is often thought of as an ancestor-hero from the historical or mythical past. It is believed that he will inaugurate a Golden Age. Sometimes, however, the Golden Age is expected, but no messianic figure is involved in the expectation.[11]

The messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia have been described, analyzed and interpreted by anthropologists, sociologists,

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movements in which the imminence of a radical and supernatural change in the social order is prophesied or expected, so as to lead to organization and activity, carried out in preparation for this event, on the part of the movements' adherents."

Some biblical scholars reject the use of the terms "messiah" and "messianic" in the context of religions other than Judaism and Christianity. Justification for the manner in which the terms are used in the present study is found, I believe, in the extensive use which has been made of them by the ethnologists, anthropologists and historians of religions who have studied the Melanesian movements. For a defence of the use of "messianic" in the Melanesian context see V. Lanternari, "Messianism: Its Historical Origin and Morphology," History of Religions, II (1962-1963), 52-54. Lanternari defines a messianic movement as "a collective movement of escape from the present and of expectation of salvation, promoted by a prophet founder, following a mystico-ecstatic inspiration: a movement which intends to start a renewal of the world which will be realized in an eschatological perspective as a return to a primordial and paradisaical age" (p. 70).

[10]Lanternari, II, 53, suggests that "we should use the term 'messiah' to designate any being, singular or plural, more or less anthropomorphic, expected by a community as the future savior in a religious context."

[11]Palestininian Judaism, too, knew of messianism without a Messiah. Cf. J. Bonsirven, Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Christ (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1964), pp. 184-195.

psychologists, and historians of religions.[12] However, very few studies have been published by theologians.[13] Since the Melanesian movements in most cases exhibit many religious features, one could expect that the movements would be given serious consideration by theologians in Melanesia.

No attempt is made in the present study to develop a full-fledged theological interpretation of the Melanesian religious movements. But our studies in Pauline theology, coupled with our research on the messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia, prompt the question: Does the return-to-origins motif in the Pauline writings provide the possibility for comparison with the Melanesian religious movements, with the objective of arriving at a theological understanding of the movements?

With this question the two foci of our study merge into one. The question appears to be of sufficient importance to warrant consideration in the concluding portion of the present study.

Proposed Procedure

We will begin our response to the various questions posed in the preceding pages, by describing the situation in Melanesia which has

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[12] A comprehensive bibliography on messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia, up to 1967, is provided by Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 277-293.

[13] Recently, two works by theologians have appeared in print: Hermann Strauss, "Der Cargokult," Junges Neuguinea, edited by W. von Krause (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, n.d.), pp. 140-157; Friedrich Steinbauer, Melanesische Cargo-kulte: Neureligiöse Heilsbewegungen in der Südsee (München: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971). Steinbauer's work is not a full-scale theological treatment of the Melanesian movements. The major portion of the book deals with the history and morphology of the movements, as well as with the problem of interpretation.

given impetus and existential point to our study of the Pauline material. A brief survey will be conducted of the history and morphology of the messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. In this survey an attempt will be made to identify the main characteristics of the movements. We will seek to trace the roots of the movements in the myths of the traditional religions. We will try to demonstrate that a return-to-origins theme is an essential element in the ideology of the movements.

We will then turn our attention to the theology of the apostle Paul. A chapter introducting the Pauline material will be followed by three chapters devoted to a study of three aspects of Paul's theology. Our objective will be to show that Paul frequently utilizes the return-to-origins motif in his discussion of the condition of man in need of a Messiah; of the person and work of the Messiah; and of the community of the Messiah.

Various sections from the Pauline corpus will be given special attention. Passages which figure prominently in the study are the following:

Rom. 1:18-32; 5:12-21; 6:3-11; 7:7-13; 8:19-22,38-39;

1 Cor. 8:6; 15:21-23,35-49; 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6;

Phil. 2:6-11; 3:20-21;

Col. 1:12-20; 2:13-15; 3:9,10;

Eph. 2:14-15; 4:17-24; 5:21-33.

The study will conclude with a discussion of the relevance of the Pauline motif of return-to-origins for the development of a theological interpretation of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. By way of anticipation, we record our main conclusion. We find that it would be feasible and helpful to use the Pauline motif of

return-to-origins as a framework within which to develop a sympathetic and theologically sound approach to an understanding of the messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. The motif provides the basis for an evaluation of the Melanesian movements in terms of ultimate concerns.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY AND MORPHOLOGY OF MESSIANIC AND MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS IN MELANESIA

The first part of this chapter is devoted to a resume of the history of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. We then proceed to identify the characteristic features of the ideology and structure of the movements. Finally, we review the many attempts which have been made to interpret the movements, and we offer an hypothesis which may serve as the basis for an approach to a theological interpretation of the movements.

No detailed history of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia has as yet been written. One reason for this is the scarcity of reliable primary sources. Many of the movements took place in pre-literate societies. The extant written reports were made by men who were not participants;[1] they based their reports on oral accounts given by participants or observers after the movements had run their course. Worsley, the author of a highly-regarded history of the movements,[2] claims to have read all the available documentation. He comments as follows on the sources:

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[1]Palle Christiansen, The Melanesian Cargo Cult: Millenarianism as a Factor in Cultural Change (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1969), p. 24: "not a single one of these authors has experienced a real cargo cult in all its phases, from the feeble germination through the wildest hysterical culmination until it is more or less forcibly crushed and then dies."

[2]Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia (2nd edition; London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968).

> The material available on some movements is minimal; much of it is extremely poor and unreliable, consisting often of little more than scrappy and arbitrary selections from the facts written by biased and untrained observers, who recorded what they knew poorly and with many lacunae. Those who have read the sources will know what they are like.[3]

The written history of messianism and millenarianism in Melanesia begins in the middle of the nineteenth century. Nobody knows how many messianic and millenarian movements occurred in Melanesia prior to 1850.[4] Nor does anyone know exactly how many movements occurred in the period between 1850 and 1970. The most recent study lists 186 separate movements.[5] To that number must be added those movements which are mentioned in the notes and journals of missionaries, anthropologists and government officers, but of which no details exist in writing.[6]

It may be said with certainty that messianic and millenarian movements have occurred regularly in Melanesia during the one hundred twenty years since 1850. Furthermore, it is certain that the movements have not been confined to only one or two areas in Melanesia. The geographical survey made by Steinbauer[7] shows that messianic and millenarian movements have occurred in every one of the twelve major

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[3] Ibid., p. 258.

[4] Students of the movements seem to be agreed that some movements did occur before 1850.

[5] F. Steinbauer, Melanesische Cargo-Kulte: Neureligiöse Heilsbewegungen in der Südsee (München: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971), p. 11. At least three more movements have occurred since the publication of Steinbauer's book.

[6] Christiansen, p. 20.

[7] Steinbauer, pp. 14-98.

geographical divisions of Melanesia; that is, in West Irian, East Irian, Papua, the Madang District, the Morobe District, the Highlands District, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and the Fiji Islands.[8]

The brief history which is presented here cuts across geographical boundaries, and adheres closely to a chronological order.[9] The era between 1850 and 1970 has been divided into three parts: (1) the period before World War I; (2) the period between World War I and World War II; and (3) the period from the start of World War II to the present day.[10] From each of these three periods, one or two movements have been chosen as representative of the many. These movements are described in more detail than the others. One of the features of messianic and millenarian activities in Melanesia is that although they occur in widely separated areas, they have many features in common. Consequently, as Oosterwal observes, "when one reads a description of a new cult one always has the impression that he has read it all before. A good description of one of the cults fits almost exactly any other . . . ."[11]

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[8]The geographical divisions followed here are those used by Steinbauer, pp. 7-8, and passim.

[9]I have occasionally departed from a strict chronological sequence in order to trace a movement through to its conclusion.

[10]Cf. Steinbauer, p. 199.

[11]G. Oosterwal, "Cargo Cults as a Missionary Challenge," International Review of Missions, LVI (1967), 470.

The First Period: 1850-1914

The first extant written report of a messianic and millenarian movement in Melanesia comes from West Irian. Missionaries from Germany had arrived in the area in 1855. In 1857 they reported hearing a "strage story" about a man called Mansren, about a Konoor or heald, and about a Koreri, a golden age.[12]

Mansren (so the story goes) was an ugly bachelor who suffered from an infectious skin disease.[13] One night he surprised a youth in the act of tapping juice for palm wine from his favorite tree. The youth was none other than Sampari, the morning star. He would die if he did not reach his home before dawn. In exchange for his release, Sampari gave Mansren magical powers which would enable him to have all his wishes fulfilled.[14]

Soon afterwards, Mansren married a young girl who had become pregnant when Mansren threw some fruit from a marěs tree at her breasts. The girl gave birth to a son, Konoor. The girl's family, upset by the mésalliance between the old man Mansren and the young girl, forsook the island on which they lived. They destroyed all the gardens, houses and canoes, and left Mansren, his wife and child to their fate. But the special powers which Mansren had been given

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[12]Worsley, pp. 126-130; Steinbauer, pp. 14-16; F. C. Kamma, "Messianic Movements in Western New Guinea," International Review of Missions, XLI (1952), 148-160.

[13]Mansren was nicknamed Manamakeri (or Manamarkeri, Mandamakeri, Mansamarkeri, Mandarmiaki, Manamaker), from the root maker, "to itch." Cf. Worsley, p. 126, footnote.

[14]Kamma, XLI, 149.

enabled the trio to survive. Mansren himself changed into a handsome youth.[15] When his family complained of loneliness, he created several new islands, filled them with inhabitants, and gave the people their customs and taboos. Mansren cared for his people, cured their sicknesses and provided for all their needs. However, a woman who had lost her child incited the people against Mansren, and they drove him away.[16]

But, it was said, Mansren would return; and, when he did, the golden age would begin. At the place where he was living, Mansren would plant a coconut which would grow into a huge tree reaching to heaven. Eventually the tree would overbalance and fall down until it touched an island in Geelvinck Bay. The Konoor would descend the trunk, and the delights of the golden age would begin:

> The old would become young, the sick well and the wounded unblemished of body. The dead would return; there would be plenty of women, food, weapons and ornaments. Youth, beauty, wealth and harmony were to be the order of the day in the koreri. There would be no more work and no "Company" (i.e., the Dutch Administration), no forced labour and no taxation.[17]

About ten years after this myth had been brought to the attention of a few Western specialists, a movement broke out in which the most conspicuous figure was a man who called himself Konoor. Konoor claimed to have had a vision, as a result of which people began to revolt against the normal rules of daily life. Work was abandoned. Men danced all night and slept all day or gathered food. This went on for

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[15]Manamakeri now called himself Mansren Manggundi. Cf. Kamma, XLI, 149; Worsley, p. 129.

[16]Kamma, XLI, 150.

[17]Worsley, p. 130.

about a month. Every time a dance was held, it was possible to recognize the performance of the myth of Mansren. But the ceremony always ended with songs of another kind, do mamun, murder song. In this song a list was made of the enemies who had to be killed.[18]

The early missionaries did not at first connect the ritual with the myth of Mansren. They had been told only the first part of the myth: they had not been told the ending--that Mansren would return and usher in the koreri, the age of deliverance, salvation, peace, and prosperity.[19]

The myth of Mansren became the dynamic for a number of messianic movements in West Irian during the next one hundred years.[20] In each of these movements a man or woman arose, claiming to be Konoor. The imminent arrival of Mansren would be announced, together with the impending inauguration of the golden age. These movements will be noted in their proper chronological order below.[21]

We turn to the islands of Fiji. In 1877 a religious cult had caused unrest among the people, but it was not until 1885 that the government of Fiji became disturbed. Investigation revealed that a cult known as the Tuka Cult had become very active under the leadership of Ndugmoi.[22] This man had taken for himself the title of Navosavakandua, a title applied to the Chief Justice of Fiji.

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[18]Kamma, XLI, 148.

[19]Ibid., XLI, 150.

[20]Worsley, pp. 131-145; Kamma, XLI, 150-156.

[21]Infra, pp. 22-23, 28-29.

[22]Worsley, pp. 17-31.

Navosavakandua claimed that it had been revealed to him that the ancestors were about to return to Fiji to usher in the golden age. Believers would enter the glorious paradise, and the old lands and the freedom of the past would be restored. The faithful would receive eternal life. The aged would be restored to youth. Stores would be crammed with all the goods people most desired.

The Tuka Cult flourished until the leaders were arrested. Navosavakandua had fixed a day for the ancestors' return. Veiled threats were issued against the government. The prophet was arrested, brought to trial and banished. Ten years later Navosavakandua died, but fifty years after his death, people still hoped for his return.[23]

In the year 1893, in the Milne Bay region of Papua, a prophet named Tokeriu arose, claiming to be inspired by a spirit which lived in a sacred tree.[24] Tokeriu asserted that he had visited Hiyoyoa, the other world, and he prophesied the coming of a new age which would start with a New Year and a Feast of the Departed.[25]

In his pronouncements, the prophet spoke of a fearful cataclysm, accompanied by volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and floods, which would strike the skeptics. Afterwards, he said, the winds would change and blow from the southeast, bringing fair weather and causing the fields to fill with taro and other crops. Trees would groan under their

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[23] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[24] F. W. P. Chinnery and A. C. Haddon, "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," The Hibbert Journal, XV (1917), 458-460; Worsley, pp. 51-54.

[25] M. Eliade, "'Cargo Cults' and Cosmic Regeneration," in Millenial Dreams in Action, edited by S. L. Thrupp (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), p. 139. Cf. V. Lanternari, The Religions of the oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults (New York: New American Library, 1965), p. 167.

load of fruit. A ship would come into port, carrying the deceased to visit with their families.[26] The faithful who wished to survive and experience this wonderful time, were to keep themselves from being contaminated by anything European.

Tokeriu's message met with an enthusiastic response. Hundreds of pigs were killed and eaten. All work was suspended. After a period of frustrated waiting, the prophet's followers became disillusioned, and threatened to kill him. The government intervened and sentenced Tokeriu to two years' imprisonment.[27]

In or about the year 1904 a virulent anti-government movement arose in the Madang district of New Guinea.[28] Plans to kill most of the German government officials and the missionaries were divulged at the last minute by an informer. Nine of the ringleaders were executed, and large groups of the population were exiled. This series of actions led to a drastic reinterpretation of an old and widespread myth known as the Manup-Kilibob myth.[29] The myth was well-known already in 1871, when the Russian scientist and scholar Mikloukho-Maclay landed on the Rai coast. The people identified Mikloukho-Maclay as Anut, the god of creation, or possibly as one of Anut's two sons, Kilibob or Manup.[30]

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[26]Chinnery and Haddon, XV, 460.

[27]Ibid.

[28]P. Lawrence, Road Belong Cargo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964), pp. 68-72; Christiansen, pp. 36-43.

[29]The Manup-Kilibob myth with its many variations is recorded by Lawrence, pp. 21-24; 70-71; 75-78; 93-94; 99-103.

[30]Ibid., pp. 63-65.

According to the myth of which Manup and Kilibob are the principals, the two brothers quarreled and separated. Kilibob was the more able and intelligent of the two. He had created all arts and useful knowledge. He went to the southeast, and settled in a land far away from New Guinea. In this land he made use of his skills and knowledge to create a superior culture and technology. The poor, ignorant Manup, on the other hand, was the originator of love magic, sorcery and war. He founded the family which became the progenitors of the Melanesians, and then moved northwest.[31]

The myth foretells that the brothers will one day return to New Guinea. At the time of their return, there will be an eclipse of the sun and violent volcanic eruptions, which will bury gardens in ashes. After this the country will be devastated by war and cannibalism, until finally the brothers are reconciled.[32]

After the failure of the Madang revolt of 1904, the Kilibob-Manup myth was reinterpreted in such a way that the Melanesians were said to have acted foolishly and so lost the good life by their own actions. Kilibob's military superiority and more effective technology were gifts from the gods. That was why Europeans had guns, while the Melanesians had to be content with bows and arrows. The only hope for the future lay in the early return of the two brothers. Their return would lead to a war which would soon be over. Then peace and equality would once more prevail.[33]

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[31] Ibid., p. 22.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., pp. 70-71.

Lawrence has identified five distinct but related movements in the Madang area, all based on variations and developments of the Manup-Kilibob myth.[34] The most recent of the movements, that headed by Yali,[35] arose in the period between 1946 and 1950, and was still gathering adherents in 1972.

During the years 1913-1915 there arose in the extreme south of Melanesia a cult known as the German Wislin movement.[36] This movement was centered on Sabai island in the Torres Strait group. The doctrine of the German Wislin movement was similar to that of the earlier Milne Bay movement,[37] with the important difference that the ancestors would not initiate a millenial period of agricultural prosperity, but they would bring a plethora of free European goods.[38]

About this time one of the earliest known millenarian movements in the Solomon islands took place at Lontis, on Buka island. Few details are known of the movement. Its leaders, Novite and Muling, were arrested by German government officials and taken to Morobe, where Novite died.[39] Muling was not heard from again until 1932, when he joined a leader named Pako in another movement.[40] Muling claimed

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[34] Ibid., pp. 63-221.

[35] Ibid., pp. 179-221.

[36] Chinnery and Haddon, XV, 460-463; Worsley, pp. 94-97.

[37] Supra, pp. 14-15.

[38] Worsley, p. 94.

[39] Ibid., p. 114.

[40] Ibid., p. 115.

to be a relative of the sun and the moon. He prophesied that a tidal wave would come and sweep away many villages. He also foretold the arrival of a ship bearing axes, food, tobacco, motor cars, and firearms. The ship's white crew were thought to be the returning ancestors of the Bukas.[41] Pako and Muling were taken into custody, and the movement subsequently died.

The period immediately prior to World War I saw the outbreak of a number of messianic and millenarian movements in Papua. Probably the most important and influential of these movements was the Taro Cult.[42] This cult was promoted by a prophet named Buninia. He had been visited by the spirit of his father, accompanied by a crowd of other spirits, all of whom were eating taro. The spirit instructed his son in the rites of a new cult which was intended to increase the taro crop.[43]

Buninia announced a special ritual which was to be applied to gardening activities. An important part of the ritual was spirit possession accompanied by convulsions. The first participants to become possessed were regarded as Taro-men or Taro-spirits and were said to have special authority over the group.[44]

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[41] In Melanesia the returning dead are thought to have white skins. Cf. Lanternari, p. 167, note 9.

[42] On the Taro Cult see F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Magic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; reprinted from the 1928 edition), pp. 1-99; Chinnery and Haddon, XV, 449-454; Worsley, pp. 59-74; Lanternari, pp. 163-164.

[43] Williams, p. 9. Williams notes that the Taro Cult was "at once a fertility cult and a cult of the dead" (p. 9).

[44] Lanternari, p. 164.

Lanternari suggests that Buninia's dream and his belief in Taro spirits show that the cult was simply a new interpretation of the traditional belief that the periodic return to earth of the spirits of the dead had to be greeted with conciliatory offerings.[45] The people believed that the returning dead gave rise to a new period of prosperity by bringing an abundance of native produce.

There was a strong fissiparous tendency in the Taro Cult. Mention may be made here of only a few of the cults which developed within the general Taro movement: the Kekesi cult, the Diroga cult, the Rainbow cult and the Hohora cult.[46] These cults, together with the mainstream Taro cult, flourished at least until 1928.

This brings to a conclusion our survey of the first historical period. We have seen that messianic and millenarian movements are known to have occurred in the period 1850-1914 in five of the twelve geographical districts of Melanesia.[47]

The Second Period: 1915-1940

The first major messianic and millenarian movement known to have occurred after World War I was the movement called the Vailala Madness.[48]

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[45] Ibid., pp. 164-165.

[46] Williams, pp. 66-77; Worsley, pp. 68-74.

[47] The fact that reports of millenarian movements are wanting from seven districts should not lead one to conclude that no movements occurred in these districts. Some areas, like the populous Highlands region, had not yet been contacted by Europeans.

[48] F. E. Williams, "The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Native Ceremonies in the Gulf Division," Territory of Papua, Anthropology Report No. 4 (Port Moresby: Government Printer, 1923); Worsley, pp. 75-92; G. Cochrane, Big Men and Cargo Cults (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 51-66; Steinbauer, pp. 29-33.

This movement was first reported in 1919. It affected all the villages from Vailala in Papua, as far eastward as Keuru.[49] The coincidence of the ending of the war of 1914-1918 with the outbreak of the Vailala Madness may not be entirely coincidental. Worsley notes that "Djaman" was the supposed language of the Madness leaders when they were speaking in tongues.[50]

The originator of the Vailala Madness is said to have been a man named Evara. He was visited first with the Madness while in a state of shock brought on by the death of his father. Evara prophesied the coming of a great steamer, carrying the spirits of the ancestors, who would bring with them a great variety of European and native goods. To obtain these items it would be necessary to drive out all Europeans. Evara wanted all people to have a white skin like the skins of the returning ancestors.[51]

The fundamental doctrine of the movement concerned the spirits of the dead. The chief duty of all cult members was the observance of mortuary feasts for the ancestors. These meals consisted of a taking over of older, traditional feasts for the dead. Their function was to hasten the return of the ancestors who would inaugurate the golden age. The most obvious manifestations of the movement were spirit possession and speaking in tongues.[52]

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[49] A report on the impact of the Vailala Madness on the Toaripi people is given by D. Ryan, "Christianity, Caro Cults and Politics Among the Toaripi of Papua," Oceania, XL (1969), 101-103.

[50] Worsley, p. 80.

[51] Ibid., p. 83.

[52] Williams, "Madness," p. 10.

The Vailala Madness continued with diminishing effects until about 1931. At that time organized activity apparently ceased. But the memory of the expectations engendered by the movement lingered on. In time, the era of the Madness passed into legend. In 1934 the people believed that the things which had been prophesied and promised in 1919 had actually taken place.[53] It was narrated how, in that wonder time,

> the ground shook and trees swayed . . . flowers sprang up in a day, and the air was filled with fragrance. The spirits of the dead came and went by night--morning after morning the imprint of their European boots and even their bicycle tracks were found on the beaches . . . dogs used to rise from the ground and roam the village. They belonged . . . to the dead people.[54]

The 1920's saw the rise of a number of messianic and millenarian movements throughout Melanesia. In 1922, Timo, a native of the Huon peninsula in the Morobe district, prophesied that the world would soon come to an end and that all the villages would be overwhelmed by falling mountains.[55]

Ronovuro, a prophet who lived at Espíritu Santo in the New Hebrides, foretold, in 1923, the coming of a great flood, as well as the return of the dead with white skins.[56] The dead, he said, would land on the island from a ship loaded with rice and other foods. But

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[53]Worsley, p. 90.

[54]F. E. Williams, "The Vailala Madness in Retrospect," in Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman, edited by E. E. Evans-Pritchard and others (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1934), p. 373. Quoted by Worsley, pp. 90-91.

[55]Worsley, p. 98.

[56]Williams, Magic, pp. 101-102; Steinbauer, pp. 86-87; Worsley, pp. 148-149.

since the Europeans would prevent the landing of the goods, one man had to be offered as a victim, symbolic of the rest. A planter named Clapcott was shot, his body mutilated and parts of it eaten. The sudden intervention of the government put a stop to the movement; but by 1937 it had again gathered momentum. It reached a peak in 1947, when a "nudist" cult spread far and wide.[57]

The Finschhafen-Sattelberg area of the Morobe district was the scene of the eemasang movement, which began in 1927.[58] This movement was initiated by Christian leaders in an attempt to strengthen the faith and life of their people. The eemasang, however, developed into a cult in which prayer, confession and church services were used in an attempt to obtain desirable earthly goods in a magical way. No messianic tendencies were evident; but the millenarian aspects of the movement showed itself in the belief that, if only the proper ritual were performed, the age of plenty, the time of the good life, would appear.[59]

In 1928 a movement based on the Mansren myth broke out in West Irian.[60] This movement was headed by Wasjari, who claimed to be King of Papua. Wasjari said that he had had a vision in which Mansren

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[57]On the so-called "Nudist" cult see Steinbauer, pp. 90-92; Worsley, pp. 150-152.

[58]A report on the eemasang movement has been published by the Lutheran missionary in the area at the time. See L. Flierl, Eemasang: die Erneuerungsbewegung in der Gemeinde Sattelberg (Neuguinea) (Gütersloh: Bertelsman Verlag, 1931); Cf. G. Pilhofer, Die Geschichte der Neuendettelsauer Mission in Neuguinea (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1963), II, 159-162; 177-181.

[59]Worsley, p. 213.

[60]Kamma, XLI, 150-152; Worsley, pp. 135-136.

appeared to him in human form, declaring that in ten days he planned to return to West Irian and bring salvation from the troubles of life. Wasjari prophesied that the world would turn dark and then sink; but Wasjari would build a boat (designed by Mansren), and this ship would rescue all the faithful.[61]

The government intervened and imprisoned Wasjari. This action led to another outbreak of cult activity. A new prophet arose. He predicted that Mansren would return in a ship two miles long. Wasjari was released from prison, and promptly became the focal point of another Mansren movement. He was imprisoned once more.

Two other pre-war movements in West Irian may be noted. In 1934 a Konoor predicted the return of Mansren in a four-funnelled steamer. His return would inaugurate a golden age.[62] In 1936 a prophet claimed to have seen Mansren arriving on earth in the company of the Queen of Heaven. The Konoor in this case was Njawamos. He died in prison in 1938; his death brought to an end the major movements in the area. But, as Kamma notes, "nearly every year a kind of local messianism is reported."[63]

In 1929-1930 the myth of the golden age spread among the Baining of New Britain. An earthquake was expected to destroy all Europeans and all skeptics among the natives. Mountains would crumble into valleys, thus creating a huge plain covered with gardens and orchards, which

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[61] Kamma, XLI, 151.

[62] Ibid., XLI, 152.

[63] Ibid.

would bear fruit in prodigious quantities. All the dead, including long-dead pigs and dogs, would be resurrected.[64]

The rapid spread of the golden age myth was symptomatic of a general unrest in Melanesia in the 1930's. In this period reports of messianic and millenarian movements came in from all quarters.

In Papua there was a wave of pig-killing in the northern and northeastern divisions, including the old Taro Cult areas.[65] The northeastern area of Papua also produced the so-called Assisi cult, which continued through the time of World War II, and into the post-war period. Cult devotees expected Christ to arrive with a ship of goods which would be stored in a cave. There would be no more need to work. The brown men would turn white. The ancestor cult was revived. Great destruction of property took place; there were outbreaks of quaking fits and glossolalia.[66]

In 1931 four prophets arose near Aitape in the Sepik area.[67] The prophets claimed to be kings; they had been miraculously born, and they possessed supernatural powers. They prophesied that in the near future all Europeans would leave the country, and their property would accrue to the natives. Then all old things would become new. Crops would grow by themselves. One prophet said that his long-dead mother had returned and was preparing all good things for the villagers. The prophets claimed that they had a remedy for sickness.

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[64]Worsley, p. 99.

[65]Ibid., p. 111.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Steinbauer, pp. 40-41.

and that no one need die. It was pointless to fear the government or the police, for the prophets' power was far superior to the mere earthly power of the police.[68]

In the Markham valley of the Morobe district, in 1932-1934, a prophet began to have visions of his dead father and of Jesus Christ. The visionary said that the ancestors would bring about the end of the world by causing earthquakes and floods. Everyone who wished to be saved must take refuge in the mountains. Many people fled to the hills and waited. But before the movement developed further, the government arrested the leader.[69]

At Buka in the Solomon islands, a cult emerged in 1931-1932.[70] The prophet of the cult predicted an imminent deluge that would swallow up the Europeans and would be followed by the arrival of a ship laden with goods of every kind. The ship would arrive only when the people had reached the end of their own resources and supplies. So the people stopped work and concentrated on using up their provisions. Despite the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders, the movement continued for some years, spurred on by reports that the leader, Pako, had risen from the dead.

In 1934 a successor to Pako arose: Sanop, the self-styled mouthpiece of Pako.[71] According to Sanop, the arrival of the ship

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[68] Ibid., p. 41.

[69] Worsley, p. 101. A report on a movement in Sio (Morobe district) is given by T. G. Harding, "A History of Cargoism in Sio, North-East New Guinea," Oceania, XXXVIII (1967), 3-11.

[70] P. Worsley, "Millenarian Movements in Melanesia," Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, XXI (1957), 19-20.

[71] Worsley, Trumpet, p. 116.

loaded with goods would coincide with the resurrection of the dead. The people again abandoned their fields to worship and offer sacrifices on the graves of their forbears in order to hasten their return. Eventually Sanop was arrested and imprisoned. The Pako-Sanop movement continued spasmodically for the next few years. It was finally crushed by the Japanese occupation authorities in 1942.[72]

The return of the dead bringing food, wealth and a new age was awaited also by the prophet Upikno at Gitua near Finschhafen in the Morobe district.[73] In 1933 Upikno predicted that, once the dead had returned, the people would enjoy immortality on this earth.[74]

A similar promise was contained in the prophecies of Marafi, who was active in the Markham valley.[75] Marafi claimed to have received all power from Satan, who had enabled Marafi to visit the kingdom of the dead. Marafi had been informed that a cataclysm, which would spare only the faithful, would be followed by the return of the dead. Since the dead would bring rice, meat and other foods, work was no longer necessary. The people heard Marafi gladly. But he was arrested, and the people returned to work.[76]

The Madang district saw the eruption of a number of messianic and millenarian movements in the period 1930-1940. Very little is

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[72]Worsley, "Millenarian Movements," Institute, XXI, 20.

[73]Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 103-104; Lanternari, p. 169; Pilhofer, II, 183.

[74]G. Eckert, "Prophetentum und Kulturwandel in Melanesien," Baessler Archiv, XXIII (1940), 31.

[75]Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 101-103; Lanternari, p. 169.

[76]The movement begun by Marafi smouldered at least till 1936.

known about many of these movements, such as the "Schwaermerei" in Kalangandoan village in the Rawlinson ranges in 1933; the Sosom movement in the Goldberg mountains in 1936; the Second Coming of Christ movement on the Rai Coast in 1936; or the movement on the Toepfer river headed by the magician Yerumot.[77]

More information is available on the Mambu movement which began in 1937-1938, and whose influence was felt even after the conclusion of World War II.[78] Mambu was a prophet from Bogia in the Madang district. He persuaded his people that the return of the dead would transform the lives of the villagers. Europeans, Mambu said, had exploited the people; but the hour of retaliation was at hand. The ancestors, who lived inside the Manam volcano, made and shipped goods to New Guinea for the use of the indigenes. But every time a shipment came in, the Europeans seized it for their own use. This, however, would not happen again, for the goods had been made and stored in the volcano, and the ancestors themselves were about to deliver the goods to their rightful recipients.[79]

In the late 1930's, the Madang district was also the scene of a number of movements based on the Manup-Kilibob myth.[80] These activities came to a head in several cults which began prior to the outbreak of

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[77]These movements are listed, but not discussed, by Worsley, Trumpet, p. 104; cf. G. Höltker, "Schwarmgeister in Neuguinea während des letzen Krieges," Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, II (1946), 207.

[78]G. Höltker, "Die Mambu-Bewegung in Neuguinea: ein Beitrag zum Prophetentum in Melanesien," Annali Lateranensi, V (1941), 181-219; Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 104-108; K. O. L. Burridge, Mambu: A Melanesian Millenium (London: Methuen and Co., 1960).

[79]Worsley, Trumpet, p. 106.

[80]On the Manup-Kilibob myth, see supra, pp. 15-17.

World War II, but reached full flower during and after the war. In West Irian, another Mansren movement started in 1939. Since these movements reached their peak only during and after World War II, they are included in the third part of this history.

The Third Period: 1941-1972

The Letub cult which sprang up in the Madang district in 1939-1940 was based on the Manup-Kilibob myth.[81] The myth was revised in such a way that Jesus-Manup became the deity and culture hero of the New Guineans, while Adam and Eve were the culture heroes for Europeans. The Jews, it was said, held Jesus-Manup in Heaven (in or above Sydney). The Letub ritual was designed to free Jesus-Manup from his bondage so that he could return to New Guinea with his ships and cargo and supervise the distribution of the goods.[82]

In the Letub cult, invocations were made to the ancestors at the village cemeteries. Planting ceased and pigs were killed. The cult dance, which had to be purchased, spread rapidly. Prophets and prophetesses with powers of healing arose on all sides.[83]

Other movements developed side by side with the Letub cult. For example, on Karkar island, in the Madang district, the Kukuaik movement quickly gathered momentum, presumably as a result of a sermon on the resurrection preached by a Lutheran missionary.[84] This sermon

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[81] Lawrence, pp. 92-98. Letub was a traditional cult with which was associated a special dance.

[82] Lawrence, pp. 92-94.

[83] Ibid., p. 93.

[84] Ibid., p. 99, note 1; Höltker, "Schwarmgeister," Neue Zeitschrift, II, 210-211.

is said to have precipitated mass seizures, falling on the ground, foaming at the mouth, speaking with tongues, and numerous visions. There were rumors of the imminent reversal of the social and cosmic order. Karkar island itself would be inverted.[85]

At the same time as the Letub cult was active in the Madang area, a Mansren movement began in West Irian. The central figure was a woman, Angganita. On five separate occasions she had been reported dead. She claimed to have had a vision in which she saw Mansren Manggundi returning in a steamer loaded with all the goods for which a Melanesian longs.[86]

Angganita was eventually arrested and imprisoned, and her place was taken by Stefanus Simopjaref, who claimed to be the new Konoor. Stefanus soon incurred the wrath of the Japanese army authorities. It is thought that both Angganita and Stefanus were beheaded by the Japanese in 1944.[87]

Meanwhile, a revival of messianism took place near Hollandia in East Irian. The leader of the movement was Simson, a Christian. He claimed to have had a revelation and to be in communication with the dead. The message of Simson revolved around a golden age.[88] Simson proclaimed that the Messiah of Papua had prepared a great hoard of riches for the people of New Guinea. These treasures were not, however, coming to the correct address, because the European businessmen were always altering the addresses on the crates.

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[85]Worsley, Trumpet, p. 214.

[86]Kamma, XLI, 153-155; Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 138-139.

[87]Kamma, XLI, 155.

[88]Ibid., XLI, 153.

Simson believed that the Papuan Messiah was living in Holland. There he was busy creating all kinds of good things. His presence in Holland ensured the prosperity of the colonial rulers. But all this would soon change. When the Messiah returned to East Irian, all foreigners would be expelled, the people would receive what was rightfully theirs, and a happy and carefree age would be inaugurated. Simson had discovered the secret of salvation which the Europeans had hitherto kept jealously for themselves. Simson was now about to reveal the secret to his people, so that their search for salvation could be brought to a successful conclusion.[89]

Filo, a seventeen-year old girl, was the leading figure in a movement which erupted among the Mekeo tribes at Cape Possession on the Gulf of Papua.[90] The prophetess forecast the coming of a great ship, sent by the dead. Its function was to return to the people the food and other goods which had been stolen by Europeans. As the faithful gathered on the seashore to await the fulfillment of the prophecy, they went into a trance, had convulsions, and experienced collective seizures.

While Filo was at work in Papua, the celebrated John Frum was predicting that Tanna, in the New Hebrides, would be flattened out as the result of a cataclysm.[91] Volcanoes, he said, would topple mountains into valleys in such a way as to create fertile plains.

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[89] Steinbauer, p. 23.

[90] Ibid., pp. 34-36; Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 11-113; Höltker, "Schwarmgeister," Neue Zeitschrift, II, 208-209; C. S. Belshaw, "Recent History of Mekeo Society," Oceania, XX (1951), 1-23.

[91] On the John Frum movement, see J. Guiart, "John Frum Movement in Tanna," Oceania, XXII (1951), 165-175; P. O'Reilly, "'Jonfrum' is New Hebridean 'Cargo Cult,'" Pacific Islands Monthly, XX, 6 (1950), 67, 69-70; and XX, 7 (1950), 59-61, 63-65.

Immediately after this dramatic event, the old would recover their youth, sickness would vanish, garden work would become superfluous, Europeans would depart the island, and John Frum would set up his own version of an education system.[92]

In Fiji there arose a prophet who called himself the "Vessel of Christ." He promised immortality to his followers, and he boasted that he could bring the dead back to life.[93]

In 1942, information filtered down from the New Guinea highlands, indicating that the millenarian myth was known also in that region.[94] It was said that there would be a Great Night, after which Jesus would arrive with the ancestors and a supply of goods. Upon their arrival, the people were to erect bamboo poles. They were also to erect a notched pole, by means of which Jesus could descend to earth and they, in turn, could climb to heaven. Graves were to be kept spotlessly clean, and all personal property was to be destroyed. It was predicted that black skins would turn white, and that all property presently possessed by Europeans would revert to the rightful owners; that is, to the New Guineans.[95]

Towards the end of World War II there arose a number of movements which had only slight millenarian tendencies. These were chiefly

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[92]Lanternari, p. 171.

[93]A. C. Cato, "A New Religious Cult in Fiji," Oceania, XVIII (1947), 146-156. The cult flourished in 1942.

[94]R. M. Berndt, "A Cargo Movement in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea," Oceania, XXIII (1952-1953), 40-65, 137-158, 202-234; Lanternari, pp. 173-175; Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 199-205; A. Strathern, "Cargo and Inflation in Mount Hagen," Oceania, XLI (1971), 255-265; Christiansen, pp. 26-36.

[95]Eliade, p. 141.

politico-economic in nature. Among them may be included the Tommy Kabu movement in Papua,[96] Marching Rule in the Solomon Islands,[97] and the Paliau movement in the Bismarck Archipelago.[98]

The Yali movement, which began on the Rai coast in the Madang district in 1945, originally contained no ostensible messianic or millenarian overtones.[99] Yali aimed to improve the social, political and economic conditions of his people by "normal" means. Gradually, however, Yali came under the influence of former participants in the Madang movements.[100] In some areas Yali was hailed as King and Messiah. Baptisms, costing five and ten dollars apiece, were performed in Yali's name. Faith in Yali as deliverer and bringer of salvation continues to the present day.

In the twenty-five years after World War II, at least thirty-five messianic and millenarian movements occurred in different parts of Melanesia. Most of these were short-lived. For Papua, mention may be made of the Goilala-Gogodara-Batawi movement of 1948-1950.[101] In 1950 the Wagifa cult emerged among the D'Entrecasteaux islanders. The leader was a ten-year old boy named Wagifan. He was succeeded

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[96]R. F. Maher, New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); Christiansen, pp. 49-54; Steinbauer, pp. 36-39.

[97]C. H. Allen, "Marching Rule: A Nativistic Cult of the British Solomon Islands," Corona, III (1951), 93-100; Cochrane, pp. 67-96; Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 170-183.

[98]Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 183-194; T. Schwartz, "The Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954," Anthropological Papers, XLIX, 2 (1962).

[99]Lawrence, pp. 166-221; Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 216-219; Christiansen, pp. 43-47; Steinbauer, pp. 53-58.

[100]Lawrence, pp. 188-195.

[101]Steinbauer, p. 210.

by the ex-preacher, Isekele.[102] Among the Toaripi of Papua, millenarian movements occurred in 1960-1962.[103]

In the Sepik district, various movements have occurred since 1945, the most recent being the Yeliwan movement. Yeliwan promised an era of prosperity for his people. He even volunteered to offer himself as a sacrifice in order to hasten the arrival of the age of plenty. After his election to the House of Assembly, Yeliwan broke with the movement which he had founded. The work was carried on by the Peli Association, headed by Daniel Hawina.[104]

In the Morobe district, the influence of Yaliism was evident in the Mangzo-Waizodang movements on the Huon peninsula,[105] and the pseudo-Pentecostal movements which occurred in the area between Kalasa and Finschhafen.[106] In the Sio region of the Morobe district, the Komba cult erupted in 1946-1947.[107] In 1959 the prophet Ganzawa led his people in a "purely home-grown cult."[108]

In the highlands region of New Guinea, sporadic outbreaks of millenarian expectation have occurred. But in comparison with other

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[102]M. W. Young, "Goodenough Island Cargo Cults," Oceania, XLII (1971), 42-57.

[103]Ryan, XL, 112-116. The Toaripi had been active participants in the Vailala Madness of 1919-1930.

[104]Papua New Guinea Post-Courier, July 6, 1972, p. 1, and July 18, 1972, p. 1.

[105]Steinbauer, pp. 62-64.

[106]Ibid., pp. 64-66.

[107]Harding, XXXVIII, 12-14; Pilhofer, II, 184-188.

[108]Harding, XXXVIII, 16.

areas of Melanesia, the Highlands district has been remarkably free of messianic and millenarian movements.[109]

Since World War II there have occurred on the Bismarck Archpelago, the movements known as The Noise,[110] the Baining Revolt,[111] and, in 1964-1966, the Johnson Cult, which looked to President Lyndon Johnson to usher in the golden age.[112] Approximately ten movements of a messianic or millenarian nature have been reported since 1945 from the Solomon islands, the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.[113]

This brings to a conclusion our historical survey of the millenarian and messianic movements in Melanesia. We have seen that these movements are known to have arisen as early as 1967, and as recently as 1972. We noted that these activites were reported from every geographical region of Melanesia.

At this juncture, it may be helpful to widen the scope of our study by viewing the Melanesian movements in their global context. Worsley notes that "millenarian movements have been reported from

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[109]Scholars continue to search for an explanation for the comparative paucity of millenarian movements in the New Guinea highlands. One common explanation is that the Highlands people have observed desirable goals are obtained more surely by business enterprises than by means of magic and ritual. Cf. B. R. Finney, "Bigfellow Man Belong Business in New Guinea," Ethnology, III (1968), 407: "That cargo cults have not flourished in the Highlands may to a substantial degree be attributed to the demonstrable superiority in this favored region of cash cropping and other enterprises over cult activities as a means of obtaining wealth."

[110]Theodore Schwartz, "The Noise: Cargo-Cult Frenzy in the South Seas," Psychology Today, IV (1971), 51-54, 102-103. Cf. Worsley, Trumpet, p. 188.

[111]Worsley, Trumpet, p. 206.

[112]D. K. Billings, "The Johnson Cult of New Hanover," Oceania, XL (1969), 13-19; Steinbauer, pp. 76-77.

[113]Cf. Steinbauer, pp. 78-84; 204-205.

many parts of the globe in the anthropological literature of the last few decades."[114] Lanternari, who has made a comparative study of what he calls "modern messianic cults" all over the world, describes and analyzes movements from the following areas: Equatorial and Central Africa, South Africa, West Africa, North America, Central America, South America, Melanesia, Polynesia, Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, and continental Asia.[115]

In the concluding chapter of his study, Lanternari writes:

> Messianic cults all involve a belief in the society's return to its source, usually expressed in terms of the expectation of the millenium and the cataclysms and catastrophes that are to precede it, and also embody a belief in the rising of the dead, in the reversal of the existing order, in the ejection of the white man, in the end of the world, and in its regeneration in an age of abundance and happiness.[116]

Guariglia, writing in 1958, reported that he had examined 177 "Prophetismus- und Heilserwartungsbewegungen" in primitive cultures.[117] Of these, 84 occurred in North, Central and South America; 56 in Oceania; 27 in Africa; and 10 in Asia. Guariglia placed these

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[114]Worsley, "Millenarian Movements," Institute, XXI, 18.

[115]"Modern messianic cults" is the subtitle of Lanternari's book, The Religions of the Oppressed. This work contains an extensive bibliography of literature dealing with messianic and millenarian movements throughout the world (pp. 255-268). This may be supplemented by the more recent works listed by Steinbauer, pp. 207-208, and by the following: S. Fuchs, Rebellious Prophets: A Study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965); V. Murvar, "Messianism in Russia: Religious and Revolutionary," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, X (1971), 277-338; R. R. Reuther, The Radical Kingdom: The Western Experience of Messianic Hope (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

[116]Lanternari, p. 240.

[117]G. Guariglia, "Prophetismus- und Heilserwartungsbewegungen bei den niedrigen Kulturen," Numen, V (1958), 180-198.

these selected "salvation movements"[118] into 7 categories, namely, nativistic; revitalistic; cargo; vitalistic; eschatological; chiliastic; and messianic. These categories were not intended to be mutually exclusive: a movement could, for example, be classified as nativistic, vitalistic and messianic.[119] Guariglia found that the only category which was not represented in every part of the world was that of "cargo." This type of movement is peculiar to Oceania.[120]

Messianic and millenarian movements are a world-wide phenomenon.[121] All the movements have certain features in common. We turn, now, to a review of these common characteristics.

The Characteristic Features of Messianic and Millenarian Movements in Melanesia

On the preceding page of the present study we recorded Lanternari's summary of the common features of messianic movements from all parts of the world. A more detailed description of these characteristics has been made by Fuchs in the introduction to his study of messianic movements in India.[122] According to Fuchs, the characteristics of world-wide messianic and millenarian cults are:

1. Deep dissatisfaction with existing social conditions.
2. Emotional unrest, coupled with hysterical symptoms.

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[118]"Salvation movements" is the translation which Guariglia suggests for the German "Heilserwartungsbewegungen." Cf. Guariglia, V, 184, note 12.

[119]Ibid., V. 183.

[120]Ibid., V. 188. The question of why Cargo Cults arise in Oceania, and not in other parts of the world, is one which has puzzled students of the movements for many years.

[121]Ibid., V, 189.

[122]Fuchs, pp. 1-16.

3. A charismatic leader who demands absolute obedience.

4. A stipulation by the leader that life must be radically changed, and that personal property must be destroyed. This is an outgrowth of the belief in a coming golden age, in which everything will be better than it is at present.

5. A rejection of established authority.

6. The threat of punishment for opponents and traitors.

7. The remembrance of a golden age in the beginning. This past golden age will be restored in the future.

8. Revivalism; that is, a renewed interest in the traditional religion. Revivalism, says Fuchs, "is a result of calling back to mind the lost existence of a 'Golden Age.' It is often believed that the Golden Age will return if the conditions are restored of that life in which man lived in those happy days. Thus the revivalists try to reconstruct, as related in the myths, the times and conditions of life in the Golden Age."[123]

9. Nativism; that is, the conscious attempt to restore certain aspects of the old culture and to reject alien elements. This, too, is part of the yearning for a return to the original conditions of the society.

10. Vitalism; that is, the desire of the devotees for alien goods, especially for goods of a spiritual or intellectual nature.

11. Syncretism.

12. Eschatologism; that is, "the expectation of a world renewal and improvement after a world-wide catastrophic revolution and upheaval."[124]

13. Millenarianism or chiliasm, based on the belief in a golden age which will return or can be restored when the time is ripe.

Fuchs concludes his summary with the observation that these traits "are found more or less strongly represented in almost all messianic movements all over the world."[125]

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[123] Ibid., p. 12.

[124] Ibid., p. 15.

[125] Ibid., p. 16.

Fuchs' list of the characteristics of messianism as a global phenomenon may be compared with the following list of characteristics of Melanesian millenarian and messianic movements, compiled by Guiart and Worsley:

1. The myth of the return of the dead.
2. Revival or modification of paganism.
3. Christian elements.
4. Belief in the cargo myth.
5. Belief that the Melanesians will become white men and vice versa.
6. Belief in the coming of a Messiah.
7. Attempts to restore native economic and political control.
8. Violence or threat of violence against whites.
9. Unification of traditionally separate and hostile groups.[126]

The above-mentioned characteristics refer chiefly to the ideology of the movements. It is possible also to isolate a number of cultic practices which are common to all the movements, and which are performed according to a seemingly predetermined plan or pattern.[127]

A movement usually begins with the anouncement by a prophet or leader that the return of an ancestor, a messiah-like figure, is imminent.[128] The messiah, it is said, will be accompanied by a host of

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[126]J. Guiart and P. Worsley, "La Répartition des Mouvements Millénaristes en Mélanésie," Archives de Sociologie des Religions, V (1958), 38-46, quoted by Christiansen, p. 18.

[127]Christiansen, pp. 15-17; Worsley, "Millenial Movements," Institute, XXI, 19; Oosterwal, LVI, 469-470.

[128]On the role of the prophet in messianic and millenarian movements, see Cochrane, pp. 146-149; Christiansen, pp. 114-117; A. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, LVIII (1956), 273-274; J. Fabian, "Fuhrer und Führung in den prophetische-messianischen Bewegungen der (ehemaligen) Kolonialvölker," Anthropos,

ancestors. Their arrival will be preceded by clear signs, often cataclysmic in nature. An earthquake or flood is predicted. There will be volcanic eruptions, signs in the sun and the moon, or a great darkness will cover the earth before a new heaven and a new earth emerge.[129]

After the prophet has made his announcement and predictions, the villagers usually follow him in a series of actions. All ordinary work ceases. Pigs and chickens are slaughtered in a holocaust. Savings are spent, property and the harvest are destroyed--all with the idea of hastening the arrival of the messiah and his new age. Huge warehouses are built to house the expected new goods. Finally, graves are cleaned and banquet tables are erected where people hope soon to eat together with their messiah and the resurrected dead.

If, after all this activity, the messiah does not come at the time expected, more action becomes necessary. A mass hysteria often takes hold. Quaking, glossolalia, visions and dreams appear. Eventually enthusiasm wanes, and life returns to normal. The leaders of the movement are sometimes prosecuted by the government, but they rarely experience retribution at the hands of the people who followed them in the abortive movement.

The preceding investigation of the history and structure of the Melanesian messianic and millenarian movements has revealed something of the geographical and chronological extent of the movements, and it has provided information on the leading characteristics of the

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LVIII (1963), 773-809; G. Eckert, "Prophetetum in Melanesien," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LXIX (1937), 135-140.

[129]Oosterwal, LVI, 469.

movements. The question of interpretation remains to be answered. In the concluding section of this chapter we shall review the various types of interpretation that have been proposed, and we shall present an hypothesis which may serve as a suitable basis for an approach to a theological interpretation of the movements.

The Problem of Interpretation

A reading of the short history of the interpretation of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia shows that although a great number and variety of interpretations have been offered, no single explanation has met with general approval.[130] Steinbauer observes correctly that the conclusions to which an interpreter comes are often controlled by, and dependent upon, the interpreter's presuppositions and methodology.[131] The proposed interpretation is sometimes simply a working out of the interpreter's own preconceived notions about the movements. The basic problem seems to be that published interpretations have heretofor been offered by Europeans, not by Melanesians. Western observers have attempted to interpret a non-western cultural and religious phenomenon at the hand of their own Western epistemology.

Steinbauer has classified all interpretations into five broad categories.[132] The borderline between the various categories cannot always be drawn with precision; however, Steinbauer's groupings are

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[130] A survey of the various interpretations is offered by Steinbauer, pp. 100-106; Christiansen, pp. 54-109; Cochrane, pp. 145-170; I. C. Jarvie, "Theories of Cargo Cults: A Critical Analysis," Oceania, XXXIV (1963), 1-31, 108-113.

[131] Steinbauer, p. 100.

[132] Ibid., pp. 103-106.

useful for purposes of review and for obtaining a general picture of the range of interpretations. The five categories which Steinbauer proposes are: (1) the socio-political; (2) the Christian-ethical; (3) the cultural-historical; (4) the national-economic; and (5) the synoptic.[133] These five types of interpretation will now be considered in turn.

Proponents of the socio-political interpretation believe that the messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia occur because the affected society lacks sufficient "cultural insurance" to withstand the shock of sudden contact with another culture. The society consequently finds itself in a state of frustration and stress.[134] In many cases this condition is brought about by contact with Western culture.[135] The Melanesian movements are thought to be defensive mechanisms by means of which the traditional culture is prevented from appearing poor in comparison with the alien culture, while at the same time provision is made for obtaining the desirable elements in the new culture.[136]

Lanternari is a representative of the socio-political type of interpretation. He finds that the messianic cults of Melanesia are

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[133]For different classifications of interpretations, see J. Inglis, "Cargo Cults: The Problem of Explanation," Oceania, XXVII (1957), 249-263; W. E. H. Stanner, "On the Interpretation of Cargo Cults," Oceania, XXIX (1958), 1-25.

[134]A summary and critique of the frustration, stress and deprivation theories is given by Christiansen, pp. 74-78.

[135]But cf. Burridge, p. 25: "For if Cargo Cults are symptomatic of social and cultural change, unless we assume a completely static historical situation it is not unreasonable to suggest that movements rather like Cargo movements were occurring in Melanesia before the white man came there."

[136]Lanternari, p. 189.

"a religious reflection of the sharp cultural antagonism: between Western and Melanesian civilization.[137] The arrival of Western goods and technology constitutes the moment of impact between two types of civilization which have inevitably taken different courses. The Melanesians react to the encounter between native and Western techniques by resorting to a mythical explanation. Western material goods and technology are of supernatural origin. The dead will return to earth, endowed with supernatural powers to bring unheard-of riches to the living. The new goods must be these riches. They are brought by the European, to whom belongs the mantle of magic which traditionally belonged to the returning dead.[138]

Lanternari concludes that

> the nativistic movements reveal that the point of exhaustion has been reached by traditional religion in its effort to procure salvation (salvation being the purpose of all religion); and by imparting new impulses to spiritual life in the masses they are able to meet the challenge of renovation thrown up by the drastic experiences to which their society has been subjected.[139]

Steinbauer's second category of interpretations is the Christian-ethical interpretation. The most recent representative of this type is H. Strauss.[140] Strauss, a missionary-anthropologist, thinks that the Melanesian messianic and millenarian movements are the outward expression of a burning inner desire for a full, complete life. The Melanesian hopes for a golden age. He hopes for salvation and peace,

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[137] Ibid., p. 187.

[138] Ibid., p. 188.

[139] Ibid., p. 254.

[140] H. Strauss, "Der Cargoklut," in Junges Neuguinea: Ein Informationsbuch, edited by W. von Krause (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, n.d.), pp. 140-157.

for a long and happy life now and hereafter. His chief question is: How may my longing for a complete life be met here and now? The answer he gives is that somehow the powers of this world must be so manipulated as to reveal the way to the source of all spiritual and material blessings. Strauss notes that this conclusion must be examined in light of the peculiar Melanesian cosmology.[141]

The Melanesian believes that heaven, earth and the underworld are filled with mysterious powers of salvation or destruction. These powers can be manipulated by shamans, witchdoctors, mediators, prophets or messiahs. The arrival of the European, with all his goods, knowledge and "supernatural" powers, convinced many Melanesians that in European culture and religion lies the secret of the way to all blessings. The Melanesians, says Strauss, could not be sure that the ancestors, the good spirits and the supernatural powers of traditional religion were strong enough to bring about the longed-for golden age. So men turned to the God of the Christians. It was believed, for example, that the Parousia of Jesus Christ would usher in the golden age for which men had hitherto waited in vain.[142]

Strauss views the Melanesian movements, in their present form, as a mixing of traditional and Christian beliefs in the coming age of wholeness, health, healing and material and spiritual blessings. Strauss interprets the ideology of the movements as a distortion of the biblical view of man. Scripture portrays God as the center of all existence. The Melanesian movements tend to put man in the place of God. The praise and honor due to God is given to man. But,

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[141] Ibid., p. 142.

[142] Ibid., p. 148.

Strauss says, the "most blasphemous" aspect of the Melanesian movements is the utter perversion of the meaning and purpose of the death of Christ. Christ is no longer the "author and finisher of the faith," but the initiator of a higher and better culture.[143]

The third group of interpreters is composed largely of ethnologists and anthropologists. These men try to take seriously the understanding which the Melanesians themselves have of the significance and objectives of the movements.

Christiansen may be cited as one representative of this group.[144] He says that "it is in the internal social structure that we should look for the conflicts which start off the process of cultural and social change."[145] In times of crisis, men try to find answers out of their own mythical heritage, and, by so doing, they hope to control the present. The key for reaching an understanding of the movements is to be found in traditional mythology.

Another representative of the cultural-historical type of interpretation is Mircea Eliade.[146] Eliade views the messianic and millenarian movements as an extension of a fundamental religious notion which appears everywhere in Melanesia; namely, the myth of the annual return of the spirits of the dead and the renewal of the cosmos. The cosmos must be renewed annually, and at the New Year festivals, where

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[143] Ibid., p. 155.

[144] Christiansen, pp. 124-127.

[145] Ibid., p. 127.

[146] Eliade, pp. 139-143; cf. Mircea Eliade, Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), pp. 49-92. A summary and critique of Eliade's position is given by Christiansen, pp. 98-100.

the process of regeneration is accomplished, the dead are present. This idea is further extended and elaborated in the myth of the Great Year, in which an absolute regeneration of the cosmos is brought about by the total destruction of all existing forms. This return to chaos is followed by a new creation, which is modelled on the original creation. Eliade proposes that the Melanesian movements have simply taken over this traditional theme, enriched it, charged it with new values and given it prophetic and millenarian content.[147]

According to Eliade, the Melanesian new year and fertility festivals consist of the following elements: the arrival of the dead, the prohibition of work, sacrifices to the dead on platforms, and an orgiastic kind of communal feast. The same characteristic elements are recognizable in the Melanesian messianic movements.[148]

Eliade suggests that in the Christian religion the Melanesians thought they had discovered their old traditional eschatological myths. But, Eliade charges, these very eschatological and prophetic aspects of Christianity are not taken seriously by the Christian missionaries. Melanesians think that the missionaries are unwilling to preach and practice true Christianity because they would then reveal the key for opening the door to the golden age.[149]

The fourth type of interpretation, which Steinbauer calls the national-economic, is championed in the main by sociologists and ethnologists writing after World War II. Worsley is an able

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[147]Eliade, "Cargo Cults," pp. 142-143.

[148]Ibid., p. 142; cf. Supra, p. 38.

[149]Eliade, "Cargo Cults," p. 143.

representative of this group.[150] Worsley interprets the millenarian movements in Melanesia as a reaction to the oppression exercised by foreign powers. The Melanesian peoples were formerly divided into small, separate and isolated social groups: the village, the clan, the tribe, the people of the valley. They lacked centralized political institutions and therefore had no apparatus for acting as a united force in political matters. They had no legal machinery apart from the counsel of elders or of people who had acquired prestige by wealth or fighting prowess.[151]

Worsley makes no secret of his attempt to interpret the Melanesian movements in harmony with Marxist theory. He thinks that the movements are "pre-political." Their function is to fuse a divided, suppressed and exploited population into an active political unit. Thus millenarian movements provide the integration which is necessary if the community wishes to satisfy newly-arisen needs.[152] The real problem is that the only possibility of common action which their traditional system offers is on the religious-magic plane. All other possibilities enabling the Melanesian to compete with the European are inhibited by the latter's apparent superiority.[153]

The fifth type of interpretation is offered by those scholars whom Steinbauer describes as "general observers." They are interested

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[150]Worsley, Trumpet, pp. 221-256; Worsley, "Millenarian Movements," Institute, XXI, 23-31.

[151]Worsley, Trumpet, p. 227.

[152]Ibid., p. 228.

[153]Ibid., pp. 228-231. A critique of Worsley is given by Christiansen, pp. 78-81. A further example of the politico-economic approach has been provided recently by Strathern, XLI, 255-265.

in fitting together the various pieces of the interpretive puzzle to gain a composite picture of the Melanesian movements. They seek to remain neutral observers, neither condemning nor praising the movements. In the welter of interpretations, these men occupy a middle ground between more extreme positions.

Typical of this group is Steinbauer himself.[154] He finds that the majority of Melanesian movements are acculturative in origin. A primary cause is contact with Western civilization. Steinbauer believes that the following cultural factors are the chief contributors to the rise and spread of messianism and millenarianism:[155]

1. Magical thinking. Rituals of analogy are regarded as powerful means of achieving desirable goals.
2. The mythological forms the basis for all hopes.
3. A concept of time which militates against a (Western) historical outlook. This concept of time is connected with an eschatological world view:

   > There is eschatology, but no teleology. Everything has its climax and new beginning like seedtime and harvest; there is no linear progression but only a return to previous golden ages.[156]

4. A keen desire for material possessions. Since there is no dichotomy of body and soul, the totality of life demands a total fulfillment of all needs and desires.
5. Certain climactic conditions which affect mental reactions.
6. "Abnormal psychic structures" which create a greater tendency to phantasy.[157]

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[154]Steinbauer, pp. 107-186.

[155]Friedrich Steinbauer, "The Melanesian Cargo Cults: Introduction, Analysis, Problems" (unpublished paper; Lae: Martin Luther Seminary, 1972), p. 3.

[156]Ibid.

[157]Ibid.

Steinbauer suggests that the Melanesian messianic and millenarian movements should be regarded as expressions of legitimate human hopes and desires. They are, Steinbauer says,

> honest but misleading attempts to achieve a joyful and valuable human life. Their main aim is "salvation," but this salvation is seen in the totality of life, without separation between spiritual salvation (=Heil) and physical well-being (=Wohl).[158]

One conclusion which may be drawn from the preceding review of the interpretation of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia is that the problem of explanation still awaits a solution. On some points, one interpretation appears to contradict another. On other points the interpretations are not contradictory, but they are clearly divergent. Interpreters have come to a consensus on several issues. One area of agreement concerns the explanation for the spread of the movements among widely separated groups. It is generally agreed that this spread cannot be explained by normal cultural diffusion.[159]

Another area in which a consensus has been reached concerns the traditional mythology. Students of the Melanesian religious movements are agreed that no interpretation is valid which does not take into account the basic role of myth in the movements.[160]

In his book Myth and Ritual in the Old Testament, B. Childs defines myth as "a form by which existing structures of reality are

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[158] Ibid., p. 6.

[159] Cf. Oosterwal, LVI, 470. By "cultural diffusion" is meant the geographical transmission of a new culture, by contagion. Cf. A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, c.1948), pp. 411-415.

[160] Oosterwal, LVI, 743: "The most recent and some of the best studies have indeed clearly established this relationship between native myths and the cargo cults." Cf. also Burridge, p. 246: "The chief element in the Cargo seems definitely to be the myth-dream."

understood and maintained.[161] Child's definition is only occasionally true with reference to the function of myth in Melanesia. In some cases myths serve to preserve existing structures of society. In many other cases, however, myth is regarded as the dynamic for introducing radical changes in the social and cosmic structures. Even when the myth is the enabling force of a movement which fails in its objectives, confidence in the validity of the myth is not shaken. The myth is constantly updated and made relevant to the existential situation. It may even be reinterpreted.[162] But the basic myth is not discarded. It endures, perhaps to become the force behind another messianic or millenarian movement.

Myth in Melanesian religious movements may be said to have a threefold function: (1) to justify expected change; (2) to provide incentive for such change; and (3) to furnish a model for the change. This last function of myth--the paradigmatic--is especially important. Hence, Eliade's description of myth as "exemplar history" would constitute the major part of a definition of myth in Melanesia.[163]

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[161]B. Childs, Myth and Ritual in the Old Testament (London: SCM Press, 1968), p. 29.

[162]Cf. Christiansen, p. 37: "Neither the ritual nor the myth is immutable, but can be modified, revised or altered if the aim is abortive." An example of a myth being reinterpreted to suit a new situation is provided by Lawrence, pp. 92-94. This example also shows how a syncretistic myth develops (in this case, a fusion of Christian beliefs regarding Jesus Christ, and the traditional Manup-Kilibob myth).

[163]M. Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958), p. 430; cf. also pp. 416-417: "The myth, whatever its nature, is always a precedent and an example, not only for man's actions (sacred or profane), but also as regards the condition in which nature places him; a precedent, we may say, for the expressions of reality as a whole."

The myths which accompany the Melanesian religious movements vary greatly in matters of detail. Yet it is possible to identify five themes which occur consistently in almost all of them.[164]

The first theme is that of the division of mankind. In the myth, a situation is presented in which a choice is made, and this choice serves to divide one Stammvater from the other, one group of descendants from another group.[165]

The theme of the two brothers is the second common motif. The myth usually tells of an act of hostility by one of the brothers, which act causes the two to go their separate ways. The hope is expressed that there will be a reconciliation, which will also restore the world to its pristine good order.[166]

A third theme is that of a lost Paradise.[167] This seems to represent an attempt by the Melanesians to account for the isolation in which they lived, and also for their extreme poverty, judged by Western standards of affluence.

The coming of the endtime is a fourth theme.[168] The descriptions of the eschaton often resemble the descriptive passages in Jewish apocalyptic literature. The cosmic upheaval which is predicted is thought of as a prelude to the arrival of the messiah.

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[164]Steinbauer, Heilsbewegungen, pp. 156-157.

[165]This theme is exemplified in the three myths recorded, ibid., pp. 188-189.

[166]Ibid., pp. 189-190; Burridge, pp. 154-162; Lawrence, pp. 21-24.

[167]Steinbauer, Heilsbewegungen, p. 190.

[168]Ibid., pp. 192-193.

The coming of a messiah or savior-figure is the fifth common theme in Melanesian myths.[169] The expected deliverer is often "some historical figure expected to return once more--a secular folk-hero usually invested with a religious aura."[170] He will return, and many ancestors will return with him. The dead will sit down with the living to an eternal banquet, and the golden age will begin. This golden age "may represent a folk-memory of an actual earlier epoch in the society's history, however idealized."[171]

It will be noted that, in order to give explanations for present conditions and to express hopes for improved future conditions, the myths reach back to what is believed to be the origins of society. This tendency is so marked in all messianic movements throughout the world that Lanternari has suggested that the movements be called "religions of return."[172] Lanternari's studies lead him to the conclusion that "the religion of return is the essential kernel of messianism as such. Through it the era of salvation appears mythically as the reinstatement of the age of origins."[173]

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[169] Ibid., pp. 192-195. Cf. Lanternari, pp. 240-241: "Often the chiliastic myth, or myth of the millenium, involves the coming of the Messiah in human form, whose redemptive action is to be the fulfillment of society's hope that traditional ways of life can be restored. The Messiah, regarded as the recreator of the world, is usually the personification of some national hero whose return has been long awaited . . . . Sometimes the Messiah is identified with the Europeans, taken as a collective entity, and representing the risen dead."

[170] Worsley, Trumpet, p. 235.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Vittorio Lanternari, "Messianism: Its Historical Origin and Morphology," History of Religions, II (1962-1963), 63.

[173] Ibid.

On the basis of this "essential kernel" of messianic and millenarian movements, we submit an hypothesis which, if proven correct, would provide a suitable starting point for a theological interpretation of the Melanesian religious movements. The hypothesis is that the Melanesian movements may be understood as a search for salvation[174] by means of a return to origins. "Return to origins" means that the models for man's institutions and the norms for his various categories of behavior are believed to have been revealed and established at the beginning of time; salvation is achieved when these ideal transhistorical models are actualized in present time.[175]

This hypothesis may be useful for a theological interpretation of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia only if a further proposition can be justified, namely, that the theme of return-to-origins is a theological one. The next four chapters of the present study are designed to demonstrate that the motif of return-to-origins is an important consideration in the theology of the apostle Paul. Paul uses this theme for the purpose of providing a solution to the problem of man's search for salvation.

Summary

In this chapter a brief resume was given of the history of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. It was noted that

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[174]The concept "salvation" includes deliverance, peace, wholeness, healing, health, blessing and well-being. Cf. D. C. Westermann, "Salvation and Healing in the Community: The Old Testament Understanding," International Review of Missions, LXI (1972), 9-19; G. von Rad and W. Foerster, "eirēnē," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by G. Kittel; translated and edited by G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing House, c.1964), II, 402-417.

[175]Cf. Eliade, Cosmos and History, p. viii.

these movements have occurred in all parts of Melanesia since the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day.

The distinctive features of the ideology of the movements were isolated. So were the common characteristics of the ritualistic activity connected with the movements.

Finally, on the basis of a brief analysis of the content and function of myths in the movements, the following hypothesis was proposed: that the Melanesian movements may be viewed as a search for salvation by means of a return to origins. It was proposed, furthermore, that this hypothesis provided a point of departure for arriving at a theological interpretation of the movements.

CHAPTER III

THE RETURN-TO-ORIGINS MOTIF IN PAULINE THEOLOGY: SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter we engage in some necessary ground-clearing activity, preparatory to taking up the study of the return-to-origins motif in Pauline theology.

We shall, first, state our presuppositions about the Pauline corpus. In view of the continuing debate on the composition of the corpus Paulinum, a statement of one's views on the matter is a required preliminary to a study of any aspect of Pauline theology.

Secondly, we shall draw attention to a concept which is a presupposition of the Pauline return-to-origins motif, namely, the concept of human solidarity.

What Constitutes the Corpus Paulinum?

For the purposes of the present study, the corpus Paulinum is defined as those New Testament letters which, by the consent of the majority of modern scholars, are to be assigned to the apostle Paul or to someone who wrote under the direct influence of the apostle.[1]

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[1]According to this definition, the Pauline corpus would comprise (a) the letters generally thought to have been written wholly or in the greater part by Paul, viz., Romans, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, Philemon; and (b) letters on which opinion is divided as to whether they were written by Paul or by one of his colleagues and disciples, viz., 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians. Cf. the discussion in W. Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament (14th revised edition; London: SCM Press, 1966), pp. 177-179; B. Rigaux, The Letters of St. Paul (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), pp. 100-114.

From this definition it follows that the adjective "Pauline" will refer to the canonical epistles written either by Paul himself, or by one of his intimates who thought and taught as Paul did.[2]

The definition given above begs the question of the authenticity and provenance of such disputed letters as Colossians and Ephesians. This situation is justified by the fact that the conclusions which are reached in the present study are not dependent upon any particular theory of development in Paul's thought, nor of the chronology of Paul's epistles, nor even of the authorship of the individual letters which comprise the Pauline corpus.

The objective of our study of the Pauline material is not to show that the return-to-origins motif originated with Paul, nor that it was utilized exclusively by Paul. Our first concern is to demonstrate that the motif of return-to-origins is a New Testament phenomenon. We want to learn how the motif was used by the writer or writers who composed a body of material which constitutes a major portion of the total New Testament canon.

In summary, then, the present study presupposes that the Pauline corpus consists of 1 and 2 Thessalonians; 1 and 2 Corinthians; Galatians; Romans; Philippians; Philemon; Colossians; and Ephesians.[3]

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[2]For a similar position, cf. John Gibbs, Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), p. 4.

[3]The present writer is of the opinion that all these letters, with the possible exception of Ephesians, were composed by Paul.

The Pauline Concept of Human Solidarity

A concept which is constantly presupposed in the Pauline motif of return-to-origins is that of human solidarity. According to Paul, man exists in solidarity with Adam and in solidarity with creation. He is baptized into solidarity with Christ. The Pauline phrase which best sums up this idea of solidarity is: di' henos ta panta.[4] So, for example, Adam is viewed as incorporating in himself all humanity; Christ is spoken of as the representative of all mankind; by its actions, mankind is said to have affected the whole creation.[5]

For Paul, the idea of solidarity is not merely an interesting aspect of anthropology or sociology. Rather, as Cullmann points out, Paul considers that the solidarity relationship is determined throughout history by the theological principle of election and representation.[6] It is as divinely appointed representative that Adam appears in creation and fall. Likewise, it is as divinely appointed Mediator and Savior that Christ, by virtue of his resurrection, appears in the new creation.[7]

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[4]Rom. 5:18. Cf. Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time (Revised edition; London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 115-116.

[5]Cf. Rom. 5:12-21; 1 Cor. 15:20-22; Rom. 8:18-25.

[6]Cullmann, pp. 115-118; cf. also Oscar Cullmann, "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament," The Early Church, edited by A. J. B. Higgins (Abridged edition; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), pp. 128-129.

[7]Cf. R. C. Oudersluys, "Paul's Use of the Adam Typology," Reformed Review, XIII (1960), 3.

From where did Paul draw his ideas on human solidarity? Some have sought to find the background for Paul's thought in the various hellenistic systems, such as Stoicism or Gnosticism.[8] Others favor a semitic background, and point especially to the Hebrew concept embodied in the theory of corporate personality. This phrase, "corporate personality," seeks to bring together in a short formula the Old Testament way of understanding the union of the individual and the group and their mutual interrelations.[9]

One of the presuppositions of the present study is that the background for Paul's thought is to be found predominantly in the thought-world of Judaism and the Old Testament, especially the latter. Although the term "corporate personality" expresses much of what Paul seems to have included in his thinking on human solidarity,

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[8]E.g., R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 164-183. The various proposals are discussed by R. Shedd in his book, Man in Community: A Study of St. Paul's Application of Old Testament and Early Jewish Conceptions of Human Solidarity (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans, 1964), pp. 93-97. One important aspect of the much-debated subject is the question of the origin(s) of Paul's doctrine of sōma Christou. A recent summary of the history of research on this subject is given by R. Jewett, Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 201-250. Jewett concludes that the gnostic saved-savior figure was a figment of scholarly imagination.

[9]On the theory of corporate personality see, besides the book by Shedd referred to in the previous note: H. W. Robinson, Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964); A. R. Johnson, The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God (2nd edition; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961), pp. 1-22; P. Kaufman, "The One and the Many: Corporate Personality," Worship, XLII (1968), 546-558; L. C. Allen, "Amos, Prophet of Solidarity," Vox Evangelica, VI (1969), 42-53; J. de Fraine, "Adam and Christ as Corporate Personalities," Theology Digest, X (1962), 99-102; H. Wansborough, "Corporate Personality in the Bible," New Blackfriars, L (1969), 798-804; D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic 200 B.C.-A.D. 100 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 132-139, 140-141, 153-157.

the use of the term has been avoided in the present study. The increasingly loose way in which the term "corporate personality" is used has led to a number of ambiguities in its meaning. The phrase, furthermore, has been applied to aspects of the subject under discussion for which it was never suited.[10] It seemed best, therefore, to follow the suggestion of Rogerson and refrain from using the expression "corporate personality." Instead, the term "human solidarity" is used to express that way of thinking which sees the many as represented by the one; the group incorporated in the Stammvater; the actions of the one as affecting the whole.[11]

By way of recapitulation let it be said that the notion of solidarity underlies Paul's return-to-origins motif. The concept is to be presupposed in the discussion which follows.

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[10]Abuses of the term "corporate personality," and weaknesses in the theory of corporate personality, are discussed by J. R. Porter in his article, "The Legal Aspects of the Concept of 'Corporate Personality' in the Old Testament," Vetus Testamentum, XV (1965), 361-380. Porter proposes some limitations on common usage, "with particular reference to the realm of Hebrew legal practise" (p. 361). Cf. also J. W. Rogerson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality: A Re-examination," Journal of Theological Studies, XXI (1970), 1-16. Rogerson concludes that "in the interests of clarity it would . . . be best to drop the term corporate personality completely, and at the same time to abandon any attempt to explain Old Testament phenomena in terms of primitive mentality" (p. 14).

[11]On the concept of human solidarity in the Old Testament world, see Shedd, passim; W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament (London: SCM Press, 1967), II, 232-246; S. A. Cook, "Israel Before the Prophets," The Cambridge Ancient History, edited by J. B. Bury and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), III, 437-444.

CHAPTER IV

THE RETURN-TO-ORIGINS MOTIF IN PAULINE THEOLOGY: SOME ASPECTS OF PAUL'S VIEW OF MAN

The purpose of the present chapter is to learn how, and to what extent, Paul utilizes the motif of return-to-origins in his description of the condition of man and its causes which the Messiah came to remedy.

With the possible exception of Romans 7, there is in the Pauline corpus no complete portrait of the man of the old aeon. At best, one finds a number of incomplete sketches. This situation may be attributed to the fact that, as Scroggs observes, Paul is more concerned with depicting and describing the new man, the man "in Christ," than he is with excoriating the man of the old age, the man of sin.[1]

Nevertheless, the apostle clearly expresses his evaluation of and judgment upon the man who belongs to the old humanity. In doing so, Paul often employs the same terminology, the same thought patterns, and the same metaphors as are contained in the various narratives and confessional statements concerning the creation and fall of mankind and of the people of Israel. That is to say, Paul describes the present human condition, and, in part, accounts for it, by using the motif of return-to-origins.

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[1]Robin Scroggs, The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. 72.

Man is a Sinner
(Rom. 1:18-32; 5:12-21; 7:7-11)

In the opening chapters of his letter to the Romans, the apostle Paul conducts what might be called the lawsuit of God against the world.[2] As he approaches the end of his review of the evidence, Paul reminds his readers that he has already charged (proētiasametha) that both "Jews and Greeks alike are all under the power of sin" (Rom. 3:9). He concludes his indictment with the bald assertion that "all have sinned" (3:23a). The entire section (1:18-32) demonstrates that all mankind is lost apart from the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ Jesus.

It is commonly assumed that in Rom. 1:18-32 Paul is speaking specifically of the Gentiles, and that in the second chapter he speaks directly of and to the Jews.[3] This assumption has not gone

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[2]L. C. Allen, "The Old Testament in Romans I-VIII," Vox Evangelica, III (1964), 14. On Rom. 1:18-32 as a "judgment form" see C. Roetzel, "The Judgment Form in Paul's Letters," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXVIII (1969), 305-312. Roetzel says that the Judgment Form is a modification of the Old Testament prophetic form of judgment pronouncement. In Paul, the Judgment Form consists of four parts: introduction; delineation of offence; punishment and hortatory conclusion. On Gerichtsrede in the Old Testament, see C. Stuhlmueller, Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), pp. 28-32.

[3]So, e.g., G. Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience (London: SCM Press, 1968), p. 59; D. M. Coffey, "Natural Knowledge of God: Reflections on Romans 1:18-32," Theological Studies, XXXI (1970), 674-691; A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans (London: SCM Press, c.1952), p. 101; U. Mauser, Gottesbild und Menschwerdung (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 150-151; O. Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (13th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966), p. 60; O. Kuss, Der Römerbrief (2nd edition; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963), p. 35. H.-W. Bartsch ["Die Empfänger des Römerbriefs, Studia Theologica, XXV (1971), 85] says Paul addresses Gentile Christians.

unchallenged,[4] nor can it go unchallenged in view of the apparent literary relationships between Rom. 1:18-32 and certain Old Testament passages which treat of the origins of mankind and of Israel. These passages are Gen. 1:1-2:4a; Psalm 106 (LXX:105); Deut. 4:16-19; and possibly Jer. 2:5,11; 10:14.[5]

Some phrases and expressions in Rom. 1:21-23 are reminiscent of passages in Jeremiah.[6] This is not in itself enough to establish literary dependence. But two points favor the possibility that Paul was at least influenced by the Jeremiah passages. First, Jer. 10:14 occurs in the context of creation and theophany; and the context of Jer. 2:5,11 is a recalling of the Exodus and the wilderness wanderings.[7] Secondly, Jer. 2:9 indicates that the prophet is initiating a law suit against Israel.[8] There are hints in Romans 1-8 that Paul

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[4]E.g., M. Barth, "Speaking of Sin: Some Interpretative Notes on Romans 1:18-3:20," Scottish Journal of Theology, VIII (1955), 291; E. Best, The Letter of Paul to the Romans (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 19; E. Larsson, Christus als Vorbild (Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1962), p. 180; A. Schlatter, Gottes Gerechtigkeit: Ein Kommentar zum Römerbrief (Stuttgart: Calver Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1935), p. 64.

[5]N. Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans 1:23," New Testament Studies, II (1956), 285-288; M. D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans 1," New Testament Studies, VI (1959), 297-306; M. D. Hooker, "A Further Note on Romans 1," New Testament Studies, XIII (1967), 181-183; C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), pp. 17-19; J. Jervell, Imago Dei: Gen. 1:26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und im den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 312-331.

[6]Rom. 1:21b: alla emataiōthēsan en tois dialogismois autōn.
Jer. 2:5 : eporeuthēsan hopisō tōn mataiōn kai emataiōthēsan.
Rom. 1:22 : phaskontes einai sophoi emōranthēsan.
Jer. 10:14: emōranthē pas anthrōpos apo gnōseōs.
Rom. 1:23 : ēllaxan tēn doxan tou aphthartou theou.
Jer. 2:11 : ho de laos mou ēllaxato tēn doxan autou.

[7]For the significance of this point, see infra, pp. 66-67.

[8]"Therefore I still contend (רִיב) with you, says the Lord, and with your children's children I will contend."

is conducting a law suit against the nations. The eighth chapter, in fact, ends amid "indications of the idea of a cosmic lawsuit."[9]

Other passages which possibly influenced Paul's thought at Rom. 1:18-32 are the description of idolatry in Deut. 4:16-19 and the accounts of the creation of man (Genesis 1) and of Israel (Psalm 106 [105]).[10] According to Paul in Rom. 1:23, rebellious man worships the images of man, birds, animals and reptiles. In Deut. 4:16-18, God warns the Israelites against the worship of images of man (male or female), animals, birds, reptiles or fish. This listing of creatures is paralleled by a similar list in Gen. 1:20-22. In fact, the complete list of idolatrous objects in Deut. 4:16-19 follows exactly the account of creation in Gen. 1:14-26, except that the order is reversed.[11]

In Rom. 1:23, the list of three creatures follows the same order as in Gen. 1:20-22. In both places the plural, not the singular is used.[12] In Gen. 1:26 the terms eikōn and homoiōsis occur. Paul uses the first of these terms in Rom. 1:23. The second term (homoiōsis)

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[9]R. Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror: Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament (New York: MacMillan Company, 1954), p. 260. Cf. Allen, III, 14.

[10]Besides the works cited in note 5 above, cf. Larsson, p. 182; F. F. Bruce, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1963), p. 85; D. H. Whitely, The Theology of St. Paul (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), pp. 51-58; A. Feuillet, "La connaissance naturelle de Dieu par les hommes d'après Romains 1,18-23," Lumiere et Vie, XIV (1954), 75. Feuillet remarks that this is one of the three places in Romans that the reader is invited to reflect upon the first chapters of Genesis. Robin Scroggs (p. 75, note 3) admits allusions to Genesis 1, but denies any Adamic references.

[11]Cf. N. Kehl, Der Christushymnus im Kolosserbrief (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1967), p. 150.

[12]Hyldahl, II, 286.

has an echo at Rom. 1:23 (homoiōma). But it is more likely that the en homoiōmati of Rom. 1:23 is to be linked with the same phrase in Ps. 106 (105):20.[13] Rom. 1:23 reads as follows:

> kai ēllaxan tēn doxan tou aphthartou theou
> en homoiōmati eikonos phthartou anthropou
> kai peteinōn kai tetrapodōn kai herpetōn.

Ps. 106 (105):20 reads:

> kai ēllaxanto tēn doxan autōn
> en homoiōmati moschou esthontos chorton.

It seems that for the phrase of the psalmist, en homoiōmati moschou esthontos chorton, Paul has substituted the words, en homoiōmati eikonos phthartou anthrōpou kai peteinōn k t l. Every word of Paul's statement (except phthartou) is found in Gen. 1:20-26. In describing the idolatry into which man has fallen, Paul seems deliberately to have chosen the language of Genesis.

Jervell sees the influence of Gen. 1:27 at Rom. 1:26,27, where Paul uses the terms arsen and thēlu.[14] The only other place in the Pauline writings where these two words occur is Gal. 3:28. That passage is also an allusion to the first chapter of Genesis.[15]

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[13]Hooker, VI, 300.

[14]Jervell, p. 320. Cf. Michel, p. 68, note 3.

[15]Cf. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1968), p. 246.
Hooker (VI, 303) finds further allusions to Genesis 1 in aorata (Rom. 1:20) and eskotisthē (v. 22). Compare these with aoratos and skotos in Gen. 1:2. The adjective aidios (Rom. 1:20) does not occur in the LXX, but it is found once in the book of Wisdom (2:26), where it is used in connection with Wisdom. In Wisdom 2:23 some manuscripts read aidiotētos. Wisdom 2:23 is of interest to us, since it deals with the creation of man. It reads: hoti ho theos ektisen ton anthrōpon ep'aphtharsia kai eikona tēs idias aidiotētos epoiēsen auton. Besides aidiotētos, there are two other words here which are reflected in Rom. 1:23: aphtharsia and thanatos.

Reference has already been made to the use of Psalm 106 (105) at Rom. 1:23. Further allusions to the Psalm may be found at:

Rom. 1:24	en tais epithumiais tōn kardiōn autōn . . .
Ps. 105:14:	kai epethumēsan epithumian . . .
Rom. 1:25:	hos estin eulogētos eis tous aiōnas· amēn.
Ps. 105:48:	Eulogētos kurios ho theos Israēl apo tou aiōnos.
Rom. 1:24,26,28:	dio paredōken autous ho theos . . .
Ps. 105:41:	kai paredōken autous eis cheiras ethnōn.[16]

The language of Rom. 1:18-32 is not the only connection this passage has with the first chapters of Genesis and with Psalm 106 (105).[17] There is a similarity of thought patterns. The sequence of events outlined in Romans 1 puts one in mind of the story of Adam in Genesis 1-3. To Adam, above all men, was manifested that which can be known of God (Rom. 1:19). Ever since God created the world, his invisible qualities could be seen most clearly by Adam in the things which God had made. So Adam is especially without excuse (1:20). Of Adam it is supremely true that he knew God, but failed to honor him as God, and grew vain in his thinking and allowed his heart to be darkened (1:21). Adam's fall came as a consequence of his desire to be like God, knowing good and evil (Gen. 3:5). He thought he would be wise; he became, in fact, a fool (Rom. 1:22). He failed to give glory to God and, according to rabbinic tradition, he himself lost the glory of God which was reflected in his face (Rom. 1:23). When

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[16]Hooker, XIII, 183.

[17]The observations made in this paragraph are based on Hooker, VI, 300-301.

Adam believed the serpent's lie that his action would not lead to death (Gen. 3:4), he turned his back on the truth of God. He obeyed and served the creature rather than God, the Creator (Rom. 1:25).

Barrett draws attention to the fact that Paul three times refers to the "prior, non-moral but religious or theological fall," and to the "moral consequences" of the fall.[18] In each instance the sequence is the same. There is, then, a parallelism between the three references to the fall (Rom. 1:23,25,28). As Kuss observes, within each of the three paragraphs in Romans there is a verbal antithesis.[19] The giving up of God's doxa, as described in Rom. 1:22-25, has as its consequence man's own dishonor.[20] The parallelism between Rom. 1:25 and 1:26-27 is brought out by the verb metēllaxan.[21] Paul seems to be implying that the exchange of the truth of God for a lie leads to a similar distortion in the relationships between the sexes.[22] In Rom. 1:28-32, the link between cause and effect is a play on words: ouk edokimasan ton theon echein en epignōsei results in a mind which is adokimos.[23]

Hooker makes the further observation that the same link between man's sin and God's punishment which is found in Romans 1 may be

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[18]Barrett, pp. 18-19. Cf. Allen, III, 29.

[19]Kuss, p. 47. Cf. Hooker, XIII, 181.

[20]atimazesthai. Paul regularly uses atimia as the opposite of doxa. Cf. 1 Cor. 11:14; 15:43; 2 Cor. 6:8. Cf. also Sir. 3:10; 5:13; 29:6; Hos. 4:7; Hab. 2:16; Test. Asher 5:2; Test. Benj. 6:4.

[21]Cf. the ēllaxan of Rom. 1:23.

[22]Hooker, XIII, 182.

[23]For comments on adokimos here, see R. Jewett, Paul's Anthropological Terms (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 386-387.

found also in Psalm 106 (105). For example:

> They forgot God, their Savior,
> who had done great things in Egypt,
> wondrous works in the land of Ham,
> and terrible things by the Red Sea.
> Therefore he said he would destroy them . . .

And again:

> Then they despised the pleasant land,
> having no faith in the promise.
> They murmured in their tents,
> and did not obey the voice of the Lord.
> Therefore he raised his hand . . . .[24]

Gärtner and Jervell have made useful contributions to an understanding of Rom. 1:18-32 by listing the numerous terminological similarities between the Romans passage and Eph. 4:17-24.[25] A parallel to Eph. 4:17-24 is Col. 3:5-11. This passage also contains terminology similar to that used in Rom. 1:18-32. Jervell concludes that the author(s) exploited a common Lasterkatalog which was used for the preparation of catechumens for baptism. The significance of the link between the Romans, Ephesians and Colossians passages lies in the fact that both Jews and Christians regarded baptism as a new creation and a new Exodus.[26]

Summing up the results of our inquiry so far, we find that in portraying the sinful condition of men, Paul utilized the language and thought of at least three biblical accounts of origins: Deut.

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[24]Ps. 106:21-23a; 24-26a.

[25]B. Gärtner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955), pp. 75-76; Jervell, pp. 289-290, 315-316.

[26]Cf. H. Sahlin, "The New Exodus of Salvation According to St. Paul," in The Root of the Vine, edited by A. Fridrichsen et al. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), pp. 81-95.

4:16-19; Genesis 1-3; Psalm 106 (105). Such a procedure exhibits a characteristic of Hebrew thought, namely, to see the whole contained in the beginning.[27] Paul, it would seem, was combining the outlook of prophet with that of apocalyptist. The prophets often began an historical survey with the Exodus;[28] the apocalytists began their survey with the Creation.[29] Paul's combined approach was especially suited to the Roman congregation, for Paul viewed it as representative of the whole world. That is to say, he thought of the church in Rome as a kind of first-fruits of the world for Christ (Rom. 1:6).[30]

The Old Testament links the story of the Exodus with that of Creation and Fall.[31] In Romans 1 (as in 1 Cor. 10:6-13),[32] Paul refers to the Exodus in the language of the penitential Psalm 106. This psalm was the "Old Testament prototype in the history of tradition of the recital by the Levites of the sins of the Israelites."[33]

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[27]B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), p. 226.

[28]E.g., Jeremiah 2; Hosea 11.

[29]E.g. IV Ezra 3. Cf. Bernhard H. Anderson, Creation versus Chaos (New York: Association Press, 1967), pp. 136=137.

[30]Cf. J. P. Martin, "The Kerygma of Romans," Interpretation, XXV (1971), 303; T. Fahy, "St. Paul's Romans Were Jewish Converts," Irish Theological Quarterly, XXVI (1959), 182-191; W. Wieful, "Die jüdische Gemeinschaft im Antiken Rom und die Anfänge des römischen Christentums," Judaica, XXVI (1970), 65-88.

[31]E.g., Is. 42:5-9; 43:6-16; 44:24-28; 51:9-10; Ezek. 24:3; Ps. 74:12-15; Job 40. Cf. Gerhard von Rad, The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), pp. 136-138; H. D. Beeby, "The Exodus Against the Background of Mythology," South East Asian Journal of Theology, XI (1970), 94-100; Jervell, pp. 321-322; Stuhlmueller, pp. 59-94.

[32]Infra, pp. 77-78.

[33]A. Weiser, The Psalms (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 680.

For Paul, the common denominator seems to have been the fact that both the Exodus account and the Creation and Fall narratives tell of rebellion, disobedience, failure to acknowledge God as God.[34]

And this is surely Paul's point: underlying every evil act is the sin of rebellion and disobedience. Whether that rebelliousness is traced back to the story of the origins of humanity or to the account of the beginnings of Israel, it is still that sin of which all other transgressions are the consequence and symptom. Either in solidarity with Adam or in solidarity with ancient Israel, all men --Jew and Greek together--stand guilty as charged: all have sinned (Rom. 3:23a); all are under the power of sin (Rom. 3:9).

Paul arrives at this conclusion from the vantage point of life as a Christian man. His purpose is not so much to condemn as it is to teach and exhort. Hence he draws upon a baptismal Lasterkatalog to depict the condition of the man who has not been created anew through baptism. By so doing, he reminds his readers of the day on which they were newly created in Christ Jesus, and tacitly bids them reflect upon the significance of that event.

We turn now to the classical passage in which Paul speaks of man as a sinner in solidarity with Adam: Rom. 5:12-19.[35] The

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[34]Cf. the comments on Rom. 5:13,14,20 by Karl Barth in his book Christ and Adam (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), pp. 24-41.

[35]For exegetical treatments of this passage see, besides the usual commentaries, K. H. Weger, Theologie der Erbsünde (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1970); K. Barth, Christ and Adam; E. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus: Exegetische-Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Rom. 5,12-21 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962); R. Bultmann, The Old and New Man in the Letters of Paul (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967); A. M. Dubarle, The Biblical Doctrine of Original Sin (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), pp. 142-173; U. Luz, Das Geschichtverständnis des Paulus (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1968), pp. 193-223; N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin (London:

return-to-origins motif is, as we shall see, clearly present in this passage. As we examine a few of the important details of what is for Barrett an "obscure and pregnant paragraph," it is important to keep in mind the point emphasized by a number of scholars, that "Paul's principal preoccupation in Romans 5:12-21 is not with Adam but with Christ."[36]

Longmans, Green and Co., 1917), pp. 124-134; Scroggs, pp. 76-82; A. Feuillet, "Le Règne de la Mort et le Règne de la Vie (Rom. V, 12-21)," Revue Biblique, LXXVII (1970), 481-521.

[36]Philip Kaufmann, "The One and the Many: Corporate Personality," Worship, XLII (1968), 555.

In this study we follow John Gibbs [Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), p. 55] in assuming that Paul's ready references to the Adam-Christ typology were "facilitated by the myth of Adam as bearer of sin and death, descriptions of an exalted first man by the Yahwist and in Priestly materials, and by the presence of the Adamic myth in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." This view does not deny the presence of other traditions, but it does maintain that Paul is indebted chiefly to Jewish or Christian sources for his Adam-Christ typology. In fact, since "no evidence exists in Judaism for the assertion of a relationship between Adam and Messiah," (Scroggs, p. 56), one must conclude that the concept of Messiah as second Adam was a Christian, if not a Pauline creation. In adopting this position, we are expressing disagreement with the view that Paul's Christology of the last Adam is really a Son of Man Christology which had its roots in apocalyptic Judaism and even, perhaps, associated the Son of Man with a new creation (cf. A. Farrer, A Study in Mark (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1951), pp. 259-289.

On the whole question of the Son of Man and Adamic Christology see O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (revised edition; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), pp. 166-181; C. Colpe, "Ho Huios tou Anthrōpou," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich; translated and edited by G. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-), VIII, 470-473. This dictionary is hereafter referred to as TDNT. See also P. Lengsfeld, Adam und Christus (Essen: Verlag Hubert Wingen, 1965), pp. 34-51; O. Michel, "Der Menschensohn," Theologische Zeitschrift, XXVII (1971), 81-104; M. E. Thrall, "The Origin of Pauline Christology," in Apostolic History and the Gospel, edited by W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 304-316; A. Vögtle, "Der 'Menschensohn' und die paulinischen Christologie," in Studiorum Palinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus (Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1963), I, 199-218. This two-volume work is hereafter referred to as SPCIC. See also Whitely, pp. 114-118; Scroggs, pp. ix-xxiv.

The pericope at hand opens with a verse which contains several tantalizing exegetical problems. The purpose of the passage is indicated by the initial phrase: dia touto. Even if one accepts Cranfield's judgment that "dia touto in this verse must refer backward,"[37] one is still faced with an alarming variety of possible interpretations.[38] It is probably wisest to walk the middle road of Althaus, and refer the dia touto to all the preceding part of the epistle, but especially to 5:1-11.[39]

Despite the uncertainty regarding the antecedent of dia touto, one conclusion can be drawn from verse 12: one man sinned. This one man is not Eve, nor Adam and Eve together, but Adam. The whole argument of Rom. 5:13-14 indicates that fact.[40] Because of Adam's

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[37]C. E. B. Cranfield, "On Some of the Problems in the Interpretation of Romans 5.12," Scottish Journal of Theology, XXII (1969), 326.

[38]On the one hand, there is the view that dia touto refers primarily to Rom. 5:1-11. On the other hand, the close argumentation of chapters 1-8 suggests that perhaps 5:12-21 must be understood in the light of all that precedes. For a discussion of the various scholarly positions see W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (5th edition: Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, c.1902), pp. 131-132; Gibbs, pp. 48, note 2. For the argument of chapters 1-8, see U. Luz, "Zum Aufbau von Röm. 1-8," Theologische Zeitschrift, XXV (1969), 161-181; T. W. Manson, "Notes on the Argument of Romans (chapts. 1-8)," in New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson, edited by A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: University Press, 1959), pp. 150-164; C. H. Giblin, In Hope of God's Glory (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), pp. 318-321; X. Léon-Dufour, "Situation litteraire de Rom. V," Recherches de Science religieuse, LI (1963), 83-95.

[39]Paul Althaus, Der Brief an die Römer, in Das Neue Testament Deutsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966), VI, 54.

[40]Brandenburger, pp. 158-159. On the "historicity" of Adam for Paul, see R. C. Ouderluys, "Paul's Use of the Adam Typology," Reformed Review, XIII (1960), 1-10.

disobedience, sin entered (eisēlthen) the world. Through (dia) sin and death came into the world and spread (diēlthen) to all men.

What is not clear in Rom. 5:12 is the connection which Paul posits between various elements: between the sin of Adam and the universality of sin and death; between the sin of Adam and the sin of the individual; between the sin of the individual and his death. Several factors help to complicate the issue. In the first place, although Paul in this passage treats of sin, that is not his first concern. The real theme of Rom. 5:12-21 is, as Bultmann observes, "not the origin of sin but the origin of death."[41] Secondly, the crucial phrase eph' hō pantes hēmarton has been a crux interpretum even since Paul wrote it.[42]

Rom. 5:19 seems to demand that there be a causal connection between Adam's sin and the sin of his posterity. But Paul does not define the precise nature of this relationship. The apostle seems to be saying that the disobedience of the first man brought sin into the world as an active, destructive power.[43] More than that, through

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[41]Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, c.1951), I, 252; cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (New York: Harper Torch Books, 1966), p. 31. Contrast J. Cambier, "Péchés des Hommes et Péché D'Adam en Rom. v.12," New Testament Studies, XI (1965), 217-255. Cambier regards hamartia --charis as the main axis of Rom. 5:12-21.

[42]See the survey and critique of various interpretations by Cambier, XI, 242-251; F. W. Danker, "Romans v. 12: Sin Under Law," New Testament Studies, XLV (1968), 436-439; S. Lyonnet, "Péché," in Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, edited by H. Cazelles and A. Feuillet (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1966), VII, Cols. 543-551; Cranfield, XII, 330-341; Larsson, p. 176, note 4; Brandenburger, pp. 228-231; J. J. Scullion, "An Interpretation of Romans v:12," Australian Biblical Review, XVI (1968), 31-36; K. Romaniuk, "Nota Su Rom. 5,12," Rivista Biblica, XIX (1971), 327-334.

[43]Cf. Cambier, XI, 231-234.

Adam's sin men were themselves made sinners (Rom. 5:19). Elsewhere, as in Romans 7, Paul insists that each man is responsible for his own sin. Hence a summary of Paul's views would need to state both sides of the case: all men share in the sin of Adam, and yet every man is responsible for his own sin.[44]

Danker rightly insists that any explanation of the eph' hō phrase (Rom. 5:12c) must take seriously the context created especially by verses 13-14.[45] I accept Danker's proposal that the antecedent of eph' hō is nomos, and that Rom. 5:12c is to be translated "on the basis of what (law) they sinned." However, Danker seems to have missed the point when he proposes an ambiguity in the meaning of nomos in Rom. 5:13-14. It seems preferable to take nomos as referring in both instances in 5:13-14 to Torah. The distinction Paul is making is between Torah before it was fully revealed to Israel, and Torah after it was revealed.[46] If that is so, then the argument of Rom. 5:13-14 would be as follows: If the Torah is not in existence, sin cannot force any IOUs to be written.[47] But many people died in the

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[44]Cf. 2 Baruch 54:19: "Adam is, therefore, not the cause save only of his own soul, but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul." Cf. also Davies, pp. 31-35; Bultmann, Theology, I, 252-253.

[45]Danker, XLV, 437-440.

[46]That Judaism made such a distinction is evident from the following passages: Shabbath 88b; Zebachim 116a; Sir. 24:3-23; Gen. R. I, 1 (Torah=Wisdom); Gen. R. XVI, 5-6; XXIV, 5; 4 Ezra 7:11; Apoc. Baruch XXVIII, 40-47; Gen. R. XXXII, 5; XCV, 3. Cf. also K. Schubert, "Einige Beobachtungen zum Verständnis des Logosbegriffes im frührabbinischen Schrifttum," Judaica, IX (1953), 65-80.

[47]Ellogeitai in Rom. 5:13 seems to have the same meaning as it has in Philemon 18, i.e., the writing of an IOU.

period between Adam and Moses. Therefore sin must have been in the world at that time, and the Torah must also have been in existence, even though it was only revealed and given to Israel on Sinai. In short, Rom. 5:13-14 is making a distinction not between men who have the law and men who do not, but between the period in which Torah was only partly revealed and the period in which Torah was fully and formally revealed to Israel.

At Rom. 5:15 Paul initiates a series of contrasts and comparisons. These are "as relevant to the discussion of Christ as to the present treatment of Adam,"[48] for the apostle seeks to show that the representative function of Christ is even more extensive than that of Adam. In drawing both the parallel and contrast, Paul makes good use of the Qal Wahomer argument,[49] and dips directly into the narrative of Genesis 3, where Adam and Eve are judged, condemned and sentenced to death.[50]

Gibbs notes that the parallel between Christ and Adam is drawn in order to provide the basis for a comparison between the results of their representative work and the works themselves. In Rom. 5:15-21 there is both a parallel and a contrast: "the parallel is one of formal relation (one-many) whereas the contrast is one of material

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[48]Barrett, p. 15.

[49]Cf. C. Maurer, "Der Schluss 'a minore ad maius' als Element paulinischer Theologie," Theologische-Literatur Zeitung, LXXXV (1960), 149; H. Muller, "Der rabbinische Qal-Wachomer Schluss in paulinischer Typologie," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, LVIII (1967), 73-92; Brandenburger, pp. 221-222.

[50]Scroggs, p. 90.

content."[51] This parallel and contrast are well summed up in the two phrases: tupos tou mellontos and pollō̧ mallon.[52]

Our review of Rom. 5:12-21 has served to emphasize the fact that Paul turns to the accounts of the origin of the human race to explicate his earlier indictment of all humanity in its collective guilt.[53] According to Paul, all men are sinners like their Stammvater Adam. Sin was the ruin of the old creation and of the first Adam. Sin corrupted the whole human race because of its solidarity with the first Adam. The situation could be retrieved only by a second Adam. The message of Rom. 5:12-21 is that Jesus Christ is that second Adam.

The third passage which must be considered in our study of Paul's description of man in need of a Messiah is Rom. 7:7-11. The first eight chapters of Romans may be divided into three parts: chapters 1-4; 5-6; and 7-8. In the first part, Paul deals specifically with the question of sin. The second part treats of sin and death. Part three speaks of sin, death and law. We have seen that the return-to-origins theme is found in the first two parts. The

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[51]Gibbs, p. 49. For Gibbs, the greatest problem in the passage revolves around the necessity of doing justice to both the formal parallel and the material contrast. Gibbs is in basic agreement with Karl Barth's understanding of Paul's Adam-Christ typology. For an analysis of Barth's position, see Brandenburger, pp. 267-278, and Lengsfeld, pp. 162-233.

[52]On the phrase tupos tou mellontos see J. A. T. Robinson, The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology (London: SCM Press, 1952), p. 35, note 1.

[53]This observation holds true whether one supposes that Paul was influenced by Genesis 1-3, or by Wisdom 2--as is posited, for example by A. Feuillet in his detailed study, Le Christ Sagesse de Dieu d'Après les Épitres Pauliniennes (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1966), pp. 333-339.

same motif occurs in part three, particularly in Rom. 7:7-11 and again in Rom. 8:18-30.[54]

It has often been acknowledged that, "sachlich und sprachlich," Rom. 7:7-11 reflects the narrative of the fall recorded in Genesis 3.[55]

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[54]On Rom. 8:18-30, see infra, pp. 99-101. On the relation between Rom. 5:13-14 and 7:7-13, see Brandenburger, pp. 205-214. On Rom. 7:7-11 as a whole see, besides the standard commentaries, W. G. Kümmel, Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929); K. Kertelge, "Exegetische Uberlegungen zum Verständnis der paulinischen Anthropologie nach Römer 7," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, LXII (1971), 105-114; R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul," in Existence and Faith (New York: World Publishing Co., c.1960), pp. 147-157; A. van Dülmen, Die Theologie des Gesetzes bei Paulus (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968), pp. 106-112; G. Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death: An Exegetical Study of Romans 7," in Early Christian Experience (London: SCM, c.1969), pp. 87-104; S. Lyonnet, Les Étapes du Mystère du Salut selon l'épître aux Romains (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1969), pp. 114-137; Mauser, pp. 154-162; K. Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," Harvard Theological Review, LVI (1963), 199-215; Kuss, pp. 462-485.

[55]E.g., C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d.), p. 106. Brandenburger, p. 216, note 1 lists a number of like-minded scholars.

With regard to the vexed question of the identity of the "I" in Romans 7, I venture to take the position that the "I" is meant theologically, not autobiographically. Paul is recounting the history of Israel's experience in the words of Adam's experience, and Adam is typical of all men, including Paul. Insofar as Paul existed in sinful solidarity with Adam, the "I" is in a sense autobiographical. For a good survey of the various views, see Luz, Geschichtverständnis, pp. 160-166. Luz concludes (p. 166): "Dass Adam in diesem Sinne als Typus für den Menschen überhaupt verstanden wurde und sogar als 'Ich' sprechen kann, ist religionsgeschichtlich durchaus möglich, vgl. bes. s. Bar. 54,19; Apk. Abr. 23,8." Cf. also W. Kümmel, Man in the New Testament (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), pp. 48-53; Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death," pp. 92-94.

For a comparison of the "I" style in Romans 7 with a similar style in Qumranic literature, see K. G. Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament," in The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by K. Stendahl (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 94-112, especially, p. 102.

Althaus,[56] for example, hears four echoes of the Genesis account: (1) entolē (Rom. 7:8,9,10,11,12) recalls a key word in the fall narrative, namely entellesthai (Gen. 2:16; 3:11,17); (2) the presentation of sin as a personal power is reminiscent of the snake in the garden. Paul often ascribes to sin what other writers attribute to Satan;[57] (3) exepatēsen (Rom. 7:11) is an allusion to Gen. 3:13, where Eve complains: Ho ophis epatēsen me;[58] (4) the sequel to exepatēsen tells of the effect of sin: di' autēs apekteinen. This seems to be an allusion to the divine sanction in Gen. 2:17.[59]

Lyonnet has made a close study of the Genesis background of Rom. 7:7-11.[60] He finds that with the sentence, "Thou shalt not covet," Paul is thinking of Eden and not of Sinai. Lyonnet observes that the verb epithumeō covers more territory than does the English word "covet." In 1 Cor. 10:6-10 epithumeō includes idolatry, fornication, tempting God and murmuring.[61] At. Gen. 3:6 the verb occurs; in the LXX it is usually translated by epithumeō. In Gen. 3:6 is to be found the origin of the sequence: commandment--desiring--

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[56]Althaus, p. 75. Cf. A. M. Hunter, The Epistle to the Romans (London: SCM Press, 1955), p. 71; R. Longenecker, Paul, Apostle of Liberty (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 92-97. But cf. Scroggs, p. 89, note 36, who doubts that Paul has Genesis 3 in mind.

[57]Cf. Lyonnet, "Péché," Supplément, VII, Col. 504; Brandenburger, p. 216; Leivestad, pp. 115, 261.

[58]In 2 Cor. 11:3 Paul again quotes Genesis, and uses exēpatēsen.

[59]D. M. Stanley, "Paul's Interest in the Early Chapters of Genesis," SPCIC, I, 249; Althaus, p. 74.

[60]Several earlier articles on the subject are brought together in Lyonnet's book, Les Étapes, pp. 124-137.

[61]Lyonnet, Les Étapes, pp. 128-133; C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 141; Sanday and Headlam, p. 179.

death. Judaism thought of Adam as being under the Torah.[62] In Romans 7 Paul seems to be insisting that the law--exemplified in the commandment, "Thou shalt not eat/touch" (Gen. 3:1,3), and implying "Thou shalt have no evil desires" (Gen. 3:6)--did not confer life on Adam, but rather became the very instrument which the serpent used to take life away from Adam. Thus Genesis 3 uncovers one function of the law: to reveal the death-bringing power of sin.

One weakness in Lyonnet's argument is that the key verb, epithumeō, does not occur in the LXX of Genesis 3. The verb does, however, appear frequently in accounts of the giving of the law on Sinai and Israel's subsequent fall in the wilderness.[63] In Psalm 106 (LXX:105) the story of Israel's rebellion is introduced with the words:

> etachunan epelathonto tōn ergōn autou,
> ouch hupemeinan tēn boulēn autou·
> kai epethumēsan epithumian en tē erēmō
> kai epeirasan ton theon en anudrō.
>
> (Ps. 105:13,14, LXX)

We have seen that the language and thought of this Psalm is used by Paul in Rom. 1:18-32.[64] It is used again at 1 Cor. 10:6-13, as is indicated by the data which follow:

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[62] Supra, p. 72, note 46. Cf. Scroggs, pp. 42-43, and the references given by Jervell, p. 43.

[63] E.g., Num. 11:4,34,35; Ps. 78(77):29; Ps. 106(105):14.

[64] Supra, pp. 62-66.

1 Corinthians 10		Psalm 105 (LXX)	
v. 6	kathōs . . . epethumēsan	v. 14a	kai epethumēsan
9	kathōs . . . exepeirasan	14b	kai epeirasan
7	mēde eidōlolatrai ginesthe	19	kai epoiēsan moschon
10	kathaper . . . egoggusan	25	kai egoggusan
8	kathōs . . . eporneusan	39	kai eporneusan

The reference to epithumeō as the primary sinful action of Israel,[65] comprehending in itself all other sins, suggests that in Romans 7 Paul has Israel's fall in mind as well as Adam's fall.[66] Paul identified Israel's experience with that of Adam, and in turn identified himself with both Adam and Israel. In so doing, Paul was making use of several notions familiar to Judaism: (1) Judaism held that Israel was the only legitimate descendant of Adam; in fact, the nation of Israel was Adam, and vice versa;[67] (2) Judaism taught that the worship of the golden calf was a fall for Israel, parallel to the fall of Adam.[68]

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[65]Cf. Mauser, p. 156: "Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass epithumia und epithumein in 1 Kor. 10,6 den Oberbegriff für die nun folgende Aufzählung einzelner Verfehlung der Israeliten in der Wüste darstellt . . . . Ist dem so, dann sind auch in 1 Kor. 10,6 epithumia und epithumein Worte, die das Wesen der Sünde in einen allgemeinen Begriff versammeln wollen."

[66]Cf. J. Wettstein, Novum Testamentum Graecum (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1962), p. 56: "Natio Judaea ante legem Mosis latam." Cf. also O. Modalsi, "Gal. 2,19-21; 5,16-18 und Röm. 7,7-25," Theologische Zeitschrift, XXI (1965), 32.

[67]Cf. Sohar 1,26a: "When the world was created, Israel was also created," Cf. also Sifre Deut. 37,76a+b; Koh. R. 1,4,4; Ex. R. 32,7; 4 Ezra 6:54-59; Scroggs, pp. 44-46; Jervell, pp. 78-84; Mauser, p. 157.

[68]Ex. R. 32,1; 37,7; Jervell, pp. 82-92.

Our survey of the passages in Romans in which Paul deals with the problem of man the sinner has shown the presence of the return-to-origins motif in all three pericopes.[69] In Romans 1, Paul indicts all men of willful rebellion and disobedience. He ensures that all his readers feel the weight of the charge by using the language of the narratives of the creation of man and of Israel. In Romans 5 Paul predicates a direct causal relationship between the fall of Adam and the sin of all men. He thus goes beyond the teaching of the rabbis who, although they regarded Adam as the originator of sin, "were careful to insist on the full responsibility of every individual for his sin despite the effects of Adam's fall."[70]

The Adam of Romans 5 speaks, as Bornkamm remarks, in the "I" of Romans 7. In this chapter Paul considers man's responsibility for his own sin. Yet the apostle indicates that the individual does not stand alone in his sinfulness. Paul uses themes from the narratives of the fall of Adam and of Israel to demonstrate that the sinful situation in which man finds himself is no new thing. Adam existed in such a sinful condition. Israel had a similar experience. So also did Paul. The fact is that were it not for the second Adam, in whom the new Israel has been incorporated through baptism, all would be lost. But "now there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:1).

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[69]On the relationship between the three pericopes, see Brandenburger, pp. 214-219. On the relationship between Rom. 1:18-32 and 7:7-11, see Mauser, pp. 161-162.

[70]Davies, p. 34.

Up to this point we have considered something of what Paul has to say about sin and the human condition. We have paid particular attention to those passages in which the return-to-origins motif is prominent in Paul's discussion. Our attention is now directed to the question of death and the human condition.

Man is Mortal and Lacks Eternal Life (1 Cor. 15:20-23; 15:35-49)

It is the common conviction of Paul and Judaism that death is the consequence and punishment of sin.[71] Hence the question of the origin of death involves also the problem of the origin of sin.[72]

In Romans 5 Paul speaks of sin as the accomplice of death. Since the apostle says that it was Adam who brought sin into the world, one could expect that Paul would ascribe the origin of death also to Adam. This the apostle does not do explicitly in Romans 5. Such a statement is found, however, in an earlier letter--1 Cor. 15: 21-23--where Paul composes the preliminary draft of his second Adam theme.

One of the questions which Paul seeks to answer in the first part of 1 Corinthians 15 is stated in verse 12: "how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead."[73] In 1 Cor.

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[71]Cf. 4 Ezra 3:7; 7:116-126; Sir. 25:24; Apoc. Mos. 28; 2 Bar. 17: 3; Rom. 1:32; 5:12,15; 6:16,23; 7:5,25; 8:6,13; 1 Cor. 15:56. On the relationship between sin and death in the Old Testament, Judaism and Paul, see the work of Kuss, pp. 241-275; and T. Barosse, "Death and Sin in the Epistle to the Romans," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XV (1953), 438-459.

[72]Bultmann, "Thanatos," TDNT, III, 15, note 67.

[73]Just what was the Corinthian heresy to which Paul alludes in v. 12 has been and is being hotly debated. I incline to the view that Paul has in mind those Corinthians who thought that the final

15:20-23 Paul uses the notion of human solidarity in order to lay a foundation for a clearer understanding of the resurrection and the Christian's incorporation with Christ in his resurrection. Paul draws a parallel between Adam as the head and representative of the first creation, and Christ as first-fruits (aparche) and representative of the new creation.[74]

Paul appears to base his thinking in 1 Cor. 15:21-22 on the Jewish idea of Adam as the originator of death. Adam and Christ are both agents, the former the agent of death, the latter of life. But more

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age had already come with Christ's resurrection: eschatological conditions had already been fulfilled. It is not necessary to presuppose a gnostic background for this view.

A selection of the voluminous recent literature on the subject follows: H. Rusche, "Die Leugner der Auferstehung von den Toten in der Korinthischen Gemeinde," Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift, X (1959), 149-151; L. Schottroff, Der Glaubende und die feindliche Welt (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970), pp. 154-158; H.-W. Bartsch, "Die Argumentation des Paulus in 1 Kor. 15:3-11," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, LV (1964), 261-274; W. Dykstra, "1 Corinthians 15:20-28, An Essential Part of Paul's Argument Against Those Who Deny the Resurrection," Calvin Theological Journal, IV (1969), 195-211; C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), pp. 347-349; P. Hoffmann, Die Toten in Christus (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1966), pp. 239-252; G. Barth, "Erwägungen zu 1 Korinther 15, 20-28," Evangelische Theologie, XXX (1970), 515-527; J. H. Wilson, "The Corinthians Who Say There is no Resurrection of the Dead," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, LIX (1968), 90-107; W. Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965), pp. 146-150; Brandenburger, pp. 71-72. Five valuable contributions of a more general nature are: M. E. Dahl, The Resurrection of the Body: A Study of 1 Corinthians 15 (London: SCM Press, 1962); C. F. D. Moule, "St. Paul and Dualism: The Pauline Conception of Resurrection," New Testament Studies, XII (1966), 106-123; F. Mussner, "'Schichten' in der paulinischen Theologie dargetan an 1 Kor. 15," Biblische Zeitschrift, IX (1965), 59-70; K.-A. Bauer, Leiblichkeit: das Ende aller Werke Gottes (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1971), pp. 89-105; P. Trummer, Anastasis: Beitrag zur Auslegung und Auslegungsgeschichte von 1 Kor. 15 in der griechischen Kirche bis Theodoret (Vienna: Verlag Notring, 1970).

[74]On aparchē see Dahl, pp. 106-107; Barrett, Corinthians, p. 351; G. Delling, "Aparchē," TDNT, I, 484-486.

than that: just as all men die in (en) Adam so all will be made alive in (en) Christ.[75] The phrase en tō Christō implies that the believers are incorporated into the person and life of (the) Christ. This same thought is implied in the word aparchē (1 Cor. 15:21,23). Christ is both agent (15:21) and pattern (15:22)[76]

The tense of the verb zoōpoiēthēsontai (1 Cor. 15:22b) indicates that, according to God's eschatological plan, the total redemption in Christ is to take place in ordered stages: hekastos de en tō idiō tagmati (1 Cor. 15:23a). First Christ was raised (15:23b), then all Christians will be raised (15:23c). Then follows the subduing of all hostile powers, and the handing over of the kingdom to the Father (1 Cor. 15:24-28).[77]

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[75]On the "in Adam . . . in Christ" phrase, see J. Jeremias, "Adam," TDNT, I, 141, note 7; Scroggs, p. 84; F. Neugebauer, In Christus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), p. 44; F. Gerritzen, "Le sens et l'origine de L'EN CHRISTOI paulinien," SPCIC, II, 323-332; W. Bartling, "The New Creation in Christ: A Study of the Pauline en Christō formula," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXI (1950), 401-418; Robinson, p. 46; Gibbs, pp. 132-134.

On the problem of the meaning of pantes (1 Cor. 15:22) see H. Schwantes, Schöpfung der Endzeit: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Auferweckung bei Paulus (Stuttgart: Calver Verlag, 1963), pp. 75-84; Danker, XLV, 430, note 1; Whitely, p. 271; H. Conzelmann, Der erste Brief an die Korinther, in Kritischer-Exegetischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (11th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 318-319.

[76]Scroggs, p. 84. In note 24 on page 84, Scroggs comments on Brandenburger's attempt (pp. 68-77) to deny the Jewish origins of 1 Cor. 15:21-23. Cf. also Scroggs, pp. xviii-xxii. Brandenburger is somewhat unclear and inconsistent: cf. pp. 71, 109, 151 and 245.

[77]For exegetical treatments of 1 Cor. 15:24-28 see, besides the works cited in note 73, supra, pp. 80-81, the following: E. Schendel, Herrschaft und Unterwerfung Christi (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971); H.-A. Wilcke, Das Problem eines messianischen Zwischenreiches bei Paulus (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1967), pp. 56-107. For the background in Judaism, see the brief sketch in P. Volz, Die Eschatologie der Judischen Gemeinde im Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Hildesheim: Georg Olm Verlagsbuchhandlung, c.1934), pp. 325-328.

A new section in Paul's argument begins at 1 Cor. 15:35.[78] The problem taken up in verses 35-49 is the pōs of the resurrection. The discussion commences with several references to analogies from nature (1 Cor. 15:36-39) and from astronomy (15:40-41).[79] The particular order in which Paul presents these analogies suggests the influence of Gen. 1:14-26 and Deut. 4:16-19.[80] Paul's argument is not intended to demonstrate the necessity of death, but to show that it is quite in accord with nature to think of man as having a body which is different from the one he has now.

In 1 Cor. 15:42-44, Paul applies the basic observation which he has made in the previous verses, namely, that the body of death stands in contrast to the body of resurrection. In verse 44 Paul comes to his planned climax. He says: "If there is a soma psuchikon there is also a soma pneumatikon."

Verse 45 of 1 Corinthians 15 is intended as scriptural justification for the view that since there is a physical body there must

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[78]On 1 Cor. 15:35-49, see M. Carrez, "'With What Body Do the Dead Rise Again,'" Concilium, LX (1970), 92-102; H. Riesenfeld, "Paul's 'Grain of Wheat' Analogy of 1 Corinthians 15," in The Gospel Tradition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), pp. 171-186; Schottroff, pp. 136-145. Bauer (pp. 92-105) provides an interesting comparison of 1 Cor. 15:35-49 with Syr. Baruch 49-51.

[79]These analogies would come quite naturally to a rabbi. Cf. Davies, pp. 304-306. On the significance of analogies from nature for the relationship between creation and resurrection, see C. Mackay, "The Third Day," Church Quarterly Review, CLXIV (1963), 289-299. For the views of late Judaism on resurrection, see Volz, pp. 229-255.

[80]Cf. Kehl, p. 153. Kehl observes that "die ganze Deuteronomium-Reihe (mit der einen Ausnahme der Kriechtiere) hat Paulus auch 1 Kor. 15, 39-41, wiederum vom Menschen angefangen bis zu den Sternen."

also be a spiritual body.[81] Paul quotes Gen. 2:7b, but this corresponds only to the first half of Paul's statement in 1 Cor. 15:45.[82] The second half of Paul's statement is intended to "prove" the existence of the spiritual body: "The last Adam has become a life-giving spirit." What is Paul's source or authority for this statement?[83] Schneider probably offers the most satisfactory explanation.[84] After noting that Paul explicitly cites Gen. 2:7c at 1 Cor. 15:45a, and that he alludes to Gen. 2:7a at 1 Cor. 15:47a,48a and 49a, Schneider remarks:

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[81]On the Pauline concepts of sōma and pneuma see W. D. Stacey, The Pauline View of Man (London: MacMillan and Co., 1956), pp. 128-145, 181-193. Cf. also Jewett, pp. 167-288.

[82]Ek gēs and choikos (v. 47) are both derived from Gen. 2:7a, and eikōn is borrowed from Gen. 1:26,27, just as 1 Cor. 15:38 recalls Gen. 1:11. Possibly 1 Cor. 15:53 contains an allusion to Gen. 2:17. Cf. B. Schneider, "The Corporate Meaning and Background of 1 Cor. 15, 45b--HO ESCHATOS ADAM EIS PNEUMA ZOOPOIOUN," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIX (1967), 455; Scroggs, p. 86; Larsson, pp. 317-318; Jervell, pp. 263-271.

[83]Davies, p. 43 and Brandenburger, p. 73, note 5, rightly reject C. F. Burney's proposal that 1 Cor. 15:45 is mainly a quotation drawn from a collection of Testimonia. Jeremias (TDNT, I, 142) and Jervell (p. 263) favor the proposal that Paul is using a Qal Wahomer argument. Robin Scorggs (pp. 86-87) and Conzelmann (p. 337, note 33) suggest that Paul is giving the Corinthians a transformed version of a rabbinic discussion about Gen. 2:7 found in Gen. R. XIV, where the issue is the plene spelling of the verb וַיִּיצֶר in Gen. 2:7. Gen. R. XIV,3,5 states that the word וַיִּיצֶר denotes two formations: one is man's nature in this world and the other is his nature in the world to come. Scroggs notes that the context of the rabbinic logion is a discussion of the nature of the resurrection body. "Paul's emphasis upon the order of the bodies, physical then spiritual, would be implicit in the rabbinic argument" (Scroggs, p. 86).

[84]Schneider, XXIX, 156-161.

> One would almost expect that there be some reference or thought in Paul's mind concerning Gn 2,7b, "and he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" . . . possibly in connection with the otherwise central v. 45b.[85]

Schneider believes that a midrash on Gen. 2:7b provides the link between 1 Cor. 15:45b and Gen. 2:7b.[86] The midrash concludes with a reference to Ezek. 37:14: "And I will put my spirit into you and you shall live." Schneider examines the verses preceding 37:14 and notes that Ezek. 37:9b is couched in terms of Gen. 2:7b. Ezek. 37:10-14 emphasizes the corporate nature of the resurrection. Rabbinic commentaries interpreted the Ezekiel passage as a prophecy of the final resurrection in the messianic age; it was used in this sense at Passover.[87]

Schneider concludes that "in view of this traditional Jewish background this text of Ezekiel must have been in Paul's mind when he wrote 1 Cor. 15:45b."[88] The importance of Schneider's conclusion for our study of the return-to-origins motif lies in the fact that Ezekiel 37 consists of a discussion of the new creation in terms of

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[85]Schneider, XXIX, 462. Edvin Larsson (pp. 317-318) proposes that in 1 Cor. 15:47-49 Paul is combining Gen. 2:7 and 3:17-19. Larsson cites Sir. 17:1 as a precedent for combining the accounts of Creation and Fall.

[86]Gen. R. XIV, 8.

[87]Schneider, XXIX, 465.

[88]Ibid., XXIX, 150. Contrary to Schneider, I take "life-giving spirit" to refer to Christ, not to the Holy Spirit. Paul sometimes ascribes "life-giving" to Christ, sometimes to the Father, sometimes to the Holy Spirit: Rom. 4:17; 1 Cor. 15:22,45; Rom. 8:2,10-11; 2 Cor. 3:6. Paul is consistent in denying the claim of rabbinic Judaism that the Torah is the life-giver, Gal. 3:21. Cf. Leivestad, p. 126; I. Hermann, Kyrios and Pneuma: Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1961), pp. 61-63.

the old. Paul alludes to Genesis 2 and Ezekiel 37 in his discussion of the resurrection. For Paul, resurrection was a new creation.[89]

We turn now to 1 Cor. 15:46-49.[90] In these verses Paul shows that man's resurrected body will be identical with that of the eschatological Adam, just as his present body is identical with that of the first Adam. The use of the neuter pneumatikon and psuchikon suggests that "the first Adam" and "the last Adam," "the first man" and "the last man" (1 Cor. 15:45,47) are basically representative and corporate figures.[91] In 1 Cor. 15:44-46 the ideas of 15:22-23 are repeated, and in verses 47-49 there is a repetition of the thought of verses 20-21.[92]

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[89]Cf. N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," in The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), p. 435, note 2; W. Künneth, The Theology of the Resurrection (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 164-173; A. M. Ramsey, The Resurrection of Christ (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1956), pp. 30-35; Schwantes, pp. 56-64; Bauer, pp. 104-105, 145-148.

[90]Many scholars believe that in v. 46 Paul is alluding, if only obliquely, to Philo's interpretation of Genesis 1 and 2. The background for Philo's interpretation is to be found in Platonic philosophy and hellenistic Gnostic mythology of the Urmensch. But Robin Scroggs (p. 87, note 30, and Addendum II) has shown that this supposition is based on a misunderstanding of Philo. Cf. also A. Ehrhardt, The Beginning (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), pp. 196-205; H. Chadwick, "St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XLVIII (1966), 286-307.

[91]Robinson, p. 81; Schneider, XXIX, 456; Larsson, p. 315.

[92]The second man from heaven does not refer to Christ's heavenly origin but to his resurrection, cf. Scroggs, p. 88; Schneider, XXIX, 456, note 20; Leivestad, p. 124; Jervell, p. 259.

A large group of scholars believe that in 1 Cor. 15:21,22,46-49 Paul is referring to Jesus Christ, the Son of Man. Cf. O. Cullmann, pp. 167-170; Colpe, VIII, 471; J. Jeremias, New Testament Theology (London: SCM Press, 1971), I, 264-265. But see the comments of H.-M. Schenke, Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), pp. 120-154; also Scroggs, p. xvi; Gibbs, pp. 53-54; Michel, XXVII, 91.

The section is brought to a close at 1 Cor. 15:49.[93] The risen Christ, the eschatological man, has assumed the office of the creative Spirit of God (Gen. 1:2). He will transform the Christian in his own image[94] by effecting the resurrection of the believer, so that man in his own body will realize the final state of glory.[95] Scroggs rightly warns against any attempt to water down the identity between Christ and the believer which results in the assertion that believers will possess only a reflection of Christ's glory.[96] The risen Christ is already a soma pneumatikon. Christians will be transformed and will become like Christ, who is called the first-fruits. At the eschaton, what is in decay will put on incorruption, what is mortal will put on immortality, and death will be swallowed up in the victory of life (1 Cor. 15:50-57).[97]

We have seen that when Paul depicts man as mortal and so lacking eternal life, the return-to-origins motif is prominent. Genesis 1-3 and the Adam-Christ typology are basic for Paul's discussion of the

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[93]On the relationship between 1 Cor. 15:49 and Genesis 1-3, see Jervell, pp. 257-271, 322-325. Schottroff (pp. 144-145) offers a critique of Jervell's views. Feuillet (Sagesse, pp. 331-333) finds references in 1 Cor. 15:45-46 to Christ as Wisdom. He considers that his conjectures are confirmed by v. 49. Cf. Barrett, Corinthians, p. 378.

[94]Eikōn, cf. Gen. 1:26,27.

[95]Phil. 3:21; Romans 8. Cf. D. M. Stanley, "The Last Adam," The Way, VI (1966), 109.

[96]Scroggs, p. 88.

[97]For an important exegetical treatment of 1 Cor. 15:50-57, especially v. 50, see J. Jeremias, "'Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God,'" New Testament Studies, II (1955), 151-159.

In 1 Cor. 15:56 the combination of sin/law/death occurs, as in Rom. 7:11. 1 Corinthians 15 ends on a note of triumph just as the discussion in Romans 7 concludes with the triumphant affirmation of Rom. 8:1-2.

resurrection.[98] The conjoining of the Adam-Christ typology with the resurrection is especially significant, inasmuch as Paul regarded the resurrection as a new act of creation (Rom. 4:17).[99]

Man Has Distorted the Image of God and Lost the Glory of God (1 Cor. 15:49; 11:7; Rom. 1:23; 3:23)

Jervell overstates the case when he claims that the concept of imago Dei is the "most central one of Pauline theology."[100] It is, however, true that the concept of imago Dei is a very important one for Paul, as it was for Judaism and Gnosticism. The concept of imago Dei occurs in the Pauline literature in harness with another vital concept, "glory."[101] Significantly, the terms "image" and "glory" are used in tandem almost always with reference to Christ or Christians, and rarely with regard to mankind in general.[102]

We have seen that Paul ascribes to sin a fateful role in the history of mankind. Just as there is a close connection between sin and death, so a relationship exists between man's sin and the loss of the glory of God and the defacement of the divine image in

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[98]Jervell, p. 286.

[99]E. Käsemann, Pauline Perspectives (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 90-92; MacKay, CLXIV, 291-293.

[100]Jervell, p. 214.

[101]Rom. 1:23; 8:29,30; 1 Cor. 11:7; 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4; 1 Cor. 15: 42-49.

[102]Christ: 2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15; possibly Phil. 2:6. Christian: Col. 3:10; Eph. 4:24; 2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 15:49. Mankind generally: Rom. 1:23; 3:23 and possibly 1 Cor. 11:7.

man.[103] Did the entrance of sin into the world have as one of its consequences the total loss of the divine image in man?

The question has been much debated. Paul gives no clear answer to it.[104] Two passages in 1 Corinthians have been invoked in support of opposite conclusions. Jervell insists that 1 Cor. 15: 49 implies that man does not have the image of God.[105] In response to Jervell it may be said that the Corinthian passage merely asserts that man is made in the image of Adam. Only if one assumes that Paul

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[103]C. H. Dodd, in fact, states that sin may be defined as "lacking the glory of God," Rom. 3:23 (Dodd, p. 50).

[104]On the concept of the image of God in man in the Old Testament, Judaism and the New Testament, especially Paul, see A. Altmann, "Homo imago Dei in Jewish and Christian Theology," Journal of Religion, XLVIII (1968), 235-259; D. Cairns, The Image of God in Man (London: SCM Press, 1953); Conzelmann, pp. 220-221; R. G. Crawford, "The Image of God," Expository Times, LXXVII (1966), 233-236; F.-W. Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Topelmann, 1958); Jervell, passim; Larsson, passim; G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), I, 446-449; Schenke, pp. 120-143; M. Smith, "The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with Especial Reference to Goodenough's Work on Jewish Symbols," John Rylands Library Bulletin, LX (1958), 473-512; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes," Theologische Zeitschrift, XXI (1965), 245-259; 481-501; F. Horst, "Face to Face: The Biblical Doctrine of the Image of God," Interpretation, IV (1950), 259-270; U. Mauser, "Image of God and Incarnation," Interpretation, XXIV (1970), 336-356; S. V. McCasland, "'The Image of God' According to Paul," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXIX (1950), 85-100; L. Scheffczyk, editor, Der Mensch als Bild (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969); P. Schwanz, Imago Dei als christologisch-anthropologisches Problem in der Geschichte der Alten Kirche von Paulus bis Clemens von Alexandrien (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1970); J. M. Miller, "In the 'Image' and 'Likeness of God,'" Journal of Biblical Literature, XCI (1972), 289-304.

The question of man's possession of the image of God involves also the problem of definition: what is meant by the image of God in man? For various definitions see J.-F. Konrad, Abbild und Ziel der Schöpfung (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1962), pp. 177-207. Konrad discusses in particular the views of Karl Barth. See also Horst, IV, 261-266.

[105]Jervell, pp. 322-325.

believed that Adam had lost the image of God could one grant the further assumption that creation in the image of Adam implies a loss of the divine image in man.

It has often been claimed that in 1 Cor. 11:7 Paul teaches that man retains the image and glory of God.[106] However, there are so many problems involved in the interpretation of this passage and its context that it seems unwise to admit it as evidence. Of the many difficulties involved, we may note only two: (1) on the basis of 1 Cor. 11:3, and for other reasons, it has been argued that 11:7 refers to the Christian, not the non-Christian man;[107] (2) Jervell has demonstrated rather convincingly that the pericope at hand must be regarded as an exception to the usual Pauline view; thus it should not be used to arrive at any conclusions regarding Paul's teaching on the image of God in man.[108] We are obliged, then, to rely on other witnesses in an attempt to arrive at conclusions regarding Paul's views on the image of God in man.

A third passage which must be considered is Rom. 1:23. It reads:

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[106] On 1 Cor. 11:2-12 see G. Lindeskog, Studien zum Neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1952), I, 192-193; Eltester, pp. 153-156; M. Hooker, "Authority on her Head: An Examination of 1 Cor. XI, 10," New Testament Studies, X (1964), 410-416; E. Kähler, Die Frau in der paulinischen Briefen (Zürich: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1960), pp. 45-47; W. J. Martin, "1 Corinthians 11:2-16: An Interpretation," in Apostolic History and the Gospel, edited by W. Gasque and R. Martin (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1970), pp. 231-241.

[107] D. M. Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1961), p. 127.

[108] Jervell, pp. 292-312. Cf. Schwantes, pp. 12-13; Scroggs, p. 70, note 30; Schwanz, p. 19.

> [Men] exchanged the glory of immortal God for an image shaped like mortal man, even for images like birds, beasts and creeping things.[109]

This verse is part of a larger segment, Rom. 1:22-26, which is dominated by the opening words of verse 23: kai ēllaxan tēn doxan tou aphthartou theou.[110] "Glory" (doxa, כָּבוֹד) is a term used in the Hebrew to stress the fact and apprehension of God's redemptive presence. The LXX, however, moved away from the idea of the knowledge of the presence of God to that of the saving power of his presence.[111]

Doxa can be also an attribute of man; it is part of his being made in the image of God (Ps. 8:6).[112] In the Old Testament and in later Jewish speculation, "glory" was associated especially with the figure of the Messiah.[113] In both the Old Testament and later

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[109]See the earlier remarks on this verse, supra, pp. 61-66.

[110]The construction allassein en is a semitism. Cf. F. Blass and A. DeBrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament, translated and revised by R. W. Funk (9-10th edition; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), par. 179 (2).

[111]L. Brockington, "The Septuagintal Background to the New Testament Use of Doxa," in Studies in the Gospels, edited by D. E. Nineham (Oxford: University Press, 1955), pp. 1-8; Cf. G. B. Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel: An Exercise in Biblical Semantics," New Testament Studies, XV (1969), 265-277; H. Kittel, Die Herrlichkeit Gottes (Giessen: A. Topelmann, 1934); A. M. Ramsay, The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949); H. Schlier, "Doxa bei Paulus als heilsgeschichtlichen Begriff," SPCIC, I, 45-56; J. Schneider, Doxa: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932); Richardson, pp. 64-65; Kuss, pp. 608-618; W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament (London: SCM Press, 1967), II, 29-35; L. Brockington, "The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in DOXA," Vetus Testamentum, I (1951), 21-32.

[112]J. Schneider, pp. 57-58.

[113]See the examples given by G. Kittel, "Doxa," TDNT, II, 246-247.

Judaism there was speculation about the glory which Adam originally had.[114] Later Judaism thought quite concretely of Adam's glory, regarding it as an integral part of man having been made in the image of God.[115] Through the fall, Adam lost this glory. It was said to be one of six things which Adam lost because of sin.[116] The loss of the glory of God resulted in a drastic reduction of Adam's divine image. It is doubtful whether late Judaism thought that man had lost every vestige of the imago Dei. Despite the claims of Jervell, there appears to be no clear statement in later Judaism to the effect that the image Dei was completely effaced.[117]

In the literature of the Old Testament, Judaism and the New Testament, "image" and "glory" are not synonymous;[118] but they do complement each other. Whitely sums up well when he writes:

> It [glory] is thus very closely linked with image; we must not, of course, fall into the error of supposing that

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[114]Cf. Jervell, pp. 99-103; Scroggs, pp. 21-29; 35-36; 48-52. Scroggs also refers to material from Qumran.

[115]Gen. R. XII, 6; XVI, 1; b. Sanh. 38b; Apoc. Mos. 20-21.

[116]Cf. Gen. R. XII, 6: "the six corresponds to the six things which were taken away from Adam, viz., his lustre, his immortality, his height, the fruit of the earth, the fruit of the trees, and the luminaries." In Apoc. Mos. XXI,6 Adam says to Eve: "O wicked woman! What have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?"

[117]Jervell, pp. 113-114. Jervell's examples are valid only if one grants his presupposition that loss of stature or glory or immortality is to be equated with loss of the divine image. In opposition to Jervell, cf. Larsson, p. 187 and Smith, LX, 477-481. The question as to whether or not Adam retained the divine image seems not to have interested the rabbis. They give different, and often conflicting, answers to the question.

[118]Jervell, p. 114 and passim, claims that eikōn and doxa are synonymous terms. Jervell is opposed by Larsson and Eltester.

> Greek words can be regarded as interchangeable merely because the writers of the LXX used them to translate the same or similar words in the MT. Such words as "glory" and "image" are not identical in meaning; but still less are they mutually exclusive: their semantic fields overlap, so that they reinforce and enrich each other.[119]

After this brief excursus, we return to Rom. 1:23 and note that Paul says that the doxa of the immortal God was exchanged for the homoiōmati eikonos phthartou anthrōpou kai peteinōn kai tetrapodōn kai herpetōn. What is the meaning of doxa here? We have seen that the language of Rom. 1:23 is drawn from Ps. 105:20 (LXX).[120] The context in both Romans and the Psalm indicates that doxa is related to worship.[121] Men, when they worship, put animals in the place of God; they worship the creature rather than the Creator (Rom. 1:25). The worship of animals is a sign that man has given up at least one aspect of his creation in the image of God, namely, the dominion which man was supposed to exercise over the creatures (Gen. 1:26-28). When man kneels before the very creatures over which he is supposed to rule, the divine likeness in him is in some way reduced.[122]

There is another possible meaning of doxa in Rom. 1:23. Perhaps, as Jervell suggests, the word refers not only to the glory which God possesses in himself, but also to the divine glory which

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[119]Whitely, pp. 101-102.

[120]Supra, pp. 61-66.

[121]"Glory" and "worship" often appear in the same context, and may sometimes be regarded as synonyms. Cf., e.g., Acts 12:23; Rev. 11:13; 14:7; Rom. 4:20; Luke 2:13,20.

[122]Larsson, p. 183; Cf. Hooker, VI, 305.

Adam originally possessed and then lost.[123] Possibly Paul was aware of the dual significance of the phrase doxa tou theou, and used it to bring out a double contrast. Man not only exchanged the worship of the true God for the worship of idols, but he also exchanged the glory of God, which man himself was given, for an image of mortality and corruption. It does not necessarily follow from this that Paul thought man had lost the image of God. Man indeed lost the glory of God and the lordship over creation associated with that glory and with the divine image.[124] Hooker says:

> He lost them when he forgot that he himself was eikōn theou, and sought to find that eikōn elsewhere. In so doing, he took on the image of corruption and became subject to death, thus obscuring the fact that he was originally created in the image of the incorruptible God.[125]

It seems then, that according to Rom. 1:23, the glory of God which is an aspect of man having been created in the image of God, has been lost through sin. That this is the intended meaning of Rom. 1:23 is supported by the words of the verse which summarizes the whole argument of Rom. 1:18-3:20, namely Rom. 3:23: pantes gar hēmarton kai husterountai tēs doxēs tou theou. The usual English translation of husterountai, "they fall short of," does not evince the full flavor of the Greek verb. In Rom. 3:23, husterountai refers to the loss of

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[123]Jervell, pp. 321-327. Jervell argues that Paul never uses anthrōpos for "Abgötter." He finds that doxa and eikōn are here synonyms, and that Paul is saying that Adam (man) lost the image of God. The mention of animals in Rom. 1:23 alludes to the rabbinic idea that by his sin Adam became like the animals. Scroggs, p. 75, note 3, and Larsson, p. 183, note 1, disagree with Jervell.

[124]Cf. Ps. 8:5-8; Col. 1:15-17.

[125]Hooker, VI, 305.

a gift which man once possessed.[126] Barrett relates Rom. 3:23 to the sin of Adam. Just as Adam by his sin lost the glory of God and so lacked the righteousness of God, so all men, in solidarity with Adam, share in this lack of righteousness and glory.[127] When a man is justified by faith (Rom. 3:21-24), a foundation is laid for a restoration of his former doxa. This glory is an anticipated one (Rom. 8:30). Only at the resurrection and the parousia will a Christian receive the full and complete glory which is his by virtue of his solidarity with the second Adam, Jesus Christ. Accordingly, for Paul, "glory" is chiefly an eschatological term.[128]

Man and Creation are the Subjects of Hostile Powers (Rom. 8:19-22,38-39; Col. 2:14)

The first chapter of Genesis tells how God established order in his creation. He gave dominion to the sun and the moon (Gen. 1:16), and to man, who is made in the image of God (Gen. 1:26-28).[129]

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[126]Barrett (Romans, p. 74), translates: "All have sinned, all lack the glory of God." Cf. Scroggs, p. 73, note 42.

[127]Barrett, Romans, p. 64; Scroggs, p. 73, note 42. We cannot follow H. Kittel (pp. 192-193) and Jervell (pp. 182, 328-332) in identifying dikaiosunē and doxa. Both terms certainly appear together in a number of instances, but they are hardly synonymous: doxa is a much wider term than dikaiosunē. D. Luhrmann, in his book Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), pp. 141-153, proposes that the terms doxa and dikaiosunē were used by the opponents of Paul.

[128]Cf. Schlier, I, 55-56; R. Kittel, II, 250. For the view of Judaism on doxa and the age to come, see Volz, p. 397.

[129]Cf. C. Westermann, The Genesis Account of Creation (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, c.1964), p. 19; W. H. Schmidt, Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), pp. 136-149; H. W. Wolff, Wegweisung: Gottes Wirkung im Alten Testament (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1965), pp. 95-113.

The psalmist confesses that man is God's vicegerent within creation: God has put all creatures under man's feet.[130] The writer of Genesis 2-3 tells of Adam asserting and exerting his sovereignty over the creatures by naming them.[131] Ben Sirach describes man's lordship over creation in the following words:

> The Lord fashioned man from the earth,
> to consign him back to it.
> He gave them so many days' determined time,
> he gave them authority over everything on earth.
> He clothed them with strength like his own,
> and made them in his own image.
> He filled all living things with dread of man,
> making him master over beasts and birds.[132]

When man rebelled against his Maker, he lost the glory of God. He lost also his position of lordship over creation (Gen. 3:17-19).[133] Man was supposed to rule over the "birds and beasts and creeping things" (Gen. 1:28); instead they became the objects of man's worship (Rom. 1:23,25). In apocalyptic literature, the beasts, no longer in subjection to man, became the beast-like figures representing powers which are hostile to man.[134]

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[130]Ps. 8:6-8. Man is clothed with doxa and timē. On the relationship between Psalm 8 and Genesis 1, see Schmidt, p. 140.

[131]Cf. Westermann, p. 29; G. von Rad, Genesis: A Commentary (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), p. 29; D. T. Asselin, "The Notion of Dominion in Genesis 1-3," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVI (1954), 289.

[132]Sir. 17:1-4, J. B. Note the association here between creation in the image of God and rulership over creation. Cf. 2 Enoch 58:1. See Jervell, pp. 24-26.

[133]In Jewish thought, the doxa given to Adam was closely linked with his creation in the image of God and with his rule over creation. Cf. Ps. 8:4-8; Sir. 17:3-4; Gen. R. VII,10; XII,6; 2 Enoch 31:3; Apoc. Mos. 10-12; 21:6. Cf. also Jervell, pp. 37-40; C. F. D. Moule, Man and Nature in the New Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 1-4.

[134]Barrett, First Adam, p. 10.

Adam forfeited his authority and vacated his viceregal throne. In so doing he set the universe at odds with itself. Adam's fall resulted in the subjection of all of ktisis to a number of alien powers, especially to sin and death.[135] Closely allied to these two foreign powers is nomos, law.[136]

One result of Adam's rebellion is that man cannot but sin (Rom. 3:9; 7:14-23). He is faced, therefore, with the inevitability of death (Rom. 5:13-21; 8:10; 1 Cor. 15:22). The power of sin is underscored by the fact that it manipulates the law for its own evil purposes. Sin has taken the law into its service. According to Rom. 5:20, "law was introduced to increase wrongdoing." Sin uses law to awaken all sorts of desires in man (Rom. 7:8). Sin deceives and kills a man through the law (Rom. 7:11).

So Paul can say that the kentron of death is sin, and the dunamis of sin is the law (1 Cor. 15:56). Sin is the ubiquitous power which tyrannizes over both Jew and Gentile (Rom. 3:9-18; Gal. 3:22). Every attempt to make law an instrument for liberating man

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[135]It is not unusual for Paul to speak of sin and death as personal powers. Cf. M. Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909), pp. 115-121; Robinson, pp. 34-37; Cambier, XI, 231-244; Leivestad, pp. 115-123. Paul asserts that sin manifests itself both as a power and in actual sins. Cf. van Dülmen, pp. 158-167; Brandenburger, pp. 166-187.

[136]Cf. van Dülmen, pp. 179-184; A. J. Bandstra, The Law and the Elements of the World (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1964), pp. 125-130; Bultmann, Theology, I, 264-267; A. M. Hunter, The Gospel According to Paul (London: SCM Press, 1966), pp. 16-17. On the relationship between sin and law see G. Berkouwer, Sin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970), pp. 149-156. See also the discussion in Robinson, pp. 34-37.

from the tyranny of sin is doomed to failures,[137] for sin has distorted the law and its proper use.[138]

Man is in bondage to the powers of law, sin and death.[139] Man's triple enslavement is summed up in Rom. 7:11:

> For sin, finding a base of operations in the commandment, deceived me and by it killed me.

This verse, it should be noted, concludes a section (Rom. 7:7-11) containing the return-to-origins motif which characterizes so much of Paul's thinking on man's subjection to the powers of the world.[140]

Man is subject to a number of other cosmic powers besides sin, death and law. These powers are designated variously as archai, exousiai, stoicheia tou kosmou, kuriotētes, thronoi, and sometimes even aggelloi.[141] These powers, which are structurally "neutral," are changed by the interaction of law and sin into a source of the evil and sinful character of the world.[142] The powers exercise a

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[137]Rom. 3:20; 4:15; 7:7-23; 10:1-5; Gal. 2:16; 3:11.

[138]In this Paul breaks with Judaism, which viewed the Torah as the means by which man opposes sin and its power, especially the evil yezer. Cf. Sir. 15:4-8; Sap. 6:16-20.

[139]Paul employs the same language with respect to all three of these powers. Cf. Robinson, p. 37.

[140]Supra, pp. 17-22.

[141]On the subject of cosmic powers, see Bandstra, pp. 5-74; H. Berkhof, Christ and the Powers (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1962); G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers (Oxford: University Press, 1956); Dibelius, pp. 35-78; G. H. C. MacGregor, "Principalities and Powers: The Cosmic Background of Paul's Thought," New Testament Studies, I (1954), 17-28; Volz, pp. 83-88.

[142]Gibbs, pp. 46, 145-147; Berkhof, pp. 21-23; Bandstra, pp. 171-175; J. Y. Lee, "Interpreting the Demonic Powers in Pauline Thought," Novum Testamentum, XII (1970), 54-69.

baleful sovereignty over man. They did not always have this lordship; it was introduced into the world when Adam sinned.

The rulership of the powers extends, as we have said, not only to sinful man, but also to the cosmos. Adam's sin had cosmic repercussions. When man failed to fill the role assigned to him by God, the entire universe became frustrated and dislocated (Gen. 3:14-19, 29). There is a solidarity between man and creation which was recognized by the Old Testament, by Judaism and by Paul.[143] Such solidarity implies, as Kasemann points out, that anthropology must eo ipso be cosmology.[144]

The solidarity between man and creation is presupposed by Paul in Rom. 8:19-22.[145] The ktisis mentioned in each verse of this pericope refers to the cosmic totality, including the irrational and inanimate creatures.[146] In Rom. 8:20 Paul alludes to Gen. 3:17, which speaks of the entire creation. Gibbs, however, observes that

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[143]Cf. Is. 24:5; 33:9; 1 Enoch 2-5; 4 Ezra 7:11-12; 9:20; Sir. 3:19; Jub. 3:28; Apoc. Mos. 11:24; Apoc. Paul 3-6. Cf. also O. Cullmann, Christ and Time (revised edition; London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 101-102; Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp. 65-66; E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology (London: SCM Press, 1955), pp. 72-73.

[144]Käsemann, p. 23.

[145]J. Gibbs, "Pauline Cosmic Christology and Ecological Crisis," Journal of Biblical Literature, XC (1971), 476. Gibbs draws attention to the fact that the emphasis of the "cosmic liturgy" of Romans 8 is not dualism, but the theme of solidarity between creation and man--a theme familiar to Jewish apocalyptic and prophecy. Cf. Käsemann, p. 24.

[146]Cf. Bauer, pp. 171-172; B. R. Brinkman, "'Creation' and 'Creature,'" Bijdragen, XVIII (1957), 359-374; J. G. Gager, "Functional Diversity in Paul's Use of End-Time Language," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXIX (1970), 328-329; H. Hommel, Schöpfer und Erhalter (Berlin: Lettner Verlag, 1956), pp. 10-22; Gibbs, Creation, pp. 40-41; Schwantes, pp. 43-51; Lyonnet, Les Étapes, pp. 198-200; J. Petrausch, "An Analysis of Romans viii,19-22," Irish Ecclesiastical Record, CV (1966), 316-317.

> according to Paul, as according to the prophets and many apocalyptic writers, one cannot speak rightly of creation without speaking of man, nor rightly speak of man without speaking of the world in which he lives.[147]

Man, as we have seen, is subject to a variety of hostile powers. The whole cosmos chares in man's subjection. According to Rom. 8: 20,21, creation was subjected to vanity (mataiotēs);[148] eventually it is to be freed apo tēs douleias tēs phthoras.[149] Mataiotēs, which is here synonymous with douleia tēs phthoras, may well include false gods or evil spiritual beings.[150] The cosmic chaos of rebellion, brought to light by man's disobedience, is under the rule of hostile powers. The whole universe stands in dire need of deliverance and redemption.[151]

Paul refers to some of the hostile powers in Rom. 8:38-39.[152] The powers are realities against which the Christian must defend himself (Eph. 6:12). They lord it over the world, and seek to dominate men. But these powers are also the objects of Christ's

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[147]Gibbs, Creation, pp. 40-41.

[148]Cf. emataiōthēsan, Rom. 1:21. I take the agent here to be God, not Adam. Cf. 4 Ezra 28:6; Gen. R. XXVIII,6; cf. also E. Hill, "The Construction of Three Passages from St. Paul," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII (1961), 297.

[149]Hommel draws attention to the number of similarities in the terminology of Romans 1 and Romans 8. Hommel also draws attention to the number of terms in Rom. 8:20-23, which were common terms in Roman slave law, e.g., mataiotēs, douleia, apolutrōsis, aparchē.

[150]Cf. Ps. 31:6 (LXX); Jer. 2:5. Cf. also Barrett, First Adam, p. 9; Gibbs, Creation, p. 43; W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (Cambridge: University Press, 1939), pp. 107-108.

[151]Martin H. Scharlemann, "The Scope of the Redemptive Task," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVI (1965), 296.

[152]The powers here named may possibly refer to astronomical forces. Cf. Knox, pp. 106-107; Whitely, pp. 23-25.

ministry of reconciliation (Col. 1:19-20). Eschatologically they are already subject to the second Adam, Jesus Christ.[153]

The cosmic powers are referred to on several occasions in the main portion of the letter to the Colossians, that is, Col. 1:9-4:1. This section has the return-to-origins theme running through it.[154] In Col. 1:16 Paul says that thrones, dominions, principalities and powers have been created by God "in, through and for (en, dia, eis) Christ." They have a definite part in God's plan of creation. Col. 1: 20 says that the powers are reconciled to God through Christ, and Col. 2:15 states that Christ has triumphed over them. Barrett comments as follows:

> It is clearly implied, though not specifically stated, that these beings rebelled against their Maker and his Agent; the good creation had gone wrong, and an element in its perversion which needed to be put right, was the revolt of spiritual powers and angels.[155]

Col. 2:14 is of some interest to us in view of Megas' proposal that the cheirographon mentioned in that verse refers to a covenant or treaty which Adam made with the devil.[156] In some versions of

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[153]Lee, XII, 66; Berkhof, pp. 33-35; Richardson, p. 213.

[154]Infra, pp. 131-141, 150-151, 189-190.

[155]Barrett, First Adam, p. 11; cf. Scharlemann, XXVI, 296.

[156]G. Megas, "Das Cheirographon Adams: Ein Beitrag zu Kol. 2: 13-15," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXVII (1928), 305-320. Megas is followed by E. Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon in Meyer Kommentar (13th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 115-118. Lohmeyer quotes a definition by Chrysostum: cheirographon gar estin hotan tis ophlēmatōn hupeuthonos katechētai (p. 116, note 3). For recent discussion on the subject, see Leivestad, pp. 100-104; Larsson, pp. 85-87; Bandstra, pp. 158-168; O. A. Blanchette, "Does the Cheirographon of Col 2,14 Represent Christ Himself?," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIII (1961), 306-312; E. Lohse, Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon in Meyer Kommentar (14th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1968), pp. 162-163. Lohse rejects the view of Megas and Lohmeyer. Cf. also K. Wengst, Christologische

the story which Megas has examined, the agreement was written on Adam's forehead with blood drawn from Adam's palm. A reference to the legend is found in an interpolated passage in the Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae, xxxiv, 1-2, which reads as follows:

> The devil said, "I do not suffer thee to till the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine." Adam replied, "Whosoever is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children." Then the devil was overcome with joy.

Since Megas is unable to give any pre-Pauline or contemporary examples of the legend, one is inclined to agree with Leivestad's judgment that "the line of argument is fascinating, but the basis is weak." One point in Megas' favor is that Eph. 2:15b, which is similar to Col. 2:15, alludes to the creation account in Genesis. Paul, it appears, believed that a new Genesis had taken place in Jesus Christ. He is the second Adam, by whom the new creation is called into being and the divisions created by the sin of mankind are abolished.[157] For Paul, Christ's work of reconciliation and his bringing of order into the cosmic chaos caused by sin, is like an act of new creation.[158]

Another link which Eph. 2:15 has with the creation idea is found in the use of the word eirēnē. Peace belongs to the original condition of creation. It was through sin that the world experienced

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Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1972), pp. 189-192; H. Weiss, "The Law in the Epistle to the Colossians," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXXIV (1972), 301-314.

[157]Cf. Gen. R. XXXIX,14: "That is to teach you that he who brings a Gentile near to God is as though he created him." Cf. also Richardson, p. 243; Lindeskog, p. 235.

[158]H. Rendtorff, Das Neue Testament Deutsch (8th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959), VIII, 67.

something other than peace. Now that sin has been dealt with, and order has been restored in creation, it is possible to speak once more of peace. Peace implies order, the healing of all relationships. Jesus Christ has put all things in their proper place: the powers hostile to the Christian no longer rule him; man has been set right with God; the dynamic has been provided for the establishment of peace between man and man (Eph. 2:13-18).[159]

Summary

In this chapter we have attempted to fit into a coherent whole Paul's view of man as he stands in need of a Messiah. We have seen that the Pauline portrait of sinful man needs piecing together, for Paul's interest lies in man in the new aeon much more than it does in man of the old age. We noted that for Paul there is a close relationship between Christology and anthropology, as well as between anthropology and cosmology.[160]

Most of the material in this chapter was drawn from Romans and 1 Corinthians. These letters have many things in common, including the fact that both were written with somewhat apologetic ends in view.[161] We saw that there are similarities in terminology and thought patterns between the following passages:

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[159]Lindeskog, p. 240; W. Foerster, "eirēnē," TDNT, II, 415.

[160]In the next chapter of the present study we will observe that Paul closely associates cosmology and Christology.

[161]Regarding Romans, see the interesting suggestion made by Jacob Jervell in his article, "Der Brief nach Jerusalem," Studia Theologica, XXV (1971), 61-73. Jervell suggests that Paul wrote his letter to Rome to gain the support of the Christians in that city in his battle with the Jerusalem factions.

Rom. 1:18-32, Rom. 5:12-21 and Rom. 7:7-11;

Rom. 1:18-32 and Rom. 8:18-22;

Rom. 1:18-32 and Eph. 4:17-24 (Col. 3:5-11);

Rom. 5:12-21, Rom. 8:18-22 and 1 Cor. 15:20-22,35-49.

The portrait which has been unveiled in this chapter is of a man who, in solidarity with his Stammvater Adam, is a sinner and under the power of sin. He lies helpless beneath the dominion of death. He lacks eternal life and has lost the glory of God. He is under the law. This law existed to reveal the full extent of the fall. The fall made man something other than the full image and possession of God.[162] Man, in fact, has all but lost the imago Dei. He is no longer viceregent in God's world; instead he himself is in subjection to a number of hostile powers. The cosmos shares in man's subjection to these powers, for when man, the erstwhile lord of creation sinned, his subjects were drawn into the drama occasioned by his sin.

Paul's description of man and the condition in which he finds himself is presented in the language and thought forms of the narratives of the creation and fall of man and of Israel as a nation. That is to say, Paul utilizes the return-to-origins motif to describe and account for the human situation in the old age.

Our examination of the return-to-origins motif in Pauline theology is not exhausted with a study of its use in Paul's description of man in need of a Messiah. Consideration must be given

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[162]R. Bring, "Paul and the Old Testament," Studia Theologica, XXV (1971), 25.

also to the use which Paul makes of the motif in his account of the person and work of the Messiah, as well as of the community which was brought into being by the Messiah.

The two chapters to follow deal with these matters.

CHAPTER V

THE RETURN-TO-ORIGINS MOTIF IN PAULINE THEOLOGY: THE PERSON AND WORK OF THE MESSIAH

The focus of the discussion in the present chapter is the person and work of Jesus the Messiah. Our purpose is to examine to what extent the return-to-origins motif informs much of what is usually called Pauline Christology and Soteriology. It will become evident that Christ as Creator, Redeemer and Lord is described, worshipped and blessed in the language and thought-patterns of the accounts of Creation and Exodus.

We shall analyze three basic elements in Paul's doctrine of the Messiah. First, we shall examine several passages which refer to Christ as the second Adam. Secondly, we shall review a number of passages which refer to Christ as the image and glory of God. Finally, a survey will be made of some of the pericopes which describe Christ as both the creating and the redeeming lord of all.

The Messiah as the Second or Last Adam (Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 15:22-45; Phil. 2:6-8)

A glance at a concordance under the entry "Adam" indicates that the name of the first man occurs only three times in the Pauline writings.[1] This statistic is misleading. From it one could obtain a wholly inadequate notion of the vital importance of Adam

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[1]Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 15:22,45.

for Pauline thought. The fact is that the conception of Christ as the second Adam plays a far more important part in Paul's thought than the scanty references to Adam would lead us to suppose.[2] Some scholars go so far as to say that the idea of Christ as the second Adam is the key to a proper understanding of Paul's thought.[3]

Paul was by no means the first writer to make use of the Adam concept in theology. The idea had received considerable attention from both apocalyptic and rabbinic writers.[4] These materials, however, did not link Adam with the Messiah.[5] Yet this is precisely what Paul did. In each of the three passages in which the name of Adam occurs in the Pauline literature, there is an explicit reference to Jesus as Messiah.

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[2]Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (New York: Harper and Row, 1955), p. 53.

[3]E.g., J. B. Cortés and F. M. Gatti, "The Son of Man or The Son of Adam," Biblica, XLIX (1968), 471: "The Adam/Christ typology and polarity is one of the basic elements of Pauline theology." Cf. also M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Man," Scottish Journal of Theology, VII (1954), 173; R. C. Oudersluys, "Paul's Use of the Adam Typology," Reformed Review, XIII (1960), 1; A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926), pp. 127-136.

It should be noted that nowhere does Paul or anyone else in the New Testament attribute the title "Second Adam" to Christ. The actual expressions which Paul uses are "the last Adam" (1 Cor. 15: 45), and "the second Man from Heaven" (1 Cor. 15:47).

[4]Robin Scroggs, The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 16-58; Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei: Gen 1:26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und im den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), passim; Davies, pp. 45-49; G. F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930), I, 158-161.

[5]Cf. Scroggs, pp. 56-58; Jervell, p. 119. Jervell writes: "Der Messias ist niemals als Gottes Bild vorgestellet . . . Er ist nicht der zweite Adam" (p. 119).

What is the salient point of the Adam/Christ typology? Is Oudersluys correct when he observes that the one thing which Adam and Christ have in common is that they are both equally "one" and "many"?[6] Or is the chief point of the Adam/Christ typology the fact that both Adam and Christ were responsible for analogous acts; that is, in similar circumstances, the one made the wrong choice, the other made the right one?[7]

For an answer to these questions, and for a brief review of Paul's Adamic Christology, we turn to three strategic passages: Rom. 5:12-21; 1 Cor. 15:22,45-49; Phil. 2:6-8. The first two passages were treated at some length in the previous chapter of the present study.[8] The last passage (Phil. 2:6-8) will be discussed presently in some detail.

Paul first introduces the Adam/Christ typology in connection with a discourse on the resurrection (1 Corinthians 15). He begins his exposition by establishing the historical character of the resurrection of Christ (1 Cor. 15:1-11). Then, using the figure of the first fruits, Paul shows that Christ's resurrection is the first step in the glorious resurrection of God's people (1 Cor. 15:15-58). The Adamic parallel is used to show how the resurrection of the one is the resurrection of the many:

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[6]Oudersluys, XIII, 2.

[7]C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), pp. 69-70.

[8]Supra, pp. 68-75 and 80-88. For a summary of the significance of the Adam/Christ typology in Romans 5 and 1 Corinthians 15, see E. Best, One Body in Christ (London: SPCK, 1955), pp. 34-43.

> For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. . . . As was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust; and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are born of heaven (1 Cor. 15:22,48).

Death entered through the first man who is the man of dust, whereas life reigns through the second Man who came from heaven and became a pneuma zoōpoioun, conferring his life upon those who are his. It is just at this point that Jesus, the second Adam differs from his predecessor, Adam. The Messiah is what Adam was not, that is, he is life-giving (1 Cor. 15:45).[9]

The theme of "life," together with the Adam/Christ typology, links 1 Corinthians 15 with Romans 5. In the Romans passage (5: 12-21), Paul employs an expository technique similar to that used in 1 Corinthians 15. First, Paul establishes the historical-redemptive character of the Gospel (Rom. 1:1-17). Then he shows how the dikaiōma (5:16) or dikaiōsis (4:25) of God was actualized in Christ (3:21-22) by means of his blood (5:9). Next Paul shows how God's saving verdict in Christ was a verdict for God's people (5: 1-11). The demonstration of this fact is again by way of the Adam parallel; the involvement of all men in the justifying deed of the one:

> Therefore as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned . . . . Then as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all men, so one man's act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's disobedience many will be made righteous (Rom. 5:12,18-19).

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[9]For a discussion of the phrase zoōpoioun pneuma, and the possible Old Testament background to the phrase, see supra, pp. 84-86.

The close relationship between Rom. 5:12-21 and 1 Cor. 15:21-22, 46-49 is accentuated not merely by the use of the Adam/Christ typology, but especially by the point of contrast made in both passages. We have seen that in 1 Corinthians 15 the contrast is between Christ, the "life-giving Spirit," and Adam, the one who became the source of death. In the Romans passage, the contrast is not primarily between sin and righteousness, nor between disobedience and obedience, but between life and death.[10] Paul refers to Adam's sin in order to speak about death. But his chief aim is to show that "what lies ahead for the believer is the restoration of life, the life which had been God's intent for Adam."[11] Thus the fifth chapter of Romans ends with the joyful affirmation that God's gift is eternal <u>life</u> through Jesus Christ (Rom. 5:21).

The foregoing review of 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5 has shown that Paul contrasts Adam and Christ both with regard to their actions and the consequences of their actions. However, Christ and Adam are alike inasmuch as both are agents: through them has come death, on the one hand, and life, on the other. Furthermore, both Adam and Christ are founders of a race of men. Each is the <u>Stammvater</u> of his particular humanity. Adam is the progenitor of that humanity whose end is death, while Christ is the head of the eschatological community, which is appointed to life.

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[10]Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, <u>Theology of the New Testament</u> (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 252; Scroggs, pp. 81-82; F. W. Danker, "Romans V.12: Sin under Law," <u>New Testament Studies</u>, XIV (1967-1968), 436-439.

[11]Scroggs, p. 82.

We turn now to a passage in which the name of Adam is not mentioned, but in which the Adam/Christ polarity is implied. The passage is Phil. 2:6-8.[12] It is the opinion of Martin, who has published the most recent major study of Phil. 2:6-11, that the concept of Christ the second Adam is "one of the ruling ideas in the interpretation of the passage."[13]

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[12]A comprehensive bibliography on Phil. 2:6-11, up to 1966, is given by R. P. Martin, Carmen Christi: Philippians II,5-11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), pp. 320-339. Martin's bibliography is updated to 1970 by J. G. Gibbs, Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 161-182. To Gibb's bibliography the following entries may be added: A. J. Bandstra, "'Adam' and 'The Servant' in Philippians 2:5ff.," Calvin Theological Journal, I (1966), 213-216; U. Browarzik, "Die dogmatische Frage nach der Göttlichkeit Jesu," Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie, XIII (1971), 164-175; J. Carmignac, "L'Importance de la place d'une négation (Philippiens II.6)," New Testament Studies, XVIII (1972), 131-166; K. Gamber, "Der Christus-Hymnus im Philipperbrief in liturgiegeschichtlicher Sicht," Biblica, L (1970), 369-376; R. W. Hoover, "The Harpagmos Enigma: A Philological Solution," Harvard Theological Review, LXIV (1971), 95-119; C.-H. Hunzinger, "Zur Struktur der Christus-Hymnen in Phil 2 und 1 Petr. 3," in Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde, edited by E. Lohse, et al (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 157-178; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflexions on Philippians 2:5-11," in Apostolic History and the Gospel, edited by W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 264-276; J. T. Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), pp. 58-74.

[13]Martin, p. 58. Cf. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (revised edition; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, c. 1961), p. 181: "All the statements of Phil. 2:6ff are to be understood from the standpoint of the Old Testament history of Adam." Not everyone agrees with the judgment of Martin and Cullmann. Scroggs, for example writes: "To say more than that an Adamic allusion may be found in Philippians 2 is unwarranted" (p. 90). Cf. the comment of Jervell: "Mit den sonstigen Adam--Christus--Gegenüberstellungen hat Phil 2,6 herzlich wenig zu tun . . ." (p. 28). Jervell's judgment is probably too severe; but the caution sounded by Scroggs is worth noting.

The limited scope of the present study precludes an analysis in depth of the literary form of Phil. 2:6-11. Nor is it possible to give detailed consideration to the many suggestions which have been offered concerning the historical-religious background of the passage. Nevertheless, a few things must be said on these two points.

With regard to the form of the passage, the linguistic, stylistic and contextual evidences combine to suggest that Phil. 2:6-11 is a separate literary piece.[14] In all likelihood it is an hymn. It was probably not written ad hoc by Paul. Rather, it contains a pre-Pauline Christology which Paul affirms and elaborates.[15]

Of the many suggested strophic arrangements of the hymn, two have met with wide acceptance.[16] Lohmeyer[17] arranged the passage into two strophes of three stanzas each, each stanza containing

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[14]Cf. R. Deichgräber, Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967), 118-133.

[15]Cf. G. Bornkamm, "On Understanding the Christ-Hymn, Philippians 2:6-11," in Early Christian Experience (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 112-113; R. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (London: Collins Fontana Library, c.1965), p. 204; O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), p. 22; J. Gnilka, Der Philipperbrief (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1968), pp. 131-147; Gibbs, p. 73; Martin, pp. 42-45; F. W. Beare, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (London: Adam and Charles Black, c.1959), p. 78. Davies, p. 42 opts for Pauline authorship. So also does J. M. Furness, "The Authorship of Philippians II,6-11," Expository Times, LXX (1958-1959), 240-243.

[16]A survey of the various suggestions is carried out by Martin, pp. 24-41. Cf. also Deichgräber, pp. 120-124.

[17]E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2,5-11 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), pp. 5-6. This edition is a reprint of the 1928 edition. Lohmeyer argued that the hymn was of semitic origin. The Aramaic Urschrift was lost, but it could be reconstructed from the Greek. Cf. Martin, pp. 40-41.

three lines having three stresses each. He regarded as a later addition the words of Phil. 2:8b: "the death of the cross."

Jeremias[18] proposed that the passage is structured along the lines of the semitic parallelismus membrorum. By omitting some words in verses 8, 10 and 11, Jeremias arrived at a division of the hymn into three stanzas, each one depicting a stage in the existence of the redeemer.

With regard to the provenance of the hymn, Sanders observes that "the discussion of the historical religious background of this hymn remains the most unsettled of the discussions regarding the various hymns . . . ."[19] Various suggestions have been made concerning the liturgical Sitz im Leben of the hymn. Baptism has been suggested, as has also the Eucharist.[20] However, those who have reviewed the pertinent material are agreed that no definite sacramental Sitz im Leben can be determined. In summary, it seems best to say with Deichgräber that Phil. 2:6-11 is a pre-Pauline hymn, which was probably used in early Christian worship.[21]

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[18]J. Jeremias, "Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen," in Studia Paulina in honorem Johannis de Zwaan, edited by J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik (Haarlem: J. Kok, 1953), pp. 146-154.

[19]Sanders, p. 73. Examples of the wide variety of opinion are found in the following works: E. Käsemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2,5-11," in Exegetischer Versuche und Besinnungen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), I, 51-95; Martin, p. 297; Fuller, pp. 204-208; M. Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," New Testament Studies, XVIII (1971), 1-14; R. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (London: SCM Press, 1970), p. 125.

[20]Cf. the surveys in Martin, pp. 287-297; Deichgräber, pp. 131-133.

[21]Deichgräber, p. 133.

Our first concern is with the hymn as we have it in the context of the letter to the Philippians. The probability that the hymn is essentially a pre-Pauline creation does not detract from its value in a study of Pauline theology. Regardless of the original authorship, Paul no doubt quoted the hymn because it expressed his own Christological convictions.[22]

We proceed now to a consideration of the possibility that in Phil. 2:6-8 there is an implied contrast between the first and the second Adam. A twofold argument is usually adduced:

1. The first section of the hymn is introduced by the expression, en morphē theou. According to Martin, this phrase is the key to a proper understanding of the whole hymn.[23] An investigation of the term morphē in the light of the Old Testament Hebrew terms צלם and דמות, as well as the translation of these terms in the LXX, reveals (a) that eikōn and morphē are often used interchangeably in the Greek Bible; and (b) that eikōn and doxa are sometimes parallel and equivalent terms.[24] A survey of the Pauline usage of the terms morphē, doxa and eikōn invites the conclusion that these are often used as interchangeable terms in various contexts and may, in some instances, be regarded as practical equivalents. Certainly there can be no doubt that the semantic boundaries of morphē, doxa and eikōn overlap.

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[22]Scroggs, p. 62, note 5.

[23]Martin, p. 99.

[24]A full discussion of the evidence provided by the Old Testament and New Testament is undertaken by Martin, pp. 99-120.

As applied to Phil. 2:6, this linguistic evidence suggests that the phrase "form of God" is to be read against an Old Testament background. Morphē theou is a parallel expression to doxa theou and eikōn theou.[25] The phrase morphē theou may be taken as equivalent to the description given of the first man, Adam (Gen. 1:26,27). At his creation Adam reflected God's glory. He was created in the image of God. At the fall, Adam lost the glory of God and defaced the divine image.[26] The terrible effects of Adam's sin were reversed by Jesus Christ, the second Adam. Christ took Adam's nature upon himself (Rom. 8:3)[27] and fulfilled the role of the obedient last Adam in whom the image of true manhood is to be seen. Thus Christ is the "new man" whose image is renewed in the church.[28]

2. The second part of the argument regarding the Adamic allusions in Phil. 2:6-8 takes as its starting point the interpretation of harpagmos as res rapienda, and not res rapta or, as Moule has recently proposed, raptus.[29] The idea of a prize to be gained by snatching is precisely the bait which the serpent dangled before Eve: "You shall be as God" (Gen. 3:5). In response to the serpent's promise, Adam, who was "the son of God" (Luke 3:38) attempted to assert himself as God. Adam had been given a relative

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[25]This assertion has been challenged by D. H. Wallace, "A Note on Morphē," Theologische Zeitschrift, XXII (1966), 19-25.

[26]Cf. supra, pp. 90-95.

[27]On the Adamic allusions in Rom. 8:3-4 see M. H. Scharlemann, "'In the Likeness of Sinful Flesh,'" Concordia Theological Monthly, XXXII (1961), 131-138.

[28]Col. 3:10; Cf. 2 Cor. 3:18; 1 Cor. 15:49; Rom. 8:29.

[29]Moule; cf. the suggestion of Hoover, LXIV, 118.

lordship (Gen. 1:28), but he wanted a complete lordship in his own right. He failed, he "died," and he was expelled from Eden.

In contrast to Adam, Jesus Christ the second Adam, refused to exploit his unique place in the Godhead as the glory and image of God, and to assert himself in opposition to his Father. As "Adam in reverse," Christ refused to snatch at what lay before him; that is, a universally acknowledged equality with God. Instead he was obedient to the Father on the road that led to lordship by way of incarnation, humiliation, suffering and death, "even death on a cross."

The parallelism between Christ and Adam in Phil. 2:6-8 has been set down in tabular form by Synge as follows:

Adam	Christ
made in the image of God	being in the form of God
thought it a prize to be grasped at	thought it not a prize to be grasped at
to be as god,	to be like God,
and strove to be of reputation,	but made himself of no reputation,
and spurned being God's servant,	and took upon him the form of a servant,
wishing to be in the likeness of God;	and was made in the likeness of men;
and being found in fashion as a man	and being found in fashion as a man
he exalted himself	he humbled himself
and was disobedient unto death.	and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.[30]

Further references to the Adam/Christ typology may be found in Phil. 2:7b-8. A number of scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the term "obedience" is applied to Christ by Paul only in

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[30]F. C. Synge, Philippians and Colossians (London: SCM Press, c.1951), p. 29. Cf. also the comments of Rawlinson, pp. 134-135.

Phil. 2:8 and Rom. 5:19. In both passages, it is said, a contrast is implied between Christ's obedience and the disobedience of Adam.[31] The argument is rather tenuous; more solid ground for supposing that Phil. 2:7b-8 refers to the Adam/Christ polarity is found in the evidence submitted by Talbert.[32]

Talbert sees a reference to the Adam/Christ contrast in the words of Phil. 2:8: en homoiōmati anthrōpon genomenos.[33] Talbert thinks that this phrase may be understood in terms of an Adam/Christ parallel if reference is made to Gen. 5:1-3. The Genesis passage tells of one who is a son of Adam (plural) and is in his likeness. The בדמות of Gen. 5:3 may be translated as en homoiōmati anthrōpon, as can be seen from such passages as 2 Kings 16:10 and 2 Chron. 4:3, where the LXX translates כתבנית as homoiōma.

According to Talbert, Phil. 2:6 is a reference to Christ, the second Adam, who reversed the decision of the first Adam. The phrase of 2:6: en morphē theou huparchon is formally parallel to en homoiōmati anthrōpon genomenos of Phil. 2:8. The two lines say that Christ is both second Adam and son of Adam. The LXX of Gen.

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[31]Cf. Fuller, p. 211; M. E. Thrall, "The Origin of Pauline Christology," in Apostolic History and the Gospel, pp. 315-316; U. Mauser, Gottesbild und Menschwerdung (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971), pp. 177-180; A. Feuillet, "L'hymne christologique de l'Épitre aux Philippiens (II,6-11)," Revue Biblique, LXXII (1965), 379-380; E. Larsson, Christus als Vorbild. Eine Untersuchung zu den paulinischen Tauf- und Eikontexten. (Uppsala: C. K. Gleerup, 1962), pp. 250-251; Bandstra, I, 215.

[32]C. Talbert, "The Problem of Pre-existence in Philippians 2:6-11," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXVI (1967), 141-153.

[33]Cf. the survey of various views in V. Taylor, The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching (London: Macmillan and Co., 1958), pp. 39-40.

5:1-3 seems to have seen a parallel between the creation of Adam and the birth of Seth, the son of Adam:

Gen. 5:1-2	Gen. 5:3
epoiēsen ho theos ton Adam kat' eikona theou kai epōnomasen to onoma autou Adam.	eggenēsen kata tēn idian autou kai kata eikona autou kai epōnomasen to onoma autou Seth.

Talbert proceeds to argue that Phil. 2:6-7 is not a statement about the pre-existence of Jesus, but about his earthly life.[34] He arrives at this conclusion on the basis of his analysis of the formal characteristics of the hymn, and on the principle that "a proper delineation of form leads to a correct interpretation of meaning."[35]

The principle enunciated by Talbert has been questioned, and rightly so.[36] Form must be evaluated in the light of content and context. Nevertheless, Talbert has strengthened the case for an Adam/Christ parallel in Philippians 2 by drawing attention to the analogy between Phil. 2:7-8 and Gen. 5:1-4.

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[34]Talbert, LXXXVI, 153. Cf. also: N. K. Bakken, "The New Humanity: Christ and the Modern Age (Phil. 2:6-11)," Interpretation, XXII (1968), 71-82; G. Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christus-hymnus Phil. 2:6-11," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, LV (1964), 63-78; L. D. Streiker, "The Christological Hymn in Philippians II," Lutheran Quarterly, XVI (1964), 49-58. Feuillet, LXXII, 500, that only the phrase en morphē theou huparchōn refers to Christ's pre-existence. The hymn is practically interested only in two "stages" of Christ's life: his abasement and his exaltation.

[35]Talbert, LXXXVI, 153.

[36]Cf. Fred B. Craddock, The Pre-existence of Christ in the New Testament (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), p. 109.

Several other passages, besides Romans 5, 1 Corinthians 15 and Philippians 2, have been thought to contain the Adam/Christ parallel. The possibility that Col. 2:14 is part of Paul's Adamic Christology has already been discussed.[37] Fuller claims that in Col. 1:15-20, especially in verse 18b, the Adam/Christ typology is used to describe the redemptive work of Christ.[38] The first man, Adam, was the "beginning," that is, the beginning of the fallen order. Christ is the "beginning," that is, the beginning of the new redeemed humanity.[39]

Some scholars find a further reference to Paul's Adamic Christology at 2 Cor. 4:4-6.[40] In verse 6 Paul writes:

> For it is the God who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ.

In 2 Cor. 4:4 Paul refers to the "light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the likeness of God." Scroggs suggests that Paul in these verses is transferring to Christ the rabbinic idea of Adam's original brilliance.[41]

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[37] Supra, pp. 101-103.

[38] Fuller, pp. 211-212.

[39] Ibid., p. 215.

[40] Scroggs, p. 96; A. Feuillet, Le Christ Sagesse de Dieu D'Après Les Épitres Pauliniennes (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1966), pp. 145-146; Black, VII, 174.

[41] Scroggs, p. 96. It has also been suggested that Paul's language in these verses is influenced by his experience on the Damascus road. Thus Ramsey writes: "The decisive event which inaugurated Saint Paul's belief in 'the glory of the Messiah' was of course the appearance of the risen Jesus to him on the journey to Damascus"; A. M. Ramsey, The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949), p. 48.

Other passages which are thought to contain allusions to the Adam/Christ typology are Col. 3:9-10 and Eph. 4:24.[42] These passagges will be considered in the next chapter of the present study. Col. 1:15-20 and 2 Cor. 4:4-6 will be studied in some detail in the next section of the present chapter. Before we turn to that study, it is necessary to ask and answer one more question in connection with the Adam/Christ typology.

In what circles of thought did the Adamic typology originate? Various answers have been given to this question.[43] The syncretism of Paul's day makes it extremely difficult for scholars of the twentieth century to make a decision regarding the primary sources of the Adam/Christ typology. Gibbs seems to be heading in the right direction when hè suggests that behind the Adam/Christ typology lies the story of Adam as the bearer of sin and death; descriptions of an exalted primal man in the Yahwist and Priestly materials, and variations on the Adamic myth in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[44]

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[42]Cf. Cullmann, Christology, pp. 173-174; Rawlinson, p. 134.

[43]It has, for example, been suggested that the Adamic typology is based on an hellenistic gnostic myth. Others have suggested that Paul is combatting Philo's exegesis of Genesis 1 and 2. The suggestion that Paul's Adamic Christology is really a Son of Man Christology has been vigorously propounded, and attacked with equal vigor. A survey of the various views is offered by Gibbs, pp. 53-56, and Scroggs, pp. x-xxiv. On the Son of Man Christology see the bibliography given supra, p. 69, note 36.

[44]Gibbs, p. 55. For Judaism's views on Adam, see Davies, pp. 45-49; Scroggs, pp. 16-58; Jervell, pp. 37-45, 66-68, 96-111; H.-M. Schenke, Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als die Leib Christi (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), pp. 120-135.

Is the Adamic Christology a product of Paul's own theological genius? If Phil. 2:6-11 is a pre-Pauline hymn, and if the Adam/Christ typology is implied in the Philippians hymn, then it is clear that the Adamic Christology did not originate with Paul. It is probably part of the pre-Pauline tradition; that is, the tradition which had crystallized into a fixed form during the "twilight period" between Pentecost and the writing of the corpus Paulinum.[45]

This conclusion is supported by the fact that in the epistle to the Romans Paul is writing to a church which is apparently independent of his influence. Throughout the letter, Paul is careful to speak in terms of the tradition which he and his readers have in common.[46] In Rom. 5:12-21 there is no indication that the Adam/Christ parallel was new to the Romans.[47]

It is also possible that Mark 1:13 and Luke 3:38 contain indications of the fact that early Christianity knew a tradition which regarded Jesus as a second Adam.[48] Even more striking than these two passages are the number of possible Adamic allusions in Mark's account of Christ's crucifixion. Bearing in mind the story of the crucifixion in Mark 15, the following data from rabbinic Judaism may be considered:

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[45]R. H. Mounce, "Continuity of the Primitive Tradition: Some Pre-Pauline Elements in 1 Corinthians," Interpretation, XII (1959), 417.

[46]Cf. Rom. 1:3-4; 4:25; 6:3-11; 8:28-30.

[47]Talbert, LXXVI, 150.

[48]Cf. G. Lindeskog, Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1952), I, 218-219.

a. Adam was created on a Friday (Pes. Rab. XLVI,2).

b. Adam sinned and was expelled from the garden on the same Friday (Pes. Rab. XLVI,2; Sanh. 38b; Ex. R. XXXII,1).

c. Adam was stripped of the glorious garment which he had before the fall (3 Bar. 4:16; Gen. R. XX,12; Yalkut I, 34).[49]

d. Adam's fall triggered an eclipse of the sun and the darkening of other luminaries (Apoc. Mos. XXXVI,1).

e. The forbidden fruit were grapes. Eve crushed grapes for Adam and gave him wine to drink (Sanh. 70a; Gen. R. XV,7).

f. Adam was a kingly figure (2 Enoch 30:12; Gen. R. XIX,4).[50]

A reading of Mark 15 in the light of Jewish traditions concerning Adam suggests that Mark may well be drawing a parallel between the Adam who brought destruction to the world and the Adam who brought deliverance and salvation.

We conclude that Paul's conception of Christ as the second Adam, and his use of the Adam/Christ typology, goes back to the pre-Pauline stage of the Christian tradition. This, in turn, was influenced primarily by Old Testament views and by speculation on Adam in Judaism. But this does not mean that the meaning of the tradition in Paul is necessarily the same as that which it had in its prior contexts. It is not easy to determine the original Sitz im Leben of the Adam/Christ typology. But the context in which Paul uses the typology leaves little doubt as to its meaning.

For Paul, Jesus Christ was the man whom God intended Adam to be. Christ did all that Adam failed to do. Christ was obedient

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[49]Cf. J. R. Diaz, "Palestinian Targum and New Testament," Novum Testamentum, VI (1962), 78.

[50]The fifteen references to Christ's kingship in Mark 15 are particularly striking (Mark 15:2,9,12,17,18,19,26,32).

where Adam was disobedient. Christ exercises lordship where Adam refused to fill the role of king. Christ's actions mean life for men, whereas Adam's actions led to death. Christ exhibits fully and completely the image and glory of God. In this, too, Adam was a failure.

It is this last point--that Christ is the true image and glory of God--which we will proceed to investigate in some detail.

Jesus Christ is the Image and Glory of God[51] (Phil. 2:6-8; 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6; Col. 1:15-20)

That a close relationship exists between the subject matter of the preceding section and the one now to follow is evident from the fact that both the first Adam and the second Adam are expressly said to possess the imago Dei.[52] Paul's doctrine of the last Adam is, as Martin observes, a special application of his view of Jesus as the image and glory of God.[53]

Three passages call for special scrutiny: Phil. 2:6-8; 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6; and Col. 1:15-20. The pertinent points in Phil. 2:6-8 have already been noted.[54] We made the observation that in 2:6 the pre-existent Christ is described as one who is in the image (morphē) of God. Implicit in the passage is a contrast with Adam, who was also the image of God. Adam, however, by his disobedience, failed to exhibit the true image of God. Christ, through his

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[51] Cf. supra, pp. 88-95 , and the bibliography, p. 92, note 104.

[52] Gen. 1:26-27; 1 Cor. 11:7; Col. 1:15; 2 Cor. 4:4; Phil. 2:6.

[53] Martin, p. 116.

[54] Supra, pp. 114-118.

obedience, exhibited to perfection the divine image. Thus Christ received a cosmic lordship superior even to the one which Adam possessed and subsequently lost.

The second passage to be considered is 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6.[55] It has a strong return-to-origins theme running through it. This is true whether one holds that the pericope is a midrash either on Ex. 34:29-35[56] or on Gen. 1:26-27.[57] In either case, Paul appears to be presenting his Christology in terms of the Old Testament history of the creation of mankind and/or the history of the creation of Israel.

The opening verses of 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6 must be understood in the light of the preceding verses. In 2 Cor. 3:1-17 Paul appears to be giving a midrash on Ex. 34:29-35.[58] The glory of the old

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[55]Some of the more important recent works on this passage are: Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 113-159; Larsson, pp. 275-284; C. E. B. Cranfield, "St. Paul and the Law," Scottish Journal of Theology, XVII (1964), 57-60; R. Le Déaut, "Traditions targumiques dans le corpus paulinien," Biblica, XLII (1961), 28-48; I. Hermann, Kyrios und Pneuma: Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe (München: Kosel-Verlag, 1961), pp. 26-58; M. McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), pp. 168-188; S. Schulz, "Die Decke des Moses: Unterzuchungen zu einer vorpaulinischen Überlieferung in II Cor. III,7-18," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLIX (1958), 1-30; H. Ulonska, "Die Doxa des Moses: Zum Problem des Alten Testaments in 2 Cor. 3,1-16," Evangelische Theologie, XXVI (1966), 378-388; W. C. van Unnik, "'With unveiled face,' and Exegesis of 2 Corinthians III,12-18," Novum Testamentum, VI (1963), 153-169.

[56]Cf. Larsson, pp. 275-285; J. D. G. Dunn, "2 Corinthians III, 17--'The Lord is the Spirit,'" Journal of Theological Studies, XXI (1970), 309; Schulz, XLIX, 15. Schulz suggests that Paul is taking up a midrash on Exodus 34 which was used by Paul's judaizing opponents in Corinth. Paul turns the argument against them.

[57]Cf. Jervell, pp. 174-175.

[58]Larsson, p. 277; Déaut, XLII, 45; McNamara, pp. 168-188; van Unnik, VI, 157.

In 2 Cor. 3:17 Paul asserts that only he is truly free who lives under the rule of the Spirit, not under the Law.[63] It is possible that Paul is here, as in 2 Cor. 3:7, polemicizing against an interpretation of Ex. 32:16 which implied that those who observed the law are free.

Such, then, is the context created by the verses preceding 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6. Before we examine 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6, it is necessary to consider the claim of Jervell, that I Cor. 3:1-17 is an interpretation of Genesis 1.[64]

In weighing Jervell's suggestion, the following factors may be considered:

In late Judaism, the concept of doxa was used to describe God's appearance, his nature and the character of his activity. One aspect of God's doxa was his righteousness, his righteous way of doing things.[65] This righteousness came to expression in the creation of the world and in the giving of the Torah. God gave his divine doxa to Adam. Adam lost this glory, but Israel regained it through the agency of Moses on Sinai. With the restoration of the glory came also a restoration of the imago Dei.[66]

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[63]The suggestions which have been made concerning the identification of kurios in 2 Cor. 3:17a are listed by Hermann, pp. 18-19.

[64]Jervell, p. 175.

[65]Cf. M. J. Fiedler, "Dikaiosunē in der diaspora-jüdischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur," Journal for the Study of Judaism, I (1970), 120-143. Cf. also Sir. 17:3-14; I Enoch 22:14; 90:40; 49:1.
For Paul, too, there is a close relationship between "righteousness" and "glory." Cf. Rom. 3:23,24; 5:1-2; 8:30; 2 Cor. 3:9. Cf. W. Thüsing, Per Christum in Deum (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1965), pp. 125-134. Cf. also Ramsay, pp. 46-47.

[66]Gen. R. XIX,7. For other examples, see Jervell, pp. 175-176.

covenant became visible in the face of Moses as he spoke with God on Sinai. The Israelites could not look at Moses' face because of its doxa (2 Cor. 3:17); so Moses put a veil over his face.

Moses' action is interpreted in 2 Cor. 3:13 as being for the purpose of preventing the people of Israel from seeing the transitory nature of the glory with which Moses' face shone. This motive for Moses' action is not mentioned in the Old Testament.[59] Nor is the "fading away" of the glory (2 Cor. 3:7) mentioned anywhere else, not even in the midrashim.[60] McNamara observes:

> Jewish sources, when they speak of the Glory of Moses' face, appear to imply that it was a lasting one . . . . The T[ar]g[um]s, then, offer no parallel to the use Paul makes of the veil of Moses. Paul is dependent on some other tradition unknown to us, or is drawing his own symbolism direct from the biblical text.[61]

Paul's point regarding the purpose of the veil over Moses' face is an important one in his argument. He wishes to emphasize the inferiority of the old covenant and its representatives.[62] In the exposition which follows 2 Cor. 3:13, the veil over the face of Moses is used by Paul to describe the actual situation of the Jews. The veil prevents the Jews from arriving at a correct understanding of Scripture (2 Cor. 3:14). It hangs over their hearts when Moses is read (3:15). Only in Christ is the veil removed (3:14,16).

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[59] Larsson, p. 278; McNamara, p. 173; Barrett, p. 51.

[60] van Unnik, VI, 161.

[61] McNamara, pp. 174-175.

[62] Barrett, pp. 53-54; Hermann, pp. 31-37.

Furthermore, Judaism saw a connection between the giving of the law and the creation of man. The two tablets of the law were, according to rabbinic tradition, created on the sixth day. On the sixth day, man was created in the image of God. The glory of Moses came from the two tablets, or from the writing thereon. In the Torah, in the "letter," God revealed himself in his glory. In the Torah the righteousness of God is to be sought.[67]

Jervell suggests that in 2 Cor. 3:7-18 Paul is contrasting a midrash on Ex. 34:29-35 with an interpretation of Gen. 1:26,27.[68] Rabbinic interpretations had already linked these two passages. In rabbinic theology, the image of God consisted of righteousness according to the Torah, actually or potentially, and therefore also glory.

The question at stake in 2 Cor. 3:7-18 is: where is true glory to be found? Is it to be found in the law or in the Gospel? Or to put the question another way: where does God reveal himself in his glory? The answer of Judaism was: God's glory is revealed in the Torah. The people of the Torah, the Jews, see God's glory and possess the image of God, at least potentially.

Paul responds by showing that Judaism's view of the Torah places the law in a false perspective in the divine economy of salvation.[69] It is in the Gospel, or, more precisely, in Christ

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[67]Sir. 17:3-4; Jub. 7:20; 20:2; Test. Levi 13:5-7; 1 Bar. 2:9; 4:13; 4 Ezra 8:12; Tanch. Ber. 7; Sifre Deut. 306,132a; Gen. R. VIII,12.

[68]Jervell, p. 176.

[69]Cf. the to katargoumenon of 2 Cor. 3:11,13 with Paul's use of katargein in relation to the law in Rom. 7:2.

that the glory of God is revealed (2 Cor. 4:4b). It is the Christian community which can see (or which reflects)[70] the glory of God, because their faces are unveiled (2 Cor. 3:18). In this they stand in contrast to the people of the synagogue, who still sit and listen to Moses with veils over their minds (2 Cor. 3:16). It is the Christian community which has the image of God, or as Paul puts it, "are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another" (2 Cor. 3:18).

We must now examine more closely what Paul says in 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6 concerning Christ as the image and glory of God. We note, first, that Christ's glory is revelatory in character. Jervell speaks of "die Offenbarungsqualität Christi," and says categorically: "Die Doxa Christi ist nicht anderes als die Doxa Gottes, die in Christus anwesend ist."[71]

But Christ's glory is not only revelatory. "Glory" refers also to that nature of Christ into which man is to be transformed, as Paul says in 2 Cor. 3:18:

> And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory (doxa) of the Lord, are being changed (metamorphoumetha) into his likeness (eikōn) from one degree of glory to another (apo doxēs eis doxan).

In this passage it is clear that eikōn and doxa are practically synonymous. Paul, it should be noted, does not say that man is to be changed into the image of Christ, but rather into the image of God which is now the nature of Christ. Thus tēn autēn eikona

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[70]The debate continues on whether katoptrizomenoi means "see in a mirror" or "reflect in a mirror." Cf. Ramsey, p. 53, note 1; Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 135-146; Barrett, p. 54; Larsson, pp. 280-282. These favor "see in a mirror." For the other view, cf. van Unnik, VI, 167; Black, VII, 175.

[71]Jervell, p. 214.

(2 Cor. 3:18b) is to be regarded as synonymous with tēn doxan kuriou (2 Cor. 3:18a), and as referring to Christ as the image of God. A similar thought is contained in two other passages in Paul's letters. Rom. 8:29 reads:

> For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed (summorphous) to the image (eikōn) of his Son.

In Phil. 3:21, Paul substitutes doxa for eikōn:

> Who will change (metaschēmatisei) our lowly body to be like (summorphon) his glorious body (to somati tēs doxēs).

According to Paul, the believer is to possess that image and glory of God which the glorified and exalted Lord already has.

We note, in the second place, that the illumination which the Gospel brings is likened by Paul to a new creative act of God:

> For it is the God who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," who has shone in our hearts to give light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ (2 Cor. 4:6).

God, who, by divine fiat, caused the first light to appear in the primeval darkness, has, by a new creation, placed in the hearts of men the illumination brought by the glory of God in the face of Jesus. The true glory of God is found, not by looking back to the old creation, but by seeing the new creation as it has dawned in Christ.

One final point to consider is that 2 Cor. 4:6 is a midrash on Genesis 1, and 2 Cor. 4:6 is closely linked with 2 Cor. 4:4.[72] In the latter passage, the word eikōn occurs. Scroggs observes correctly that when Paul relates the concept of eikōn to Genesis 1, he

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[72]However, G. W. MacRae ["Anti-Dualist Polemic in 2 Cor. 4,6?" Studia Evangelica, IV (1968), 427] finds "very specific differences between" verse 4 and verse 6. In 2 Cor. 4:6 MacRae sees evidence of a Pauline anti-gnostic dualist polemic.

is suggesting that Christ is the reality of true humanity.[73] In Christ mankind is permitted to see not only the radiance of God's glory, but also the true image of man. Into that image God's people are now being transformed. And by virtue of this transformation into the new man, Christians are realizing the meaning of their original status as creatures made in the divine image.[74]

Our survey of the salient features of 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6 permits us to draw two conclusions regarding Paul's view of Christ as the image and glory of God, as it is presented within the framework of the motif of return-to-origins: (1) Christ has replaced the Torah as the revealer of the glory of God; and (2) Christ possesses that image of God which those who believe in him will possess.

The third passage in which Paul makes use of the motif of return-to-origins to express his views concerning Christ as the image and glory of God is the Christ-hymn in Col. 1:15-20.[75] This hymn speaks, on the one hand, of the relation between Christ and creation (Col. 1:15-17); on the other hand it speaks of the

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[73]Scroggs, p. 98.

[74]Ramsey, p. 151.

[75]An extensive bibliography on Col. 1:15-20 is found in N. Kehl, Der Christushymnus im Kolosserbrief: Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Kol. 1:12-20 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, (1967). Kehl's bibliography may be supplemented by the following studies: Gibbs, pp. 94-114; J. G. Gibbs, "Pauline Cosmic Christology and Ecological Crisis," Journal of Biblical Literature, XC (1971), 466-479; M. H. Scharlemann, "The Scope of the Redemptive Task," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXXVI (1965), 291-300; F. B. Vawter, "The Colossian Hymn and the Principle of Redaction," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXXIII (1971), 62-81; E. Lohse, Colossians and Philemon (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, c.1968), pp. 41-61; Deichgräber, pp. 143-155; Best, pp. 115-138; O. Piper, "The Saviour's Eternal Work: An Exegesis of Col. 1:9-29," Interpretation, III (1949), 286-298; H. J. Gabathuler, Jesus Christus: Haupt der Kirche--Haupt der Welt (Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1965), pp. 11-124.

relation between Christ and redemption (1:18-20). Creation and redemption are related through "the beloved Son (Col. 1:13), who is "our Lord Jesus Christ" (Col. 1:3).

Any interpretation of the Colossian hymn is determined to some extent by the decisions made concerning the authorship and structure of the hymn, as well as concerning its relation to its context, and to its possible sources. Therefore attention must be given to these questions, even though there is little hope of solving problems that have been the "bread and butter" of scholarship for many years.

In the preceding paragraph, the word "hymn" was used to describe Col. 1:15-20. The hymnic character of the piece has long been recognized and generally accepted.[76] The verses immediately preceding the hymn (Col. 1:12-14) appear to be a prayer form.[77]

Various attempts have been made to analyze the structure of the Colossian hymn.[78] A survey of the many suggestions leads one to accept the conclusion of Gibbs,

> that scholarship has developed no consensus about the number and content of strophes in Col. 1:15-20, or about possible Pauline additions, so that one may safely speak only of certain parallels, such as those observed by Norden. No single reconstruction is fully convincing.[79]

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[76]E. Käsemann, "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy," in Essays on New Testament Themes (London: SCM Press, c.1964), p. 149.

[77]Gibbs, Creation, p. 95, note 1; Kehl, pp. 28-30; Piper, III, 290; Deichgräber (pp. 78-82) cites parallels from Qumran.

[78]A survey of the suggested structures is provided by Gabathuler, pp. 11-131.

[79]Gibbs, Creation, p. 99.

With regard to the authorship of the hymn, it must be said that the weight of scholarly opinion is against its Pauline authorship, chiefly on the grounds of vocabulary, style and thought.[80] Many commentators hold that Paul inserted short interpretative additions to the original hymn. It would seem that there are two important additions. The first occurs at the end of Col. 1:18a, where Christ is called the head of the body, the church. Käsemann argues that originally the reference was to Christ as head of the cosmos. By inserting the phrase "of the church," Paul gave a new meaning to the term "the body." This new interpretation corresponds to Paul's view of the church as the body of the Christ.[81]

The second addition to the hymn is said to come at Col. 1:19. Käsemann attempted to show that the words "through the blood of the cross" are a Pauline addition which points to the cross as the place where reconciliation was accomplished.[82] Lohse accepts Käsemann's arguments, and claims that the two glosses give the hymn a solid historical reference. The vicarious death of Christ was the starting point for the reconciliation of the whole world. The rule of Christ is a present reality in his body, the church.[83]

What was the source of the hymn, and what religious conditions determined its characteristics? Dibelius, and later Hegermann,

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[80]Lohse, p. 42. Kehl (pp. 28-51) lists the arguments pro and con.

[81]Käsemann, "Baptismal Liturgy," pp. 150-151. However, in opposition to Käsemann, Kehl (pp. 93 and 97) argues that tēs ekklēsias belongs to the original hymn in a transitional "middle strophe," and that it is essential to the meaning of Col. 1:18a.

[82]Käsemann, "Baptismal Liturgy," pp. 152-153.

[83]Lohse, p. 43.

concluded that the original hymn was rooted in the worship services of the hellenistic synagogues.[84] Käsemann noted that only 8 of the 112 words in the hymn need to be removed in order to expunge specifically Christian elements from the text. He saw in Col. 1:12-20 a primitive Christian baptismal liturgy, which in 1:15-20 made use of an hymn of gnostic origin.[85] Lohmeyer tried to use the word "reconciliation" (Col. 1:20) as the key for unlocking the meaning of the hymn. Lohmeyer suggested that the statements of the hymn revolve around the thought of creation and reconciliation. He attempted to relate the outline of creation/recreation to the Jewish association of New Year's Day with the Day of Atonement.[86]

In recent years, a number of scholars have come to favor an hellenistic-jewish background for the hymn, with a strong influence from Wisdom literature.[87] At the present point in the history of debate over the provenance of the hymn, it seems best to say with Vawter that

> Col. 1:15-20 appears to have made use fairly indifferently of language and thought-patterns available from various sources without necessarily committing itself unreservedly to the intellectual background of any of them.[88]

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[84]M. Dibelius, An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon, revised by H. Greeven (3rd edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953), pp. 14-17; H. Hegermann, Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 91-107.

[85]Käsemann, "Baptismal Liturgy," pp. 154-161.

[86]E. Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1930), pp. 41-47.

[87]Lohse, p. 46; C. F. D. Moule, The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and Philemon (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), pp. 59-60; K. Wengst, Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums (Gütersloh: Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1972), pp. 179-180.

[88]Vawter, XXXIII, 73.

In any case, our main concern is not with the literary processes by which the Colossian hymn reached its present form, but with the theological significance of what is said in it. Our main task is to learn what Paul meant when he used the hymn, not what the original author might have meant.

We proceed to note what this hymn says about Christ as the image of God.[89] Attention will be directed to Col. 1:15-18a, in particular to verse 15.

The hymn contains a number of expressions descriptive of the "Son of his love" (Col. 1:13). The first title given the Son is eikōn tou theou tou aoratou. This expression should be understood against the background of Gen. 1:26-27 and its interpretations in Judaism.

We note, first, that according to Gen. 1:26-27, God made man in the divine image. The phrase eikōn tou theou is a description of a human being. God intended man to be eikōn tou theou. In the Old Testament and early Judaism, angels are not said to have been created in the image of God.[90] Nor are animals, birds or other creatures said to possess the imago Dei. To man alone is given the title: eikōn tou theou.

It appears, then, that when Paul ascribes to Jesus Christ the title eikōn tou theou, he is suggesting that Christ is that true

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[89]Cf. Kehl, pp. 52-76; Jervell, pp. 218-226; Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 166-172.

[90]However, late Judaism taught that angels were created in the image of God. Cf. Jervell, p. 85.

man which God created Adam to be. In Christ we are to see what God intended men to be when he set about making them in his image.[91]

In the second place, when Paul describes Christ as eikōn tou theou, he is referring to the Messiah's revelatory function.[92] Christ is the one in whom God fully reveals himself. That this thought is intended in Col. 1:15 is indicated, indirectly at least, by the terms which Col. 1:10-15 shares with 2 Cor. 4:4-6. They are: doxa, phos, gnōsis, epignōsis, skotos, eikōn tou theou. We have already seen that Paul's language in the Corinthians passage refers to Christ's revelatory function: it is Christ, the image of God, who reveals to men the glory of God.[93]

We have also seen that 2 Cor. 4:4-6 is a midrash on Genesis 1.[94] In Jewish theology, Adam, the image of God, is said to manifest glory. This glory, however, did not originate with Adam, but with God.[95] "Glory" is one of six things which Adam lost at the fall. He will regain this glory when the Messiah comes (Gen. R. XII,6).

We find, then, that the phrase eikōn tou theou in Col. 1:15 refers to Christ both as the revelation of God himself and as the reality of true humanity. To see God, one looks to Christ. We must also look to Christ to see man as God intended him to be.

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[91]Scharlemann, "Scope," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXXVI, 294; Scroggs, p. 99.

[92]Kehl, pp. 57-60; Jervell, pp. 219-220; Barrett, p. 86; P. Schwanz, Imago Dei als christologisch-anthropologisches Problem (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1970), pp. 17-22.

[93]Supra, p. 128.

[94]Supra, p. 129.

[95]Scroggs, p. 98.

Thirdly, it must be noted that, in the Genesis account and elsewhere in the Old Testament, the creation of Adam in the image of God is closely linked with his lordship over creation.[96] Eikōn tou theou suggests sovereignty, dominion, rule. That this is a dominant thought in Col. 1:15 is indicated by the subsequent verses:

> For in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities--all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together (Col. 1:16-17).

It is apparent that Paul sees Christ, the image of God, as endowed with that lordship over creation which man in his fall had forfeited.[97]

Our findings with regard to the meaning of the phrase eikōn tou theou (Col. 1:15) may be summarized as follows:

Christ is the Man whom God intended man to be . Christ is also the true revelation of God. As the reality of true humanity and as the true revelation of God, Christ is mediator and lord of creation.

To complete our study of the description of the Messiah as the image of God (Col. 1:15), it is necessary to look briefly at several other titles ascribed to the Lord in the Colossian hymn.

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[96] Supra, pp. 95-97.

[97] Cf. Schwanz, p. 17: "Kol. 1:15 betrachtet Christus vor allem als Schöpfungsmittler." According to Schwanz (p. 22), the concept of eikōn was linked with mediation in creation by rabbinic Judaism, by Philo, and by Gnosticism.

Another title given to the Messiah is that of prōtotokos pasēs ktiseōs (Col. 1:15b).[98] There has been much debate on the question whether prōtotokos refers to temporal advantage or to status.[99] The consensus today is that the title "first-born" refers to Christ's uniqueness, by which he is distinguished from all creation. As prōtotokos, Christ is lord of all creation.[100]

Col. 1:18 indicates that Christ is lord by virtue of his resurrection.[101] Through his resurrection Christ is installed by God as head of the church and lord of the whole universe. Here, as in Rom. 8:21,29, the resurrection of Christ is regarded as significant not only for the believer, but also for all creation.

Recent opinion regarding the background of the term prōtotokos relates it to Jewish speculation about Wisdom.[102] In 1926 Burney

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[98]Kehl, pp. 82-93; Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 175-194; B. R. Brinkman, "'Creation' and 'Creature,'" Bijdragen, XVIII (1957), 129-139; H. McCord, "Becor and Prōtotokos," Restoration Quarterly, X (1967), 40-45; A. Hockel, Christus der Erstgeborene: Zur Geschichte der Exegese von Kol 1,15 (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1965). Hockel gives a history of the interpretation of prōtotokos from Polycarp to recent times.

[99]See, for example, the debate between A. W. Argyle and H. G. Meecham, carried on in the pages of Expository Times, LXVI (1954) 61,124,318-319.

[100]It may be noted in passing that in the letter to the Ephesians, Christ is never called prōtotokos. However, the thought of Christ as "first-born of all creation" is pushed to its ultimate and all-inclusive conclusion in Eph. 1:10: anakephalaiōsasthai ta panta en christō. Bailey has shown that this short phrase stands at the very heart of the Ephesians hymn (Eph. 1:3-14). Cf. Kenneth E. Bailey, "A Study of Some Lucan Parables in the Light of Oriental Life and Poetic Style,"(unpublished Th.D. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1972), p. 377.

[101]Kehl, p. 98; Scharlemann, "Scope," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVI, 295.

[102]Lohse, pp. 48-49.

advanced the theory that in Col. 1:15-18 the author is giving a meditative exposition of the first words of Gen. 1:1, expounding this passage in rabbinic fashion via Prov. 8:22.[103] The author of the hymn shows that Christ fulfills every meaning which can be extracted from רֵאשִׁית, a fact which is expressed in Col. 1:18 in the words: hina genētai en pasin autos prōteuōn.

Burney's thesis cannot be accepted in toto. Some artificial explanations are required in order to carry it through in all its particulars.[104] But Burney is correct in relating prōtotokos to Genesis 1. In Col. 1:18b, "head" is related to "first-born," just as in Col. 1:15 "image" is connected with "first-born." These three terms, kephalē, eikōn and prōtotokos, together with archē, all denote primacy. All were associated with each other in Judaism.[105]

The expression "image of God" is rooted in Gen. 1:26-27. The term archē is important in the creation story. The בְּרֵאשִׁית of Gen. 1:1 played a key role in rabbinic speculation on the meaning of the first chapter of Genesis. The Torah or Israel is, as רֵאשִׁית, the foundation and first principle of creation and history.[106] Furthermore, Judaism applied the title of firstborn not only to Israel and the Torah, but also to Adam (Numb. R. IV,141).

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[103]C. F. Burney, "Christ as the Archē of Creation," Journal of Theological Studies, XXVII (1926), 160-171.

[104]See the critique offered by Jervell, p. 200, note. 107.

[105]J. J. Meuzelaar, Der Leib des Messias (Assen: Van Gorcum and Comp. N.V., 1961), p. 117.

[106]Jervell, pp. 79, 200; N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," in The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (London: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 433-434.

The three remaining titles given to Christ in Col. 1:15-20 need be discussed only briefly. In Col. 1:18a Christ is described as the "head of the body." The body is defined as "the church." In the Pauline writings, the term kephalē usually denotes the one to whom rule has been given.[107] Sovereignty is implied in the title "head," just as it is implied in the titles "firstborn" and "image of God."

In Col. 1:18b, Christ is given the title hē archē. Since verses 18b and 15 are parallel, it is clear that archē as a title must be linked with eikōn tou theou. This latter title is, as we have seen, rooted in Gen. 1:26-27. The basic meaning of archē is primacy. In Col. 1:18 the emphasis is on "priority in order of normative authority."[108] Christ receives this authority by virtue of his resurrection (prōtotokos ek tōn nekrōn). In view of the fact that archē is a terminus technicus for the commencement of creative activity,[109] and in view of the fact that in I Cor. 15:45 Christ is described as pneuma zoōpoioun on the basis of his resurrection,[110] it seems that Gen. 1:1 and 2:7 should be seen as the biblical background for the terms archē and prōtotokos in Col. 1:18b.[111]

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[107]Cf. I Cor. 11:3; Col. 2:10,19; cf. Eph. 1:22; 4:15; 5:23. Cf. Lohse, p. 54, note 162. But cf. also S. Bedale, "The Meaning of kephalē in the Pauline Epistles," Journal of Theological Studies, V (1954), 211-215.

[108]Gibbs, Creation, p. 106.

[109]Lindeskog, I, 205.

[110]Supra, pp. 83-86.

[111]Gibbs, Creation, p. 106. Kehl (p. 80) thinks archē and prōtotokos stem from Gen. 2:7 and not Gen. 1:27. Schwanz (p. 26) links pneuma zoōpoioun closely with the phrase eikōn tou theou.

The last title given to Christ in Col. 1:19 is that of plērōma.[112] The debate on whether plērōma is to be understood in an active or a passive sense has been surveyed by Ernst.[113] He concludes that the use of plērōma in Ephesians and Colossians was influenced by the LXX. In the Greek Old Testament, plērōma is used predominantly in an active sense.[114]

We cannot now enter the debate on the meaning of plērōma in the Pauline writings. Suffice it to say that the view favored in the present study is the one proposed by Munderlein, namely, that plērōma is used in Col. 1:19 to indicate that Jesus Christ is the place of God's Presence.[115] In Jesus Christ God is present as the active, almighty Lord of creation and history. An analogy to Paul's concept of plērōma is to be found in the Jewish ideas of Shekinah, Wisdom and Glory.[116]

In summary, we have found that all five titles ascribed to the Messiah Jesus in Col. 1:15-20 say something, from different points of view, about Christ's lordship in creation and redemption.

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[112] J. Ernst, Plērōma und Plērōma Christi (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1970), pp. 72-94; Kehl, pp. 109-125; Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 228-236; H. Langkammer, "Die Einwohnung der 'absoluten Seinsfülle' in Christus: Bemerkungen zu Kol. 1,19," Biblische Zeitschrift, XII (1968), 258-263; M. Bogdasavich, "The Idea of Plērōma in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians," Downside Review, LXXXIII (1965), 118-130; J. H. Burtness, "All the Fulness," Dialog, III (1964), 257-263; G. Munderlein, "Die Erwählung durch das Pleroma: Bemerkungen zu Kol. 1,19," New Testament Studies, VIII (1962), 264-276; H. A. Merklinger, "Plērōma and Christology," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXXVI (1965), 739-743.

[113] Ernst, pp. 200-290.

[114] Ibid., p. 23.

[115] Munderlein, VIII, 275.

[116] Ibid.; cf. Ex. 40:35; I Kings 8:11.

These various titles are all summed up in one short phrase in Col. 1:18c: hina genētai en pasin autos prōteuein. The emphasis on Christ's lordship throughout the Colossian hymn suggests that the phrase eikōn tou theou is to be understood primarily as referring to the dominion which Christ possesses.

We conclude this section with some comments on the possible sources of Paul's view of Christ as the image and glory of God.[117] Some scholars believe that Paul was strongly influenced by Gnosticism.[118] Many interpreters favor a source in hellenistic Judaism, with especially strong influences from Philo and Jewish Wisdom speculation.[119] It is impossible to speak with certainty on the matter. However, parallels which are close at hand are generally preferable to those further away. On that premise, and on the basis of the material presented in the preceding pages of this study, it would seem that the most likely sources for Paul's use of the eikōn concept are the Old Testament accounts of the creation of man as well as the interpretations of these accounts in Judaism. Paul may also have been influenced by some small extent by Jewish speculation on the role of Wisdom and Torah in creation.

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[117] A survey of the various views is provided by Kehl, pp. 61-68, and Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 152-158.

[118] E.g., Jervell, pp. 215-225.

[119] So, for example, Kehl, pp. 61-68; Lohse, pp. 47-49; F.-W. Eltester, Eikōn im Neuen Testament (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1958), p. 120. Feuillet (Sagesse, pp. 269-273) finds very strong influences from Wisdom teaching. Cf. also Larsson, pp. 190-196. A source in early Jewish Christianity is favored by Longenecker (pp. 53-56).

In short, the comment of Jervell on Col. 1:15-20 seems most appropriate: "Wir haben also eine christologische Interpretation von Gen. 1 vor uns."[120]

In the final section of this chapter on the use of the motif of return-to-origins in Paul's view of the person and work of the Messiah, we will review some of the Pauline material which speaks of Christ as Lord in both creation and redemption.

Jesus Christ is Lord both in Creation and Redemption (1 Cor. 8:6; Phil. 2:9-11; Col. 1:15-20; 2:13-15; Rom. 8:19-32)

The first passage to be considered is 1 Cor. 8:6.[121] This verse is important for our study on two counts: (1) it is the first instance in the New Testament where a part of the work of creation is assigned to Jesus Messiah;[122] (2) 1 Cor. 8:6 is the first passage in the Pauline epistles to related both creation and redemption to the lordship of Jesus Christ.

The passage before us is an example of the semitic parallelismus membrorum:

heis theos ho patēr,
ex hou ta panta kai hēmeis eis auton,

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[120]Jervell, p. 201. Cf. the comments of Dahl (p. 434): "We may safely assume that we have here traces of a 'christological' interpretation of Gen. 1, with a double reference, both to creation and to salvation."

[121]Feuillet, Sagesse, pp. 59-85; Thüsing, pp. 225-232; Gibbs, Creation, pp. 59-73; H. Schwantes, Schöpfung der Endzeit: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Auferweckung bei Paulus (Stuttgart: Calver Verlag, 1963), pp. 18-25.

[122]Feuillet, Sagesse, p. 59. Schwantes (p. 25), however, rightly emphasizes that Paul is not concerned here with the question of Christ as mediator in creation, but with God's Heilsgeschichte, and with ethical questions.

heis kurios Iēsous Christos,
di' hou ta panta kai hēmeis di' autou.

Cullmann thinks that I Cor. 8:6 is a "very old bi-partite formula," expressing belief in God the Father and in Jesus Christ.[123] The verse might be described as an homologia.[124]

How did such a confessional formula get to have the form it now has in I Cor. 8:6? Perhaps a two-stage development may be ascertained. In the first stage lies the basic homologia of Judaism: heis ho theos. This confession epitomizes the longer Shema and the inclusive Torah.[125] This confession was Judaism's basic declaration and manifesto to an unbelieving world. Kramer notes that the formula, as used in the Jewish and Gentile missions by Christians, expressed opposition to or polemic against polytheism.[126] But by itself the phrase heis ho theos is not uniquely Christian.

Nor is the addition, ho patēr, distinctively Christian. In I Cor. 8:6 the phrase ho patēr probably refers to God primarily as Father of his only Son, Jesus Christ, and secondarily as Father of those who through Christ have derivative sonship.[127] Or possibly

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[123]Cullmann, Confessions, p. 51.

[124]Cf. V. H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1963), p. 44. Neufeld is not prepared to state categorically that I Cor. 8:6 should be designated as an homologia.

[125]Neufeld, p. 41.

[126]W. Kramer, Christ, Lord, Son of God (London: SCM Press, c. 1966), p. 96. Cf. H. Langkammer, "Literarische und theologische Einzelstücke in I Kor. VIII.6," New Testament Studies, XVII (1971), 193.

[127]C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1968), p. 192; A. Schlatter, Paulus der Bote Jesu (Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, c.1934), p. 255.

ho patēr refers to God as "Father of creation."[128] In either case, it must be admitted that the use of ho patēr here is not peculiarly Christian. Judaism, too, spoke of God as Father.[129]

Furthermore, the addition of ex hou ta panta does not make the confession uniquely Christian. It has been suggested that the Christian author of the hymn borrowed the phrase ex hou ta panta from hellenistic religious philosophy.[130] But there is no need, as a case in point, to look to Stoicism for parallels and a source. The Old Testament and Judaism confessed that the Lord God is the Creator of ta panta.[131]

Finally we note that the hēmeis eis auton of I Cor. 8:6a introduces the thought of redemption for God's people.[132] The ta panta refers to creation; the hēmeis eis auton refers to redemption. Thus the writer links creation and redemption and ascribes both to the Lord God. This conjoining of creation and redemption is not exclusively a New Testament phenomenon. The Old Testament and Judaism also knew of such a confluence.[133]

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[128]H. Conzelmann, Der Erste Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1969), p. 171. Conzelmann cites for comparison: Rom. 14:14,20.

[129]Cf. Berakot 35; Zohar I,103a; Abot 5,23; Pesahim 85; Sifre Deut. 48; M. Sotah 9,15; Pesik. Rabb. 21,11. Cf. also Moore, II, 201-211.

[130]Barrett, Corinthians, p. 193; Kramer, p. 97; Schwantes, p. 18.

[131]E.g., Sap. 1:14; 9:1; Sir. 1:4; 18:1; 23:20; Amos 5:8; Is. 27:4; 2 Macc. 1:24; 3 Macc. 2:3. Cf. Lindeskog, I, 207; A. J. Bandstra, The Law and the Elements of the World (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1964), p. 49.

[132]Schlatter, p. 255; Gibbs, Creation, p. 61.

[133]E.g., Is. 42:5-9; 44:24-28; Ps. 64:12-17. Cf. H. Berkhof, "Christ and Cosmos," Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift, XXII (1967-1968), 428-429.

The point we have tried to make in the preceding paragraphs is that the first member of the parallelism in I Cor. 8:6 does not in itself form a distinctively Christian confession. A devout Jew could have made the same confession. It seems likely that I Cor. 8:6a is a formula which the Christian community took over from Judaism and interpreted from the Christian perspective.

The second member of the parallelism makes the confession in I Cor. 8:6 characteristically and uniquely Christian. In I Cor. 8:6a the creation-faith of the Old Testament is set in opposition to the mythology of the heathen. In I Cor. 8:6b the point of contrast is between the creation-faith of Judaism on the one hand, and the faith of Christianity on the other.

The second half of I Cor. 8:6 reads as follows:

heis kurios Iēsous Christos,
di' hou ta panta kai hēmeis di' autou.

Jesus is here given the title kurios. The transfer of the divine kurios name to Christ indicates his oneness with the Father in the work of revelation. One aspect of God's self-revelation is the creation and rule of the world. The kurios title normally refers to the present rule of Jesus as risen Lord. In I Cor. 8:6b it has been extended in scope to include also Jesus' original function as mediator of creation.[134]

The mediatorial work of Christ is expressed by the double preposition, dia:

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[134]Cullmann, Christology, pp. 247-248. Thüsing (p. 229) maintains that Christ's mediatorial work in creation is not stated explicitly, but only implied in I Cor. 8:6b.

For a general discussion of the kurios title, see F. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology (New York: World Publishing Co., c.1969), pp. 68-135.

di' hou ta panta kai hemēis di' autou.

According to Schlatter, the first dia has as its exegetical basis the ב of Gen. 1:26: בְּצַלְמֵנוּ .[135] It is feasible that the second dia, which refers to Christ's mediatorial work in redemption has the same exegetical basis as the first one.[136] Elsewhere in the New Testament, the redemptive work of Christ is sometimes described in terms of a new creation, and the redeemed man is called a "new" creature or a "new" creation.[137]

One may see in I Cor. 8:6b a parallel and contrast between the first man, Adam, and the second Man, Christ. The role of Christ as mediator of creation corresponds somewhat to the part which man played in the divine creation, according to Genesis.[138] But with regard to redemption, the situation is that Adam was the mediator of enslavement and death (Rom. 5:17; 8:20), whereas Christ is the mediator of redemption and life (Rom. 5:18; 8:23).

The foregoing study of the possible line of development of the confession in I Cor. 8:6 leads to the conclusion that the first half of the confession may well have been taken over in toto from Judaism. The second half of the verse is the distinctively Christian addition.

Was Paul the author of the confession? Thüsing maintains that the confession in the form in which we now have it is Paul's

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[135]Schlatter, p. 256, note 1.

[136]Feuillet, Sagesse, p. 65.

[137]E.g., Col. 3:10; Eph. 4:24.

[138]Supra, pp. 95-97.

work.[139] Langkammer proposes that the confession has three distinct elements.[140] The first is a pre-Pauline monotheistic confession: there is one God, one Lord. The second part is also pre-Pauline: a confession concerning the mediatorial work of Christ in creation. The third element is a distinctively Pauline addition: the mediatorial work of Christ in redemption. This suggestion of Langkammer presupposes that the linking of creation and redemption under the lordship of Christ was a Pauline innovation, previously unknown in the early Christian community.

However, very early in the church's existence there was ample dynamic in the confrontation between Judaism and Christianity for thinking through what it meant to know Jesus as Lord, both in creation and in redemption.[141] Certainly, Paul may well have been one of the prime movers in developing this specific Christian view of the relationship between creation and redemption. But, in sum, it seems best to take I Cor. 8:6 as an essentially pre-Pauline Christian confession. This confession, however, fits so well in its context that if it was not composed by Paul, it certainly clearly expresses his views on the lordship of Christ in creation and redemption.

It remains now to summarize what we have learned of Paul's view of Christ's lordship in creation and redemption, according to I Cor. 8:6.

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[139] Thüsing, p. 225.

[140] Langkammer, "I Kor. VII,6," New Testament Studies, XVII, 193-197.

[141] Gibbs, Creation, p. 72; Thrall, pp. 310-312; W. D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), pp. 66-72; 89-91.

1. The two dia clauses in I Cor. 8:6b are a reference to the mediatorial work of Christ in creation and redemption.

2. The unity of creation and redemption in Christ is indicated by the repetition of the single preposition, dia. Creation and redemption are two distinct works, but they are united under the dual mediatorial lordship of the one Jesus Christ.

3. The distinction between creation and redemption is preserved by the statement that only "we" (hēmeis) are eis auton.[142] The final unity of creation and redemption comes when the children of God obtain their "glorious liberty" (Rom. 8:18-25).[143]

The confession contained in I Cor. 8:6 might well have functioned as the text for the hymn in praise of Jesus Christ in Col. 1:15-20. Feuillet draws attention to the fact that the mediatorial work of Christ in creation and redemption, indicated by the double dia of I Cor. 8:6b, finds its parallel in the two parts of the Colossian hymn.[144] The first half of the hymn (Col. 1:15-18a) speaks of Christ as mediator of redemption. The parallelism of the two parts is summarized by pithy statements from each part of the hymn:

ta panta di' autou kai eis auton ektistai (Col. 1:16b);

di' autou apokatallaxai ta panta eis auton (Col. 1:20a).

The second half of Col. 1:20 appears to be an interpretative addition. It repeats the di' autou of Col. 1:20a:

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[142]Schlatter, p. 256.

[143]The insights of Gibbs (Creation, pp. 72-73) have been very helpful for summarizing the theology of I Cor. 8:6.

[144]Feuillet, Sagesse, p. 651. Cf. also Dahl, pp. 433-434: "In I Cor. VIII,6 the creation of all things through Christ and the creation of the Church through him are mentioned side by side. In Col. 1:15-20 this parallelism is worked out in detail . . . ."

eirēnopoiēsas dia tou haimatos tou staurou autou
di' autou eite ta epi tēs gēs eite en tois ourancis.

The highpoint of the hymn comes at Col. 1:20.[145] This verse implies that the harmony and unity of the universe had been seriously disturbed. Now, in the previous chapter of the present study, we saw that Paul holds man responsible for this unhappy state of affairs in the cosmos.[146] According to Rom. 1:18-32, man's crime was that he "exchanged (ēllaxan) the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles" (Rom. 1:23). Man also "exchanged (metēllaxan) the truth about God for a lie" (Rom. 1:25), and "exchanged (metēllaxan) natural relations for unnatural" (Rom. 1:26). By making these "exchanges," man disrupted the whole good order of God in creation. He spoiled all divinely-appointed relationships, and set the universe at odds with itself.

According to Col. 1:20, Jesus Christ set right all that Adam had put out of joint.[147] It pleased God through Christ to reconcile (apokatallaxai) all things to himself (Col. 1:20a). The ruinous exchanges (allassein; metallassein) which Adam made were corrected and redeemed by the reconciling (apokatallassein) work of the second Adam, Jesus Christ.[148] This reconciling work

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[145]Kehl, p. 125; Meuzelaar, p. 52.

[146]Supra, pp. 56-68, 95-103.

[147]On the Adam/Christ parallel here, see Fuller, p. 216.

[148]Kehl, pp. 159-161.

involved not only man but the whole universe (Col. 1:20b). Thus, in Colossians 1, as in Romans 8, Paul links the release and redemption of man with the reconciliation and liberation of the universe.

The resurrection and exaltation of Christ (Col. 1:18b-19) established Christ as the head of redeemed mankind and of the reconciled universe. As Lord of both creation and redemption, Christ has now entered upon his kingly rule (Col. 1:13; Phil. 2:9-11).

The sovereignty of the Messiah over the church, over all mankind, over the universe, and over all authorities and powers is implied in Col. 1:20c.[149] That Christ's mediatorial work involved also the establishment of his lordship over the principalities and powers is emphasized especially in a later section of the letter to the Colossians.

In Col. 2:13-15 Paul appropriates what appears to be a fragment of a confession formulated in hymnic phrases.[150] Undoubtedly the apostle did this, as Lohse says, "because it clearly expresses what was for him the essential connection between forgiveness of sins and victory over the powers and principalities."[151] On the cross of Christ the cheirographon which was against man was erased. On the cross of Christ the powers and authorities were stripped of their power. Consequently, where there is forgiveness of sins, there is freedom from the powers, and there is life and salvation.

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[149]Gabathuler, pp. 150-181; Kehl, pp. 137-161.

[150]Lohse, p. 106. On the whole passage, see Bandstra, The Law and the Elements, pp. 158-168; Wengst, pp. 186-194.

[151]Lohse, p. 107.

We have already suggested that the use of the term cheirographon indicates that the writer had in mind a legend about the fall of Adam.[152] The possibility that Adam hovers in the background in this passage is strengthened slightly by the occurrence of two other words. Paraptōma (Col. 2:13) is the term Paul used in Rom. 5:15-18,20 to describe Adam's disobedience by which hamartia came into the world and gained dominion. Secondly, the use of apekduesthai (Col. 2:15) reminds one of the rabbinic tradition that Adam was stripped of his garment of glory after the fall.[153]

The confessional hymn in Col. 2:13-15 ends on the high note of Christ's triumph over the principalities and powers.[154] The whole section, Col. 2:6-15, is in many respects a recapitulation of Col. 1:15-20. In view of the fact that the latter passage has a strong return-to-origins theme running through it, it is not surprising that Col. 2:13-15 should contain a similar motif.

The relationship between Christ and the cosmic powers is described in another passage in which Paul speaks of Christ's lordship in both creation and redemption. This passage is the second half of the Philippians hymn, Phil. 2:9-11; and that must now receive consideration.[155]

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[152] Supra, pp. 101-103. Lohse (p. 109) rejects the suggestion.

[153] Supra, p. 122.

[154] On the significance of "triumph" in Col. 2:15 see L. Williamson, "Led in Triumph: Paul's Use of thriambeuō," Interpretation, XXII (1968), 317-332.

[155] The first half of the Philippians hymn was discussed in some detail, supra, pp. 111-114. On Phil. 2:9-11, see the bibliography, supra, p. 111, note 12. See also: Thüsing, pp. 46-50; Longenecker, pp. 125-136; Wengst, pp. 144-156; K. Berger, "Zur Traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund Christologischer Hoheitstitel," New Testament Studies, XVII (1971), 391-425.

The "centre of gravity of the carmen Christi is the proclamation of Christ's lordship over all cosmic forces."[156] Unlike Col. 2:15, there is no suggestion in the Philippians passage of a conflict between Christ and the hostile powers.[157] The point of Phil. 2:9-11 is to proclaim the universality of Christ's lordship. The resurrected and exalted Lord is installed as Lord of the universe, and not only as Lord of the church.[158] This, according to Martin, is the meaning of the statements that Christ is "highly honored" and given the "name which is above every name."[159]

The first half of the Philippians hymn speaks, as we have seen, of the obedience and self-humiliation of the Christ who freely accepted the status of anthrōpos, and showed no anxiety to share the status of God (to einai hisa theō). In this he stood in marked contrast to Adam. Adam was not content to be who he was. The tempter's promise, "You shall be as God," moved Adam to attempt self-aggrandizement by way of disobedience. In so doing, Adam lost the glory of God, defaced the divine image, and abdicated his position of lordship over creation. Now, however, man's true existence is seen in the obedience, humiliation and exaltation of Jesus Messiah, who now exercises the dominion over creation which Adam forfeited.

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[156] Martin, p. viii.

[157] R. Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror: Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament (New York: MacMillan Co., 1954), p. 115.

[158] Lohmeyer, Philipper, p. 97.

[159] Martin, p. 235.

Thus the first half of the hymn in Phil. 2:6-11 appears to draw a contrast between Adam and Christ. The second half of the hymn follows the same pattern. The majority of modern commentators are agreed that at Phil. 2:10-11 the author of the Christ-hymn is making use of the two parts of the parallelismus membrorum in Is. 45:23.[160] Larsson has further suggested that Phil. 2:9 is dependent upon Is. 45:3.[161] He argues that Is. 45:1-4 contains a number of promises which God gave to Cyrus (tō Christō mou Kurō). In Is. 45:4 Cyrus is promised that he will be given God's name: ego kalesō se tō onomati mou.[162] Larsson suggests that the writer of the Philippians passage understood Is. 45:4 as a prophecy that God would give Christ the "name which is above every name," that is, the name kurios.

In the LXX we find that Israel, the Temple and Jerusalem are said to be "called by the name of the Lord" (to onoma kuriou epikeklētai).[163] The meaning of this and similar phrases appears to be that Israel or the Temple or Jerusalem is the place of God's Presence. It is feasible that the reference to the giving of the kurios title to Christ (Phil. 2:10) is intended to suggest that Jesus Christ is the place of God's Presence. The last verse of the Philippians hymn would then parallel the final verse of Col. 1:15-20.

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[160] See, for example, Hahn, p. 110; Martin, pp. 255-257. Most commentators here follow Lohmeyer (Kurios Jesus, p. 57).

[161] Larsson, pp. 256-258.

[162] The MT and some mss. of the LXX read here: "your name."

[163] E.g., Deut. 28:10; 3 Kings 8:43; 2 Chron. 6:33; 7:14; 20:9; I Esdras 4:63; 6:32; Jer. 7:14; 7:30; 14:9; 41:15; Dan. 9:18-19.

But the phrase to onoma kurious epikeklētai and similar phrases are also used in the LXX to refer to a transfer of Yahweh's authority. Men or angels act in the name of or in the place of Yahweh.[164] Sometimes the phrase occurs in the context of a confession concerning God's creative activity. Thus throughout Isaiah 45 the prophet emphasizes the fact that the God who will perform various promised acts of salvation and deliverance is the Creator God (Is. 45:7-9,11-12,18). In Is. 43:7 the giving of the divine name is expressly associated with the act of creation:

> pantas hosoi epikeklēntai tō onomati mou.
> en gar tē doxē mou kateskeuasa auton
> kai eplasa kai epoiēsa auton.

If, as seems likely, the emphasis in Phil. 2:10 is on the transfer of God's authority to Christ, who now exercises complete lordship over creation,[165] then it may be permissible to find in the phrase "given him a name which is above every name" an allusion by way of contrast to the first creation. Adam was given the name, or rather, the function of "lord." He was told to rule (archein) and to exercise lordship (katakurieuein) over the earth and all creatures (Gen. 1:28). By his disobedience Adam relinquished his responsibilities as lord. The things over which man was supposed to rule became the objects of his worship (Rom. 1:23,25). Man forfeited the name and function of "lord."

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[164] Ex. 23:21; Jer. 15:16; Bar. 2:15; cf. Heb. Hen. 3:2; 4:1; 12:5; Test. Levi 5:5; 4 Esra 4:2,5,22,38,41; 5:33,34,38,56; 6:11, 18,27.

[165] Cf. Berger, XVII, 414-417. Berger, however, thinks that Phil. 2:10 is intended to emphasize the transference of prophetic authority to Jesus Christ.

Christ, on the other hand, was obedient to God. Christ, like Adam, died. But by a new creative act--the resurrection--God raised Christ to a position of lordship over all creation. Jesus Messiah was given the name "lord," a name which Adam had coveted and so lost. Because Jesus Christ is Lord, the creation is being restored to its pristine good order and harmony; it is being returned to the service of God's glory.[166]

We find, then, that the motif of return-to-origins is present in the second half of the Philippians hymn, just as it is present in the first half. In both sections of the hymn the author contrasts the actions, and the results of the actions, of Adam and of Christ.

The last passage which must be considered in this study of the use of the return-to-origins motif to describe the lordship of Christ in creation and redemption is Rom. 8:19-23,38-39.[167] We have already seen that, according to Rom. 8:19-23, the creation of man in the divine image raises him above all creatures. But it does not separate man from creation. There is a solidarity between man and the cosmos both in creation and in redemption. One result of this solidarity is that the whole universe has been drawn into the terrible tragedy occasioned by man's sin. The earth was cursed for Adam's sake (Rom. 8:20).[168]

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[166]Gibbs, "Cosmic Christology," Journal, XC, 473; Cf. Thüsing, p. 59.

[167]Cf. the bibliography, supra, p. 99, note 146.

[168]Cf. supra, pp. 99-100.

However, the redemption of man through Christ's death and resurrection also affects the whole creation. Just because the work of Christ embraced the whole of ktisis, creation shares man's hope. It shares the waiting and groaning of the sons of God for perfection (Rom. 8:21-22). Hence the solidarity of man and creation under the lordship of death and decay has been turned into a solidarity under the lordship of Jesus Christ, by the cross and the empty tomb.

It is the very comprehensiveness of the lordship of Christ (Phil. 2:9-11; Col. 1:15-20) which guarantees the effectiveness of God's redemptive purpose in creation. Paul is quite certain of the universality of Christ's lordship. At the same time he is realistic about the extent of the powers which want to oppose the lordship. The various powers named in Rom. 8:38-39--thanatos, zōē, aggeloi, archai, enestōta, mellonta, dunameis, hupsōma, bathos--are realities as far as Paul is concerned.[169] They are inimical to God's people. Eventually, however, they must and will be subjected to Christ (I Cor. 15:24-28). Paul's insistence that these powers, real and terrible though they be, cannot separate Christians from their Lord, shows the extent of Christ's lordship over the powers.

Thus the closing verses of Romans 8 encapsulate the results of our study of a number of pericopes in this section of the present chapter. The lordship of the Messiah extends over all creation, including the cosmic forces. At the same time, Christ is lord of redemption. The redeemed sons of God can say with certainty that

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[169] Supra, pp. 100-101.

they will not be separated from the love of God which is in the Lord Jesus Christ (en Christō Iēsou tō kuriō hēmōn, Rom. 8:39b). There is, as Dodd remarks, no arguing with such certainty.[170]

Summary

In this chapter we reached the conclusion that the return-to-origins motif permeates much of Paul's teaching on the person and work of Jesus the Messiah. The study was conducted at the hand of some of the major Christological passages in the corpus Paulinum.

The first section was devoted to an examination of Paul's use of the Adam/Christ typology. We found that the typology occurred not only in those passages in which the name of Adam is used, but also in other passages where the parallel and contrast between Adm and Christ is implied rather than expressed. The most important of these passages is Phil. 2:6-11. We noted furthermore that the Adam/Christ typology should be viewed not as an isolated theme, but as an integral part of the larger return-to-origins motif.

The second section concentrated attention on Paul's view of Christ as the image and glory of God. Our study served to strengthen the conclusion arrived at already in the previous chapter of the present work; namely, that the concepts of image and glory belong to the return-to-origins motif. We found that Paul uses these terms, together with related terms such as prōtotokos, archē and kephalē, to speak about Jesus Christ in such a way that he stands in marked contrast to Adam and to Israel.

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[170]C. Harold Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, in the Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), p. 146.

In the final section of the chapter we examined some passages which confess the lordship of Christ in both creation and redemption. In these passages, too, the return-to-origins motif was prominent. It was used to bring out the contrast between the destruction and enslavement which Adam brought into the world, and the creating and redeeming activities of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We discovered that the close relationship which Paul posits between creation and redemption is based on the conviction that Jesus Christ is Lord of both creation and redemption. Creation and redemption are distinct activities. Yet they are inextricably bound together by virtue of the fact that they are both activities of the <u>one</u> Lord Jesus Christ.

Finally, it may be noted that many indications were given in the present chapter that the return-to-origins motif is in all likelihood not a Pauline innovation. Possibly it was known in the early church even before Paul wrote his epistles. Here one can speak only of "possibilities" and "probabilities." It is certain, however, that Paul approved of, and made much use of, the motif when speaking of the person and work of Jesus the Messiah.

In the next chapter we shall see how Paul used the return-to-origins motif in his description of the community which was brought into existence by Jesus Messiah. That is to say, we now proceed to examine Paul's view of Christ as the head of the new creation.

CHAPTER VI

THE RETURN-TO-ORIGINS MOTIF IN PAULINE THEOLOGY: THE COMMUNITY OF THE MESSIAH

Our intention in this final chapter on the return-to-origins motif in Pauline theology is to test the hypothesis that the motif of return-to-origins permeates Paul's theology of the community which was brought into existence by the Messiah. Attention will be directed, first, to Paul's view of Christ as *aparche* and *prototokos*. Consideration will then be given to various aspects of the apostle's teaching concerning Christ as the Head of the church, and the church as the body of Christ. Lastly, a brief study will be made of Paul's theology of the new creation.

Before we proceed to these matters, it is necessary to take cognizance of a concept which is presupposed in much of what Paul says about the community of the Messiah. This concept may be described as--

The Solidarity of Christians With Christ

Stewart once put forward the proposition that the "in Christ" formula is the key to an understanding of the whole of Paul's theology.[1] Certainly, even the casual reader of the Pauline epistles cannot but notice the constantly recurring phrases:

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[1]James S. Stewart, *A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, c.1935), p. vii and *passim*.

"into Christ," "in Christ," and "with Christ."[2] The debate on the many nuances of these phrases, and on the relationship between them, is a perennial one.[3] We cannot now enter the discussion. It may, however, be said without too much argument, that by the "in-, with-, and into Christ" expressions, Paul intends to convey the idea that a close relationship exists between Christ and the individual Christian, and between Christ and the Christian community. Furthermore, it appears that Paul wishes to show that in some way Christians

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[2]Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (New York: Harper and Brothers, c.1955), p. 86: "the formula which Paul most frequently used to describe the nature of the Christian man was that he was 'in Christ.'" Cf. also J. K. S. Reid, "The Phrase 'in Christ,'" Theology Today, XVII (1960), 353-365. Reid notes that the expression "in Christ" occurs 164 times in the Pauline corpus.

[3]A comprehensive bibliography is provided by F. Neugebauer, En Christō: Eine Untersuchung zum Paulinischen Glaubenverständnis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 189-196. To Neugebauer's list may be added the following: C. F. D. Moule, The Phenomenon of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 22-42; M. Bouttier, Christianity According to Paul (London: SCM Press, c.1966), pp. 31-117; W. Thüsing, Per Christum in Deum: Studien zum Verhältnis von Christocentrik und Theozentrik in den paulinischen Hauptbriefe (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1965), pp. 61-114; W. Bartling, "The New Creation in Christ: A Study of the Pauline en Christō Formula," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXI (June 1950), 401-418; E. Best, One Body in Christ: A Study of the Relationship of the Church to Christ in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul (London: SPCK, 1955), pp. 1-73; R. Longenecker, Paul, Apostle of Liberty (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 161-170; F. Gerritzen, "Le sens et l'origine de l'EN CHRISTŌ paulinien," in Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus (Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1963), II, 323-332. This two-volume work is hereafter referred to as SPCIC. Cf. also A. Oepke, "En Christō Iēsou," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich; translated and edited by G. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964--), II, 541-543. This dictionary is hereafter referred to as TDNT. Cf. further H. L. Parisius, "Über die forensische Deutungsmöglichkeit des paulinischne en Christō," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLIX (1958), 285-288. Parisius suggests that in eleven passages in Paul the phrase "in Christ" should be taken in a forensic sense. It means "before the tribunal of Christ."

participate in those events of Christ's life which matter: Christ's suffering, death, burial, resurrection and exaltation.[4]

Bartling writes:

> Being in Christ implies a real participation of the believer in everything that Christ has suffered and done as the divine Agent of reconciliation. Furthermore . . . this participation of the believer in Christ is not some sort of fictitious imputation, but the believer is in a very real sense incorporated into the historical person of Christ, who died on Calvary and rose the third day. But this is possible only because all men were, in principle, already from the beginning (i.e., already on Good Friday and Easter) incorporated in Christ, their Representative and Substitute.[5]

One passage from Paul's writings is sufficient to illustrate Bartling's remarks. We take Rom. 6:3-11:

> Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.
>
> For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed. . . . But if we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. . . . So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus.

Scholars have attempted to convey the significance of these "in-, with-, and into Christ" phrases by speaking of a new corporate personality which is created in Christ. For reasons given in a previous chapter of the present study,[6] it is better to speak not of the corporate personality created in Christ, but of the solidarity relationship which exists between Christ and his community.

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[4]Best, p. 57.

[5]Bartling, XXI, 406.

[6]<u>Supra</u>, pp. 57-58.

There are four elements in Paul's use of the concept of solidarity:

1. The individual Christian exists in solidarity with Christ.
2. The Christian community exists in solidarity with Christ.
3. Solidarity exists within the Christian community.
4. The Christian community exists in solidarity with the cosmos.

With the concept of solidarity as a "given," we shall proceed to examine some facets of Paul's teaching on the community which was brought into being by the Messiah, and the relationship between the Messiah and this community.

Christ as the Aparchē and Prōtotokos[7] (I Cor. 15:20,23; Rom. 8:23;29; Col. 1:15,18)

In the great resurrection chapter of First Corinthians, Paul twice designates Jesus Christ as the aparchē:

> Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep . . . . But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ (I Cor. 15:20,23).

This image of Christ as the first fruits recalls a pattern of Jewish thought in which the first fruits as the first of the crop represent the whole. In the first fruits are concentrated the entire power and blessedness of the harvest. Hence, as Pedersen remarks, "the first fruits have a special possibility of being holy and acting by their own holiness on the growth of the rest of the produce. . . . 'First fruits' and 'holy' become synonymous ideas

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[7]Cf. supra, pp. 81-82, 137-139.

(Jer. 2:3; Ezek, 48:14)."[8] The idea of the first fruits played an important role in Jewish festivals and the temple liturgy.[9]

In I Cor. 15:20,23 Paul describes Christ as the "first fruits of those who have fallen asleep." In this way he suggests that there is a unity between the resurrected Christ and those who have died. It is a unity of the kind that prevails between the first fruits and the rest of the crop.[10] A continuity exists between the nature of the body of the resurrected Christ and the nature of the future body of the believers. This, it seems, is the assumption underlying the metaphor of aparchē in I Cor. 15:20,23.

Christ is described as aparchē only in the context of resurrection. Resurrection is an act of creation; hence in speaking of the resurrection, Paul uses the vocabulary of creation.[11] We have already seen that aparchē belongs to the language of the return-to-orignns motif.[12] This observation is supported by Paul's use of the Adam/Christ typology in I Cor. 15:20,23, and especially by I Cor. 15:46-49.[13] In the latter passage, Paul elaborates on the

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[8]Johannes Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture (London: Oxford University Press, c.1940), III, 301.

[9]Paul S. Minear, Images of the Church in the New Testament (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), p. 112.

[10]Best, p. 38.

[11]Cf. H. Schwantes, Schöpfung der Endzeit: ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Auferweckung bei Paulus (Stuttgart: Calver Verlag, 1963), pp. 56-61. Cf. G. Lindeskog, Studien Zum Neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1952), I, 219, 241, 264-265.

[12]Supra, pp. 81-82.

[13]Supra, pp. 83-87.

corporate meaning of Christ's resurrection. The Adam/Christ typology, creation, new creation and resurrection are all woven together to form a commentary on Paul's statement that Christ is the aparchē of them that are asleep.

The connection of aparchē with creation and resurrection is illustrated in Rom. 8:23:

> And not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our body.[14]

Earlier in the eighth chapter of Romans, Paul declares that "he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through His Spirit which dwells in you" (Rom. 8:11). In I Cor. 15:46, the last Adam (Jesus Christ) is said to be a "life-giving Spirit."[15] It is possible that "the first fruits of the Spirit" (Rom. 8:23) is Jesus Christ himself. Be that as it may, a comparison between Rom. 8:11 and 8:23 indicates that it is the Spirit of God who is credited with being the agent of resurrection and of the creation of man's new nature ("the redemption of our body").[16] This same Spirit was active at the first creation. In

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[14]On Rom. 8:23 see, J. Swetnam, "On Romans 8,23 and the 'Expectation of Sonship,'" Biblica, XLVIII (1967), 102-108; C. C. Oke, "A Suggestion with regard to Romans 8:23," Interpretation, XI (1957), 455-460.

[15]Supra, pp. 83-87. Zoōpoiein (I Cor. 15:46; Rom. 8:11) is part of the vocabulary of creation. Cf. Schwantes, pp. 57-58.

[16]For a comment on the singular "Body" (Rom. 8:23) see John A. T. Robinson, The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology (London: SCM Press, 1952), pp. 29-30.

the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, the Spirit was said to be the agent of the resurrection and of that new creation which would be accomplished in the times of the Messiah.[17]

According to Paul, then, to have the aparchē of the Spirit is to have the sure hope that these poor bodies of ours (Phil. 3:21a) will one day be resurrected, recreated, changed to be like Christ's body of glory (Phil. 3:21b). The guarantor of this event, and the one who will accomplish it by his power (Phil. 3:21c) is the aparchē tōn kekoimēmenōn, Jesus Christ (I Cor. 15:20,23,46-49).

The thought of Christ as the aparchē is paralleled and complemented by another title which Paul ascribes to Christ; namely prōtotokos. This title is given to Christ on three occasions in the Pauline epistles.[18] Christ is called prōtotokos twice in the letter to the Colossians. In our study of the Colossian Christ-hymn,[19] we found that the term prōtotokos is linked both with creation (Col. 1:15) and with redemption (Col. 1:18). The term signifies, primarily, priority of rank. But the title also suggests a strong element of rule, authority, power. This is brought out especially in Col. 1:18, where Christ is said to be the "firstborn of the dead." In this passage the meaning of prōtotokos comes very close to that of aparchē in I Cor. 15:20,23. As the prōtotokos ek

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[17]E.g., Is. 32:15; 44:1-5; Joel 3:1-5; Ezek, 37:1-4. Cf. B. Schneider, "The Corporate Meaning and Background of I Cor. 15,45b: HO ESCHATOS ADAM EIS PNEUMA ZOOPOIOUN," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXIX (1967), 158-159.

[18]Col. 1:15,18; Rom. 8:29.

[19]Supra, pp. 137-138.

tōn nekrōn, the Lord Jesus Christ initiates and makes possible similar resurrections among the believers.[20]

The third passage in which Paul describes Christ as prōtotokos is Rom. 8:29:

> For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.

The context in which this verse is set indicates that Paul once again uses prōtotokos in connection with the resurrection.[21] Not unexpectedly, the thought of creation is also present.[22] The word eikōn occurs in Rom. 8:29. Wherever eikōn is used in the letters of Paul, there is an association with creation.[23] Furthermore, Romans 8 mirrors a number of ideas which are found in I Cor. 15:45-49.[24] In the latter passage, a contrast is drawn between psuchikos and pneumatikos, between the first and the second creation. In Romans 8, the contrast is between pneuma and sarx/sōma. Life after the Spirit is the life of the new creation. The new creation produces a new, Christlike, spiritual humanity. Jesus Christ is the prōtotokos of this new humanity. No doubt the thought of priority of rank is implied here, but the emphasis is on

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[20] W. Michaelis, "Prōtotokos," TDNT, VI, 877-878.

[21] Cf. J. Jervell, Imago Dei: Gen. 1:26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und im den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 208, 271-276. Michaelis (VI, 877) says, in opposition to Jervell, that "the resurrection is not in view."

[22] Jervell, p. 275.

[23] 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6; I Cor. 11:7; Rom. 1:23; I Cor. 15:45-49; Col. 1:15; 3:9-10; Eph. 4:22-24.

[24] Jervell, p. 275; Schneider, XXIX, 458-459.

similarity of form.[25] "God's determination to make the believer conform to the image of Christ results in Christ's becoming the first-born."[26]

We find, then, that the designation of Christ as aparchē and prōtotokos is one way of expressing the solidarity which exists between Christ and the Christian community. Both terms imply a priority of rank. They also imply a continuity of nature between the one who is at the head and the ones who follow him. The aspect of priority of rank in the terms aparchē and prōtotokos points to the lordship of Christ. It is the risen Man, the Lord Jesus, who makes possible the Christian's new existence. The thought of solidarity which is implicit in the titles aparchē and prōtotokos emphasizes the truth that Christ is the inclusive personality of the new creation. In some way Christ mediates his own life to the believer.

Paul equated the humanity of the exalted Christ with that of the man who is given eternal life. Scroggs suggests that this equation was suggested by the Jewish motif of Adam as the first patriarch of Israel.[27] Paul sees Adam and Christ as the Stammvater of his particular humanity. Just as Adam was the patriarch of the old creation, so Christ is the founder and progenitor of

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[25]Michaelis, VI, 877.

[26]Robin Scroggs, The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. 104.

[27]Scroggs, p. 106. Scroggs notes that in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, "Adam is both the first father and the image of the eschatological community" (p. 23).

the new creation or the eschatological community of the Messiah.[28] Christ determines the fate of his followers just as Adam determined the fate of his descendants (Rom. 5:12-21; I Cor. 15:20-23).

Scroggs concedes that the evidence for the suggestion that Paul made the transfer from Adam as patriarch to Christ as patriarch is "at best implicit."[29] One point, not implicit but quite explicit, in favor of Scroggs' suggestion is that the title prōtotokos is given in the Old Testament and Judaism both to Adam and to Israel.[30] In the New Testament the title is applied, with but two exceptions, only to Jesus Christ.[31] The community of which Christ is the prōtotokos is sometimes described as a new creation. Sometimes it is thought of as the new Israel.[32] In Gal. 6:15-16, both of these thoughts are combined:

> For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation. Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God.[33]

This verse is a good example of the use of the return-to-origins motif to describe the new situation introduced by the Messiah.

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[28]Cf. E. Schweizer, "Die Kirche als Leib Christi in den paulinischen Homologumena," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXVI (1961), cols. 169-170. See also E. Schweizer, "Sōma," TDNT, VII, 1072.

[29]Scroggs, p. 107.

[30]Examples are given by Michaelis, VI, 873-875.

[31]Luke 2:7; Rom. 8:29; Col. 1:15,18; Heb. 1:6; Rev. 1:5. The two exceptions are Heb. 11:28; 12:23.

[32]Cf. N. A. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes (2nd edition; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, c.1962), pp. 216, 226.

[33]On Gal. 6:15-16 see especially P. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 70-158.

The foregoing discussion of the significance of the terms aparchē and prōtotokos may be summarized as follows:

Christ is called aparchē and prōtotokos in the context of creation and resurrection (which is regarded as a new creative act). Implicit in the two terms are the thoughts of Christ as the mediator of the old and new creations, and Christ as the Stammvater of a new humanity. Christ is the reality of God's intent for humanity. The people of the Messiah are to be conformed to this same new humanity. It is not certain that at this point Paul's thinking was influenced by his reflection upon the relationship between Christ and Adam. But it does seem that the context in which aparchē and prōtotokos are used supports the notion that these titles belong to the vocabulary of the motif of return-to-origins.

At this juncture consideration must be given to a set of ideas which are related to the present discussion, namely, the relationship between the Messiah and the community of the Messiah.

The Community as the Body of the Messiah and The Messiah as the Head of the Community (Col. 1:18,24; 2:19; Eph. 1:22-23; 4:15-16; 5:21-33)

The material which could be included in this section is so voluminous that an arbitrary selection must be made in order to examine adequately only a small part.[34] The scope of our study is dictated by the overall objective of the chapter, which is to

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[34]A basic bibliography on the Pauline concept of the Body of Christ is provided by Schweizer, "Sōma," TDNT, VII, 1024. Additional works, especially those published after 1961, will be noted in subsequent footnotes.

show that the return-to-origins motif is present in Paul's theology of the Messianic community. With this goal in mind, we proceed with our stury.

In four passages of the so-called Pauline antilegomena, the Christian community, or the church, is specifically called the body of the Messiah. These passages are:

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

Col. 1:24: "for the sake of his body, that is, the church."

Eph. 1:22,23: "the church, which is his body."

Eph. 5:29,30: "as Christ does the church, for we are members of his body."[35]

In the so-called Pauline homologumena, Paul nowhere states explicitly that the church is the body of the Messiah. He says, rather, that Christians belong to the body of Christ.[36] It would appear, however, that the difference between the views expressed in Colossians and Ephesians and in the major epistles is, as Whitely says, "one of phraseology rather than of theological substance."[37]

What is the origin and meaning of the Pauline concept of the messianic community as the body of the Messiah? The various answers which have been given to that question have been summarized by Robinson, Best, and most recently, by Bauer and Jewett.[38] The study

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[35]For brief comments on these passages see: J. J. Meuzelaar, Der Leib des Messias (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., N.V., 1961), pp. 48-56; Robinson, pp. 65-72.

[36]E.g., Rom. 12:4-5; I Cor. 12:12-27; I Cor. 6:15; I Cor. 10:17. For comments on the Corinthian passages, see A. J. M. Wedderburn, "The Body of Christ and Related Concepts in I Corinthians," Scottish Journal of Theology, XXIV (1971), 74-96.

[37]D. H. Whitely, The Theology of St. Paul (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), p. 191. Cf. Robinson, p. 10.

[38]Robinson, pp. 55-58; Best, pp. 83-95; cf. E. Best, "The Body

by Jewett is especially exhaustive and helpful. In our survey of the many possibilities, we will concentrate on those which have a bearing on our thesis regarding the presence of the return-to-origins motif in Paul's view of the relationship between Christ and his community.[39]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Bousset and Reitzenstein[40] assumed the existence of a pre-Christian gnostic myth concerning a redeemed-redeemer. They believed that this myth could supply the explanation for the Pauline view of the body of Christ.

Käsemann, writing in 1933, took up this suggestion and used the idea of the gnostic myth to explain Paul's view.[41] The myth which Käsemann proposed is given here in Jewett's English version:

> The divine "Aeon-Urmensch" with a gigantic body went to earth and was imprisoned in the material world. Only a part of him was able to escape this bondage so that fragments of his body remained caught on earth. In order to redeem them, this "Urmensch" returned to earth once again and imparted the saving knowledge which enabled the fragments to free themselves and be united in the body.[42]

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of Christ," Ecumenical Review, IX (1957), 122-128; K.-A. Bauer, Leiblichkeit: das Ende aller Werke Gottes (Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1971); R. Jewett, Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 201-250.

[39]For the survey which follows, I am especially indebted to the work of Jewett, pp. 227-250.

[40]W. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907); R. Reitzenstein, Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1921).

[41]E. Käsemann, Leib und Leib Christi: Eine Untersuchung zur paulinischen Begrifflichkeit (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933). For Käsemann's more recent position, see "The Theological Problem Presented by the Motif of the Body of Christ," in Perspectives on Paul (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, c.1971), pp. 102-121.

[42]Jewett, p. 231.

The all-important element in Käsemann's reconstructed gnostic myth is the combination of the divine Urmensch figure and the Aeon-Giant, whose body includes the elect. Käsemann believed that this combination occurred early in Gnosticism, when the Urmensch figure was united with the idea of suggeneia. This allowed the identification of the Urmensch with the redeemer as well as with the redeemed in one phusis.[43]

Schmithals added to Käsemann's hypothesis by connecting the redeemed-redeemer Urmensch figure with Jewish speculations concerning Adam and the Son of Man.[44] Schmithals' thesis has not met with wide acceptance. But the idea of a gnostic redeemed-redeemer Urmensch myth persisted and grew with its adoption by Schlier, Pokorny, Hegermann and others.[45] Especially vigorous support was provided by Brandenburger in his study entitled Adam und Christus.[46]

Brandenburger's thesis is that "an Adam speculation developed on the fringes of 'orthodox' Judaism in pre-Christian times and that this sort of speculation was active in Corinth, as is evidenced by Paul's correction of it in I Cor. 15:46."[47] This Adam speculation was connected with the cosmogonic Urmensch figure whose body

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[43] Ibid.

[44] W. Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth: eine Untersuchung zu der Korintherbriefes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965).

[45] H. Schlier, "Corpus Christi," in Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum, edited by Th. Klauser (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1957), III, cols. 437-453; Peter Pokorny, "Sōma Christou in Epheserbrief," Evangelische Theologie, XX (1960), 456-464; H. Hegermann, "Zur Ableitung der Leib-Christi-Vorstellung," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXV (1960), 840-842.

[46] E. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962).

[47] Jewett, p. 234.

makes up the world. The idea of existence in Adam, of being like Adam, and related ideas, implies existence in Adam's body.[48] All these thoughts were transferred by Paul to Christ, the last Adam. Thus, Brandenburger says, the Adam speculation provides an adequate explanation for Paul's theology of the Body of Christ.[49]

Recent research by Colpe and Schenke has exposed the redeemed-redeemer Urmensch myth to be an invention of modern scholarship, and not a pre-Christian gnostic myth.[50] Schenke has shown that the combination of the idea of a divine giant whose body embraces the cosmos, and of a gnostic divine man to form the redeemed-redeemer figure, did not take place until the rise of Manichaeism in the third century of the Christian era. Schenke's conclusion is inescapable: "Damit heisst es, Abschied zu nehmen von den so interessanten Theorien Schliers und Käsemanns."[51]

Commenting on the failure of the attempt to explain Paul's sōma Christou concept on the basis of the myth of the redeemed-redeemer Urmensch figure, Jewett writes: "This collapse of the explanation which had come closest to providing a parallel to Pauline usage leaves an immense gap which must be filled with a new hypothesis."[52]

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[48]Brandenburger, p. 152; Jewett, p. 234.

[49]A critique of Brandenburger is offered by Scroggs, pp. xviii.

[50]C. Colpe, Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961); H.-M. Schenke, Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962).

[51]Schenke, p. 154; cf. Meuzelaar, pp. 8-10.

[52]Jewett, p. 237.

The "new" hypothesis which has been proposed is really an old one: the explanation of the sōma Christou concept in terms of the idea of corporate personality.[53] Eduard Schweizer is usually credited with revitalizing the corporate personality hypothesis.[54] His concern has been not so much to find the actual source of Paul's terminology, but to look for the background against which the term was used. Schweizer believes that the phrase itself--sōma tou Christou--was probably created by Paul himself.[55] Paul's peculiar notion of a unity between saved and savior in one sōma is rooted in Judaic Adam speculation. This speculation took three forms. Adam was thought of as (1) An angelic being; (2) Wisdom; (3) A patriarchal figure who represents all men in the tribe.[56]

In Schweizer's opinion, the last of these three strands had the greatest effect on the development of Paul's thought concerning the sōma tou Christou. Schweizer supports his argument with references to Philo's picture of Moses and Jacob as heavenly personages related to Adam and the Logos, who represent and save their people.[57]

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[53]Cf. C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul (Cambridge: University Press, c.1927); Jewett, pp. 220-224, 237-241.

[54]Schweizer, "Sōma," TDNT, VII, 1067-1080; Schweizer, "Homologumena," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXVI, cols. 161-174; E. Schweizer, The Church as The Body of Christ (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, c.1964), pp. 41-74.

[55]Schweizer, "Homologumena," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXVI, 71; Cf. J. Reuss, "Die Kirche als 'Leib Christi' und die Herkunft dieser Vorstellung bei dem Apostel Paulus," Biblische Zeitschrift, II (1958), 103-127.

[56]Schweizer, "Sōma," TDNT, VII, 1072.

[57]Schweizer, "Sōma," TDNT, VII, 1072, notes 451, 455. On Moses as a patriarchal and corporate figure, see C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), pp. 50-68.

Another scholar who argues strongly for the Hebraic source of the Pauline sōma tou Christou concept is Davies.[58] His thesis is that Paul invented the sōma tou Christou phrase on the analogy of the "body of Adam" phrase which was implicit in rabbinic usage. Paul accepted the traditional rabbinic doctrine of the unity of mankind in Adam. In this connection Davies writes as follows:

> That doctrine implied that the very constitution of the physical body of Adam and the method of its formation was symbolic of the real oneness of mankind . . . The "body" of Adam included all mankind. Was it not natural, then, that Paul when he thought of the new humanity being incorporated "in Christ" should have conceived of it as the "body" of the Second Adam . . . The purpose of God in Christ is "in the dispensation of the fulness of times" "to gather together in one all things in Christ," i.e., the reconstitution of the essential oneness in Christ as a spiritual community, as it was in Adam in a physical sense.[59]

One difficulty with Davies' hypothesis is that, although the rabbis acknowledge that all men sprang from Adam and that mankind is a unity (M. Sanh. IV,5), they do not relate the unity of mankind in Adam with the body of Adam. The best evidence for Davies' view is "both isolated and late."[60]

Jewett, who provided most of the material for the foregoing survey, believes that a definite analogy to the Pauline sōma tou

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[58]Davies views are set out in his major work on Pauline theology, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology, especially, pp. 36-57. Cf. Jewett, pp. 239-240.

[59]Davies, p. 57. Davies believes that his solution gives the most satisfactory answer to the questions posed by A. Schweitzer: "How could a thinker come to produce this conception of the extention of the body of a personal being? How can Paul regard it as self-evident that he can make use of it without ever explaining it?" (Davies, p. 56).

[60]Scroggs, p. 105, note 77. Cf. the criticisms by Jewett, pp. 239-240; Best, One Body, p. 92.

Christou is to be found in what he calls the "guf-Adam" concept in Judaism.[61] According to this concept, Adam's gigantic body included in it the souls of the elect which should later be born. Jewett finds that the "guf-Adam" concept provides a parallel to Pauline usage in two respects:

1. The inclusion of the individual souls or spirits in the gigantic body.
2. The identification of the individual souls or spirits with the name and character of a person.[62]

The parallels which Jewett suggests would be impressive were it not for the fact that Scroggs, writing five years before Jewett, had already demonstrated that the concept of "guf" does not refer to the body of Adam. Guf is never defined as Adam's body; it is "more likely a place not in Adam but in the heavenly courts."[63]

Our review of the various hypotheses regarding the origins of Paul's concept of sōma tou Christou has shown that no single theory is flawless. The thesis of Schweizer appears to hold the most promise for further investigation. Paul himself created the term sōma tou Christou. He was influenced by speculations concerning Adam in Judaism, in particular the thought of Adam as a patriarchal figure who represents all men and somehow determines their future. The influence of gnostic speculation is not ruled out by this view, for Adam-speculation in late-Judaism was influenced to some extent by Gnosticism.[64]

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[61] Jewett, pp. 242-246.

[62] Ibid., p. 245.

[63] Scroggs, p. 58; cf. R. Meyer, "Sarx," TDNT, VII, 116, note 151.

[64] Meuzelaar, pp. 12-13.

It may be said with growing confidence that a close correspondence exists between Paul's view of Adam and mankind on the one hand, and his view of the Messiah and his people on the other. Käsemann, who is apparently in the process of shifting from his earlier position,[65] says categorically that "the motif of the church as the body of Christ cannot be isolated from the characteristic Pauline Christology of the second Adam."[66]

If Paul's sōma tou Christou concept is to be connected with his Adamic Christology, then there is a strong possibility that the return-to-origins motif is made use of by Paul in his description of the relationship between the Messiah and the messianic community. This possibility is strengthened by Paul's description of Christ as the "head" of the body.[67]

Jesus Messiah is called "head" in I Cor. 11:3, Col. 1:18; 2:10,19; Eph. 1:22; 4:15; 5:23b. From this list may be eliminated I Cor. 11:3; Col. 2:10; Eph. 1:22. These passages do not refer to Christ as the head of the body or the church. It might, however, be noted in passing that I Cor. 11:3 is part of a discussion in which

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[65]According to a report by J. P. Sampley, And The Two Shall Become One Flesh (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), pp. 63-64, and note 1. Sampley bases his observations on "reports from students in his [Käsemann's] seminars, and his refusal to allow a republication of an unmodified version of Leib und Leib Christi."

[66]Käsemann, "Theological Problem," p. 112. Cf. M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Man," Scottish Journal of Theology, VII (1954), 179: "The Second Adam doctrine lies behind . . . the conception of the Church as the Body of Christ."

[67]A discussion of the concept is provided by Meuzelaar, pp. 117-126. For evidence that the term kephalē is part of the vocabulary of return-to-origins, see supra, pp. 139-140.

Paul offers an interpretation of, or reflections upon, the opening chapters of Genesis, especially Gen. 1:26-27 and 2:18-22.[68]

In Col. 1:18 Paul describes Christ as the head of the body, the church. We have already seen that the return-to-origins motif is present in the Christological hymn, Col. 1:15-20.[69]

Christ is again called the head in Col. 2:19. That he is the head of the body is implied, not expressly stated. Apart from the possibility that the metaphors of "head" and "body" are part of the return-to-origins theme, there is no definite evidence of the motif in this verse.

The next passage to be considered is Eph. 4:15,16. The return-to-origins motif is not evident in the passage itself, but it may be noted that the verses are set in a context where the return-to-origins motif is sounded. In Eph.4:8-10 (the prior context), there is a citation from Ps. 68:18. The rabbis applied Ps. 68:18 to Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai to receive the law.[70] Paul compares Christ's ascension with Moses' ascent of Sinai. Moses returned from Sinai bearing the great gift of the law. Christ, however, ascended in order to bring even greater and more glorious gifts to men. Furthermore, the term plērōma (Eph. 4:13) belongs to the

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[68]Jervell, pp. 292-312.

[69]Supra, pp. 134-141. On the passage, see N. Kehl, Der Christushymnus im Kolosserbrief (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1967), pp. 93-98.

[70]F. W. Beare, The Epistle to the Ephesians, in The Interpreter's Bible, edited by G. A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1953), X, 688.

language of return-to-origins.[71] Lastly, Eph. 4:17-24 (the subsequent context) contains parallels to Rom. 1:18-32 and I Cor. 15:43-50.[72] These two passages are permeated with the motif of return-to-origins.[73] Thus we find that, although the term kephalē only suggests the presence of the return-to-origins motif in Eph. 4:15-16, the context in which these verses are set strongly indicates the presence of the motif.

Finally we note Eph. 5:23: "For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church." Bailey has shown that the section, Eph. 5:21-33, is a hymn or poem.[74] Bailey's analysis shows that the Gen. 2:24 citation stands at the centre of part three of the poetic piece.[75] Dubarle has proposed that Gen. 2:24 is the basic text for Paul's doctrine of the sōma tou Christou.[76] Whether or not one agrees with Dubarle, it is clear that in Eph. 5:21-33 Paul reaches back to the history of the origins of man to speak about the relationship between Christ and his community.[77] He refers also to the beginnings of Israel. In the Old Testament the days of covenant-making in the wilderness are spoken of as the

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[71] Supra, pp. 140-141.

[72] Cf. Jervell, pp. 314, 323-324.

[73] Supra, pp. 56-69, 80-88.

[74] Kenneth E. Bailey, "A Study of Some Lucan Parables in the Light of Oriental Life and Poetic Style" (unpublished Th.D. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1972), p. 379.

[75] On the use of Gen. 2:24 in Eph. 5:21-33, see Sampley, pp. 51-61.

[76] A. M. Dubarle, "L'origine dans l'Ancien Testament de la notion paulienne de l'Église corps du Christ," in SPCIC, I, 231-240. Cf. the use of Gen. 2:24 at Eph. 2:15; and see Meuzelaar, pp. 47-48.

[77] Cf. S. Bedale, "The Meaning of kephalē in the Pauline Epistles," Journal of Theological Studies, V (1954), 214-215.

time of Israel's "espousal" (Jer. 2:2; Ezek. 16:8,43; 16:60).[78] The important place which the quotation from Gen. 2:24 occupies in the hymn, the use of the "head" metaphor, and the possible allusion to the espousal of Jahweh and Israel are all indications of the presence of the return-to-origins motif in Eph. 5:21-33.

Our review of those passages in which Christ is called "head" has shown:

1. That all the passages belong to the so-called Pauline antilegomena.
2. That in only two passages (Col. 1:18; Eph. 5:23) is Christ explicitly called head of the body or the church.
3. The return-to-origins motif occurs in Col. 1:18; Eph. 5:23, and possibly Eph. 4:15,16.

The conclusion to which we are led by our study of the possible background of Paul's concept of sōma tou Christou, and his use of the term "head" with reference to Christ,[79] is that the presence of the return-to-origins motif cannot be conclusively demonstrated. Whether the motif is actually present in Paul's theology of the church as the body of Christ and Christ as the head of the church can be determined more precisely only when more certainty is reached regarding the origins and background of Paul's sōma tou Christou concept.

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[78]A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 257.

[79]For a presentation of Paul's views concerning Christ as Head of the world, see J. H. Gabathuler, Jesus Christus: Haupt der Kirche--Haupt der Welt (Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1965), pp. 150-181.

Minear, in his book Images of the Church in the New Testament regards the images of the New Creation and the Body of Christ as the "two master images" of the church in the New Testament.[80] In the immediately preceding pages of the present study, we considered the one concept: the church as the body of the Messiah. We proceed now to a study of the second "master image," that is, the new creation.

The New Creation
(Rom. 6:3-11; 8:11-30; Gal. 6:15-16; Phil. 3:20-21; Col. 3:10-11; Eph. 4:17-24)

The term "new creation" (kainē ktisis) is used only twice in the Pauline homologumena. In 2 Cor. 5:17 Paul writes:

> Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; The old has passed away, behold the new has come.

The phrase "new creation" recurs in Gal. 6:15:

> For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation.[81]

Although the term "new creation" occurs only in the two passages cited above, the concept of a new creation is outlined in many places in the Pauline corpus.[82] For example, the thought of a

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[80]Minear, p. 236.

[81]For exegetical treatments of 2 Cor. 5:17 and Gal. 6:15, see besides the usual commentaries, Schwantes, pp. 26-31; P. Richardson, pp. 70-158; C. Boyer, "KAINĒ KTISIS," in SPCIC, I, 487-490.

[82]E.g., I Cor. 7:31; Rom. 8:18-22; Col. 1:15-20; 2:9-10,15; 5:24; Eph. 1:9-10,20-23; 2:1-2; 3:10,18-19; 5:21-6:12.

For studies on the concept of "new creation," see the following works: O. Cullmann, "Die Schöpfung im Neuen Testament," in Ex Auditu Verbi: Theologische Opstellen Aangeboden Aan Prof. Dr. G. C. Berkouwer (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1965), pp. 66-72; N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 422-443; Lindeskog, I,

new creation underlies Paul's statement in I Cor. 7:31, that Christians are to deal with the world as if they had not dealings with it. The reason given for this rejection of the world and its values is that the "form (to schēma) of this world is passing away." The world which will take the place of the old one will be a new creation. This new creation will not be a fresh start, but the old made new.[83] Since Paul speaks of a new creation it would appear that he accepted the Urzeit-Endzeit formulation which was so characteristic of the Judaism of his day.[84]

In our study of Paul's thought concerning the new creation we will note, first, the apostle's view of man as a new creature or a new creation, and secondly, the cosmic dimensions of the new creation. But before we proceed further with our study, it is

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217-251; Minear, pp. 105;135; G. Schneider, "Die Idee der Neuschöpfung beim Apostel Paulus und ihr religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund," Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift, LXVIII (1959), 257-270; E. E. Ellis, "II Corinthians V:1-10 in Pauline Eschatology," New Testament Studies, VI (1960), 211-224; Bartling, XXI, 407-409; J. Barr, "Themes from the Old Testament for the Elucidation of the New Creation," Encounter, XXXI (1970), 25-30; L. H. Taylor, The New Creation (New York: Pageant Press Inc., 1958), pp. 70-136; C. M. Edsman, "Schöpferwille und Geburt," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXXVIII (1939), 11-44; Barrett, 103-119; Meuzelaar, pp. 66-70; Bouttier, pp. 92-117.

On the thought of new creation in Qumran and Judaism, see E. Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Texten," Studia Theologica, IX (1955), 131-136; E. Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," Studia Theologica, IV (1950), 44-85; F. Mussner, "Beitrage aus Qumran zum Verständnis des Epheserbriefes," in Praesentia Salutis: Gesammelte Studien zu Fragen und Themen des Neuen Testaments (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1967), pp. 197-211.

[83]Robinson, p. 82.

[84]Scroggs, p. 62. Cf. E. Larsson, Christus als Vorbild: Eine Untersuchung zu den paulinischen Tauf- und Eikontexten (Upsala: C. K. Gleerup, 1962), p. 207.

necessary to take cognizance of two points which Scroggs emphasizes concerning the matter of a new creation.

Scroggs' first point is that the question of whether the new creation is to be a return to the actual conditions of the original creation, or whether it suggests something superior, probably would not have occurred to Paul.[85] Neither the Old Testament nor Judaism regarded God's intention at creation as inferior. Furthermore, Paul and his contemporaries did not feel obliged to describe the original perfection within the limits set by the Old Testament. "Jewish theology often used more 'super-historical' concepts than those found in the Old Testament to describe the content of the original perfection."[86]

We alluded above to Paul's possible acceptance of the Urzeit-Endzeit formulation. It would be a mistake to understand this formula as Urzeit = Endzeit. The new creation was thought to bring not only a restitution of the Urzeit, but a transformation of it.[87] The Urzeit provided a type; or it was a pattern for the Endzeit. But no attempt was made to equate every detail of the Endzeit with the Urzeit.[88]

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[85]Scroggs, p. 62.

[86]Ibid., p. 63.

[87]Dahl, "Christ, Creation, Church," pp. 426-427.

[88]Cf. Kehl, p. 116: "Das wäre eine 'restitutio in integrum,' von der das ganze NT nichts weiss. Denn wenn Paulus auch die ersten Kapitel der Genesis weitgehend für seine Soteriologie auswertet, so doch nie in dem Sinne, das etwas, was einmal war und zerstört würde, durch die Erlösungstat Christi wiederhergestellt würde. Die Schöpfung ist für ihn Typos der Neuschöpfung."
In a similar manner, it should be noted, Paul does not exact tribute from every word and concept in the Genesis or Exodus stories, in order to develop his motif of return-to-origins. He uses the

The second point which Scroggs makes is that Paul does not use the expression "new creation" as a metaphor. Man is a new creature in Christ. Paul's language implies that "the reality of this new nature is nothing more nor less than a restoration to that truly human reality God has always desired for man."[89]

We proceed now to consider two aspects of Paul's description of the man who is a new creation in Christ. This concept, it may be noted, is unique to Christianity. No parallel to it has been found in non-Christian sources.[90] Judaism knew of the expectation that at the end of days the splendor and glory which had been lost would be restored, but Judaism did not know the antithesis between the old man and the new man.[91]

The first and most common characteristic of the new man is that of glory, doxa.[92] In the third chapter of the present study we observed that God's original intention for man was that he should possess the divine glory.[93] Adam indeed possessed this derived, divine glory, together with the authority implicit in the possession of God's glory. But the first man lost the divine

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history of the beginnings of man and of Israel as paradigms of present situations and for future hopes, but he makes no attempt to utilize every aspect and detail of that history. Cf. Minear, pp. 119-121.

[89]Scroggs, pp. 63-64.

[90]Jervell, p. 240.

[91]Scroggs, pp. 29-32; 54-58; Jervell, p. 241.

[92]A bibliography on the concept of "glory" in the Old Testament, Judaism and the New Testament is given supra, p. 91, note 111.

[93]Supra, pp. 91-94.

glory at the fall (Rom. 1:23). As a result, all men lack the glory of God (Rom. 3:23). According to rabbinic tradition, glory was one of six things lost at the fall (Gen. R. XII,6). There was a brief restoration of glory at Sinai, but it was lost again through Israel's infidelity, and would be restored only when the Messiah comes.[94]

According to Paul, the glory which Adam lost is restored in the new creation. But this glory, like Adam's, is derivative. Paul indicates this clearly in Rom. 5:2: "We rejoice in our hope of sharing the glory of God."

The glory for which Christian's hope is God's glory. God's glory is essentially Christ's glory. The man who is "in Christ" and thus a new creation, shares and will share in the glory of Christ. So Paul says in Rom. 8:17 that we Christians are "heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ, provided that we suffer with him in order that we may be glorified with him." The distinguishing mark of the new creation is therefore participation with Christ in present suffering and future glory, a glory which is partly anticipated by the activity of the creative Spirit of God (Rom. 8:11,23).[95]

Future glory is only partly anticipated by the activity of the Spirit. That his followers will fully share in Christ's glory is a hope, guaranteed by the fact that they are in Christ and Christ is in them (Col. 1:27). At present Christians are conformed

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[94]Schweizer (The Church, pp. 50-51) notes that "in the Qumran writings the original glory of Adam that had been lost since the fall is believed to be reestablished in the eschatological community of Qumran."

[95]Dahl, "Christ, Creation, Church," p. 442.

(summorphizein) to Christ's death (Phil. 3:10). At the parousia, Christ will change our body of lowliness, so that it is fashioned like (summorphos) his body of glory (Phil. 3:21; Col. 3:4). Paul speaks against the premature anticipation of any eschatological hope, an anticipation which takes the form of libertinism, or perfectionism, and a realized eschatological experience of the Spirit.[96]

Flanagan has drawn attention to the parallels between the hymnic passage, Phil. 3:20-21 and the hymn in Phil. 2:6-11.[97] The parallels suggest that just as the return-to-origins motif was prominent in Phil. 2:6-11,[98] so it will be found also in Phil. 3: 20-21. The motif is there in the creation language which Paul uses: metaschēmatizein; summorphos; doxa; energeia; hupotassein; ta panta.[99]

According to passages like Rom. 8:17 and Phil. 3:20-21, man's glory is something which is yet to come. But there is another dimension to Paul's thinking on the subject, alluded to in Rom. 8: 30 and stated clearly in 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6. Rom. 8:29-30 reads:

> For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed (summorphos) to the image (eikōn) of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn (prōtotokos)

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[96]Helmut Koester, "The Purpose of the Polemic of a Pauline Fragment," New Testament Studies, VIII (1962), 329.

[97]N. Flanagan, "A Note on Philippians 3,20-21," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVIII (1956), 8-9.

[98]Supra, pp. 111-118, 152-155.

[99]Cf. J. Becker, "Erwägungen zu Phil. 3:20-21," Theologische Zeitschrift, XXVII (1970), 18-25.

> among many brethren. And those whom he predestined he also called (kalein); and those whom he called he also justified (dikaioun); and those whom he justified he also glorified (doxazein).[100]

These verses, which are replete with the vocabulary of return-to-origins, asserts that the beginning of the new humanity has already taken place. This thought is repeated in 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6:

> And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory (doxa) of the Lord, aee being changed (metamorphoumetha) into his likeness (eikōn) from one degree of glory to another (2 Cor. 3:18).

The present tense of the verb metamorphousthai is significant.[101] The transformation of the Christian has already begun, because the new age has dawned and the new creation is already in existence.[102]

A thought similar to that expressed in Rom. 8:29 and 2 Cor. 3:18 is found in Rom. 12:2-3. Here Paul uses the terms metamorphoun and anakainōsis.[103] We may note also 2 Cor. 4:16-17, where anakainoun (present tense) and doxa occur together.[104] Finally, reference may be made to Col. 3:10. This verse reads as follows:

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[100] On Rom. 8:29-30 see the studies by A. R. C. Leaney, "'Conformed to the image of His Son' (Rom. viii,29)," New Testament Studies, X (1964), 470-479; J. Kürzinger, "Summorphous tēs eikonos tou hiou autou' (Röm. 8:29)," Biblische Zeitschrift, II (1958), 294-299; Thüsing, pp. 121-134; Jervell, pp. 271-283; A. Durand, "Le Christ 'Premier-né,'" Recherches de science religieuse, I (1910), 56-66. Durand compares Rom. 8:29 and Col. 1:15-20.

[101] On the use of metamorphousthai in Paul, see R. Hermann, "Über den Sinn des Morphousthai Christon en humin in Gal. 4,19," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXX (1955), 713-726.

[102] On doxa as a present reality and future hope in 2 Corinthains 3, see I. Hermann, Kyrios und Pneuma: Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe (München: Kosel-Verlag, 1961), pp. 32-34.

[103] Cf. Thüsing, pp. 128-129.

[104] Ibid., p. 129.

> And have put on (endusamenoi) the new nature, which is being renewed (anakainoumenon) in knowledge (epignōsin) after the image (eikōn) of its creator.[105]

It is clear that the creation of the new man in glory is for Paul both a future hope and a present reality. Its reality is based on the extra nos event of the glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ.[106] Through the creative act of baptism, Christians share in the resurrection of Christ (Rom. 6:3-11).[107] Baptism is the "place" where the new man is created and given new life. In Romans 6, Paul speaks of the act of renewal at baptism as a new creation, conforming in some way to the pattern of the first one.[108]

The references to baptism in Romans 6 may also have the Exodus typology as their background. The Exodus typology, especially the idea of the baptism of the Israelites, was used to provide a biblical basis for proselyte baptism.[109] It seems, then, that the resurrection of Christ had the same meaning for the church as the creation of the world and the crossing of the Red Sea had for Israel (I Cor. 10:1-2). Research by Klaus Wengst confirms this

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[105] On this verse see especially, Larsson, pp. 197-209.

[106] Cf. G. Bornkamm, "Baptism and New Life in Paul," in Early Christian Experience (London: SCM Press, c.1969), p. 82.

[107] Thüsing, pp. 134-140; J. K. Howard,"'Into Christ': A Study of the Pauline Concept of Baptismal Union," Expository Times, LXXIX (1968), 147-151; Cullmann, p. 61.

On Rom. 6:3-11, see: Larsson, pp. 48-80; G. Braumann, Vorpaulinische christliche Taufverkündigung bei Paulus (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1962), pp. 15-17; G. Wagner, Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem von Römer 6,1-11 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1962).

[108] Dahl, "Christ, Creation, Church," pp. 423-441, note 1.

[109] J. Jeremias, "Mōusēs," TDNT, IV, 870. Cf. A. J. Bandstra, "Interpretation in I Corinthians 10:1-11," Calvin Theological Journal, VI (1971), 6-9.

observation.[110] He has shown that a formal parallel exists between the LXX rendition of Israel's brief confessional statements concerning God as Creator and as Deliverer of Israel from Egypt, and the early New Testament statements that God raised Christ from the dead.[111]

All that has been said above about man's possession of the glory of God in Christ may be applied to a second term which Paul uses to describe the man of the new creation; namely, "image of God."[112] When Paul speaks of the new man as the image of God, he chooses his words carefully. Christ is the image of God.[113] Those who are "in Christ," become the image of God.[114] Here, as Scroggs notes, "is a strict identity between Christ and the believer."[115] Man becomes the image of God, conformable to Christ who now already exists as that image (Rom. 8:29).

In Col. 3:10 Christians are urged to "put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator." The phrase "put on the new nature," which is parallel to

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[110]Klaus Wengst, Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums (Gütersloh: Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1972), pp. 42-44.

[111]Wengst refers to Is. 45:7; Num. 15:37-41. He writes: "In der LXX-Übersetzung erkennen wir eine deutliche Formparallele zur Auferweckungsformel in ihrer griechischen Gestalt" (p. 43).

[112]A bibliography on this term is given supra, p. 89, note 104.

[113]2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15; Phil. 2:6.

[114]Jervell, passim, and Larsson, passim insist that the new man is created after the image of Christ, not the image of God.

[115]Scroggs, p. 69.

"put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27; Rom. 13:14), shows that Paul thinks of the objective basis for the transformation: Adam for the old man, the Messiah for the new man.[116] The phrase "image of its creator" (Col. 3:10b) points to Adam and Gen. 1:26.[117] An analogous thought is found in Eph. 4:24:

> And put on the new nature, created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness.

In this passage we again encounter the expression "put on Christ," and the reference to creation in the divine image.[118] If there is any doubt about the identity of the creator of the new man, it is dispelled in the light of Eph. 2:15:

> By abolishing in his [Christ's] flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in the place of two, so making peace.

This verse, which is a sort of midrash on Gen. 2:24, makes clear that it is not God but Christ who creates (ktizein) new men. Christ is both himself the new man and the creator of the new man.[119]

At several places in the present study I have tried to show that the concepts of "image of God" and "glory of God" belong to the motif of return-to-origins.[120] The point need not be labored further. "Image" and "glory" are important concepts in the

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[116] O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (revised edition; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, c.1963), p. 174.

[117] A. Richardson, p. 243; Cullmann, Christology, p. 174.

[118] On Eph. 4:17-24, and the return-to-origins vocabulary in the passage, see Jervell, pp. 313-314; Larsson, pp. 223-230.

[119] Lindeskog, 1, 235.

[120] Supra, pp. 88-95, 123-142.

theology of Paul, just as they were in the Old Testament and Judaism. However, Paul's treatment of these concepts constituted a radical departure from the views of Judaism. In order to appreciate more fully Paul's position, it may be helpful to take cognisance of the contrast between the views of Judaism and Paul's views on the renewal of the divine image and glory in man.

We have seen that the rabbis thought that the image and glory of God which was lost by Adam was regained, at least as a possibility, at Sinai with the giving of the Torah. When the people of Israel erected the Golden Calf, they fell once more, and lost the image and glory of God.[121] But the divine image and glory could be renewed in the man who was obedient to Torah. Righteousness according to Torah created the possibility of a renewal of the divine image and glory.[122]

Torah, then, is the central principle. Torah provided the blueprint and the dynamic for the creation of man and the creation of Israel.[123] So, too, Torah was the first principle of the new creation.

In the literature of early and late Judaism, a number of terms and concepts tend to occur in clusters around this central notion, Torah. These terms are: glory; image; righteousness; strength; immortality; wisdom; knowledge; dominion.[124] A classic

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[121] Supra, pp. 126-127; cf. Jervell, pp. 91-92.

[122] Tanch. Ber. 7; Sifre Deut. 306,132a; Gen. R. VIII,12.

[123] Meuzelaar, p. 107.

[124] E.g., Sap. Sol. 7:25; Exod. R. XXIII,15; Gen. R. XXI,5; XIX,7; Apoc. Mos. 12:24; Test. Napht. 2:5-7; 8:4; Exod. R. XXXII,1; Numb. R. XIII,12; Jub. 7:20; Numb. R. XVI,24; Sir. 14:20-15:8; 51:13-29.

example of the tendency to cluster these concepts around Torah is found in Sirach 17:3-14. The passage reads as follows:

> The Lord created man from the earth
> and sent him back to it again.
> He set a fixed span of life for men
> and granted them authority over everything on earth.
> He clothed them with strength like his own.
> forming them in his image.
> He put the fear of man into all creatures
> and gave him lordship over beasts and birds.
> He gave men tongue and eyes and ears,
> the power of choice and a mind for thinking.
> He filled them with discernment
> and showed them good and evil.
> He kept watch over their hearts,
> to display to them the majesty of his works.
> He gave them knowledge as well
> and endowed them with his life-giving law.
> He established a perpetual covenant with them
> and revealed to them his decrees.
> Their eyes saw his glorious majesty,
> and their ears heard the glory of his voice.
> He said to them, "guard against all wrongdoing,"
> and taught each man his duty to his neighbor.

Here the themes of creation and the giving of the law are combined. It was typical of Judaism to view creation entirely in the light of the Sinaitic revelation of Torah.[125]

When we turn to the Pauline corpus, we find that the same words and concepts, which are found grouped together in the literature of Judaism, are found in clusters of two or more in Paul.[126] This is true of righteousness, wisdom, dominion, and especially image and glory. There is one conspicuous omission; namely, law. The various concepts which Judaism associated with Torah are associated by Paul with Jesus Messiah. Thus Christ is described

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[125]Jervell, p. 83.

[126]Rom. 1:23; 8:29-30; I Cor. 11:7; 2 Cor. 3:18-4:4; I Cor. 1: 24-30; 15:42-49; Col. 1:15-23; 3:9-11; Eph. 4:17-24.

as the image and glory of God.[127] Dominion is ascribed to Jesus Christ.[128] The figure of Wisdom is applied to Christ.[129] Above all, righteousness is expressly disassociated from law and associated with Christ.[130] For Paul, the intimate association of righteousness, glory and image of God is rooted not in the Torah, but in the person of the glorified Lord Jesus.[131]

It seems that Paul deliberately replaced Torah with Christ.[132] All that could be said of Torah could be said of Christ. But the Christ is superior to the Torah. The rabbis taught that the Israelites, the people of the Torah, possessed the possibility of a renewal of the divine image and glory. Paul says that the people of the Messiah is being renewed in the image and glory of God. Furthermore, Judaism never taught that the Torah is the image of God.[133] But Paul can and does say that Christ is eikōn tou theou. Christ is the pattern after whom the new man is being recreated in righteousness to be the image of God (Col. 3:10; Eph. 4:24). With this thought Paul asserts that the relationship between man and God which Adam distorted because of his unrighteousness, has been

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[127] 2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15; Phil. 2:6.

[128] 1 Cor. 8:6; Phil. 2:9-11; Col. 1:15-20.

[129] See especially the study by A. Feuillet, Le Christ Sagesse De Dieu D'Après les Épitres Pauliniennes (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1966), passim.

[130] Rom. 3:21-26; 4:13; 10:4-6; Gal. 3:21-22; 2:16; Phil. 3:6-9.

[131] The relationship between doxa and dikaiosunē in Paul is discussed by Thusing, pp. 129-132. Cf. Jervell, pp. 280-281.

[132] Cf. A. Richardson, pp. 166-168; Davies, pp. 147-176.

[133] But cf. Ab. R. N. 39; Pirke Ab. 3,14; Jervell, p. 117.

restored. A right relationship now exists between God and the man in Christ. The Torah was powerless to establish such a relationship, for righteousness according to Torah was an unattainable goal.[134]

We find, then, that Paul's theology of the renewal of the image of God in man assumes a position of great importance when seen in contrast to the views and hopes of Judaism. Judaism saw the only hope for renewal to lie in righteousness according to Torah.[135] Paul's conviction that the new nature is "being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator" (Col. 3:10) is an assertion of the validity and supremacy of the Gospel of Christ.[136]

To conclude our study of the new creation, we must look briefly at Paul's teaching on the new creation as it relates to the cosmos.

We have already observed that man and the cosmos exist in a solidarity of sin. There is, however, also a solidarity between man and the cosmos in redemption.[137] Paul relates his statements regarding man's new nature to the fact that the cosmos will be redeemed from its present state of corruption. The most explicit

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[134]Cf. H. J. Schoeps, Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, c.1961), pp. 281-283.

[135]On the concept of "righteousness" in Judaism see J. A. Ziesler, The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), pp. 52-127.

[136]Cf. Jervell, p. 187: "So wie Gott die erste Schöpfung mit Hilfe der Torah und deshalb zu Gerechtigkeit schuf, schafft er eine neue Schöpfung durch die Gerechtigkeit, die im Evangelium zutage tritt."

[137]Cullmann, "Die Schöpfung," p. 62; J. G. Gibbs, Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 40-42.

statement of Paul's views is found in Rom. 8:18-23.[138] In this passage the future of the cosmos is contrasted with the present in I Corinthians 15. In both passages Paul appears to be reflecting on the opening chapters of Genesis.[139]

The human situation is the key to the cosmos. Because of man's sin, the cosmos was placed in subjection. Release will come with man's redemption. This means, in effect, that the cosmos as well as man looks to the last Adam for salvation.[140]

Creation looks forward eagerly to change. Its hope of release from something to something is set out by Paul in parallel phrases in Rom. 8:21 as follows:

eleutherōthesetai:

apo tēs douleias / tēs phthoras

eis tēn eleutheran / tēs doxēs tōn teknōn theou

According to Paul in I Cor. 15:42-43, Christians look forward to a similar chage from phthora to doxa. In the new creation there is no longer corruption, neither for man nor for the cosmos. In place of corruption is glory, the glory of the sons of God.

We close this section with a reference to a passage which has been mined a number of times already: the Christ-hymn in Col. 1:15-20. The high point of this hymn is the concluding verse:

> And through him to reconcile to himself all things,
> whether on earth or in heaven,
> making peace by the blood of the cross.

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[138]Cf. supra, pp. 100-101, 156-158.

[139]Supra, pp. 80-88, 100-101.

[140]Scroggs, p. 72.

This verse asserts that Jesus Christ, Head of the universe and head of the church, came to reconcile all things to God. The verb apokatallassein is, as we have seen, to be linked with the verbs allassein and metallassein in Rom. 1:18-27.[141] In Romans 1 Paul describes the distortion which took place in the created order as a result of man's sin. The verb apokatallassein (Col. 1:20) implies restitution to a previous order of things. The use of the verb in Col. 1:20 serves to remind one, as Scharlemann says, "that the world was created as something very good but also that, after the fall, it is God's purpose to return the universe to its original condition. This is its destiny."[142]

So in Jesus Christ the tragedy of Romans 1 is reversed. In the Messiah men find all they have lost and all that they are looking for, as they are changed from the image of the earthly to the image of the heavenly (1 Cor. 15:49). The cosmos finds its destiny linked with that of man. Both man and the cosmos look to Jesus Christ to make them, in the new creation, what God intended them to be in the old.[143]

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[141] Supra, pp. 149-150.

[142] M. H. Scharlemann, "The Scope of the Redemptive Task (Colossians 1:15-20)," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXXVI (1965), 297.

[143] Cf. M. H. Franzmann, Concordia Commentary: Romans (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), p. 150: "We wait for a heaven and an earth that shall be a wondrously and unimaginably new heaven and earth. But the same continuity that makes the body of the future one with our present body connects the new unsullied world of God with the world we know, the world whose frustrate beauty makes us marvel still, whose futile workings still can testify to Him who once said 'Very good!' and will again say 'Very good!' to all His hands have made."

Summary

The aim of this chapter was to explore whether the return-to-origins motif is utilized by Paul in his teaching concerning the community which was brought into being by the Messiah. This objective determined the selection and treatment of the passages which were considered in this chapter.

We noted, by way of introduction, that the concept of solidarity is to be presupposed in much of Paul's discussion concerning the community of the Messiah. Christians exist, both as individuals and as a community, in solidarity with their Messiah, Jesus.

The introductory remarks were followed by a consideration of two titles which Paul applies to Christ, namely *aparche* and *prototokos*. We found that these titles were consistently ascribed to Christ in the context of creation and resurrection, that is, the new creation. The two titles imply that Chrsit is the mediator of the original and the new creations, and that he is the *Stammvater* of the new humanity.

We proceeded to examine Paul's view concerning Christ as the head of the Christian community, and the community as the body of Christ. There is much uncertainty regarding the origins and background of Paul's view of the Body of Christ. We observed that the theory which offers the most hope for future fruitful inquiry is that Paul is drawing a parallel between Adam as the representative and inclusive personality of the old creation, and Christ as the Agent and inclusive personality of the new creation.

Finally, a survey was made of Paul's teaching concerning the new creation. We found that Paul regards Jesus Christ as the

Vorbild after whom the new man is being patterned in the image of God. The new man is being transformed into that image and glory of God which Christ already possesses in all fulness. By way of contrast, reference was made to the hopes and expectations of Judaism concerning the renewal of man in the divine image. We saw that the hopes of Judaism for the restoration of the divine image and glory centered on righteousness according to Torah. The hope of Christians, which is already partly realized, is based on Jesus Christ and his righteousness, proclaimed to men in the Gospel of Christ. The chapter concluded with a brief summary of the significance for the cosmos of Paul's teaching concerning the new creation.

This brings to a conclusion our study of the return-to-origins motif in Pauline theology. Three areas of Pauline theology were considered; namely, Paul's view of man; of the person and work of the Messiah; and of the community of the Messiah. The study was based on selected passages from the corpus Paulinum. The main passages were: Rom. 1:18-32; 5:12-20; 6:3-11; 7:7-11; 8:18-39; I Cor. 8:6; 15:20-49; 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6; Eph. 2:15; 4:8-24; 5:21-33; Phil. 2:6-11; 3:20-21; Col. 1:15-20; 2:13-15; 3:9-11.

We found that all these passages were interrelated, both by a common vocabulary and by similarities in subject matter. Terms which recurred in these passages were: eikōn; doxa; gnōsis; dikaiosunē; phthora; kephalē; archē; prōtotokos; sōma; zoōpoiein; morphē; ktizein; anakainoun; and their cognates.

It has been my aim in these chapters to show that the relationship between the passages listed above can be adequately accounted

for if one posits the presence of a common motif, namely, the motif of return-to-origins. What all the passages have in common is that to a greater or lesser degree they all make use of the language and thought patterns of the history and traditions concerning the beginnings of man and creation and/or the origins of Israel as a nation.

In the final chapter of the present study we will examine, in a preliminary way, the significance of the Pauline return-to-origins motif for a theological interpretation of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia.

CHAPTER VII

TOWARD A THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF MESSIANIC AND MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS IN MELANESIA

This chapter offers a preliminary sketch of the plans for the construction of an arch between exegesis and exposition. That is to say, we now take up the question which was posed in the first chapter of the present study, namely:

> Does the return-to-origins motif in the Pauline writings provide the possibility for comparison with the Melanesian religious movements, with the objective of arriving at a theological understanding of the movements?[1]

We shall seek to answer the question before us, first, by presenting a synthesis of the various elements which together comprise the Pauline motif of return-to-origins. This will be done on the basis of the material gathered in Chapters III through VI of the present study.

Secondly, we shall briefly examine the manner in which Paul utilized the return-to-origins motif to modify and radicalize the hopes and expectations of Judaism.

Thirdly, we shall attempt to indicate, by way of three examples, how the Pauline motif of return-to-origins may serve as a useful frame of reference for developing a theological interpretation of, and response to, Melanesian messianism.

Fourthly, some suggestions will be offered concerning the way in which the church in Melanesia may respond to the challenge

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[1] Supra, p. 5.

presented by the Melanesian messianic and millenarian movements. The chapter concludes with a summary of our findings, and some indications of the direction in which further research might proceed.

The Form and Function of the Return-to-Origins Motif in Pauline Theology

Paul made use of the motif of return-to-origins in three major areas of his theology; that is, in his teachings concerning man, Christ, and the church.

Pauline anthropology deals with what is often called the "old man" and the "new man." Paul's interest lies primarily with the new man. But he is not silent concerning the nature, condition, and characteristics of the man of the old aeon.[2]

According to Paul, the old man stands condemned by God as a rebellious, disobedient creature. He lies helpless under the power of sin, death, and law.

The motif of return-to-origins is used to stress the fact that man is helpless, a hopeless sinner. The matrix from within which Paul develops his characterization of man the sinner is the history of Adam and Israel (Rom. 1:18-32; 5:12-21). This history serves as the basis for an indictment of all men without exception. Whether a person identifies himself with Adam or with Israel, he stands condemned as a sinner and as one who is lost under the power of sin. That Adam sinned and that Israel sinned is a fact

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[2]Cf. the previous discussion on the nature of the man of the old age, supra, pp. 59-105 (i.e., Chapter IV).

which must be acknowledged by anyone who knows his Old Testament. Likewise, solidarity in sin with Adam or with Israel is, for Paul, a fact of life. The motif of return-to-origins serves to drive home these inescapable truths.

A similar situation pertains with regard to death. Paul uses the motif of return-to-origins to demonstrate that the man who belongs to the humanity of which Adam is the Stammvater, is subject to death and he lacks eternal life (Rom. 5:12-21; I Cor. 15:20-49). This, too, is an unavoidable condition for all men because of the old humanity's solidarity with father Adam.

Nor are matters any different with regard to the law. Paul is certain that the law is good (Rom. 7:12). But sin and death have twisted the proper function of the law, and manipulated the law in such a way that for those who live under the power of sin and death, the law is an instrument of condemnation and destruction. Within the theme of return-to-origins, a specific part of the law--the command against covetousness--is employed to show that both Adam and Israel failed to observe the law, and so fell under the wrath of God and the condemnation of the law (Rom. 7:7-11; I Cor. 10:6-11). The experiences of Adam and Israel with regard to the law serve as patterns or types of the situation in which all men stand in relation to the law.

Another aspect of Paul's use of the return-to-origins motif in his theology of man is brought out in his teaching concerning the loss of the glory of God and the defacing of the divine image in man (Rom. 1:23; 3:23). Here again Paul draws upon the history of Adam and of Israel to show that the man who lives in solidarity with Adam and Israel has lost the glory of God and possesses at best only

a faint shadow of the true image of God. In short, man of the old humanity is no longer true man. He has lost his real identity. The man of the old aeon is only a poor likeness, he is almost a caricature of the man whom God intended him to be.

Concomitant with man's loss of identity was his failure to exercise the dominion over creation which God had given him, and the subsequent ruinous exchanges which man made in the good order which God had ordained (Rom. 1:18-26; 8:19-21). Paul uses the theme of return-to-origins to show that the solidarity in sin of man and creation puts them both in a situation which is a complete distortion and perversion of God's intentions. Adam and Israel displaced the Creator with the creature (Rom. 1:23,25). Adam and Israel did not exercise their God-given responsibility as lord of creation. Instead they set up the creatures as objects of worship. A further consequence of man's abdication was that a number of powers in the cosmos, powers which were structurally "neutral," became hostile to man. They began to exert rule and authority over man in such a way as to alienate him even further from his Creator.

We find, then, that Paul uses the motif of return-to-origins to show that man's present condition is, like that of his forbears Adam and Israel, one of lacking salvation. That is to say, man lacks peace, freedom, wholeness and life. His condition is one of enmity, rebellion, bondage, mortal sickness, depravity and death.

By way of contrast, the "new man," the man of the new humanity of which Jesus Christ is the head, is all that the old man is not. Paul makes this point by means of the motif of return-to-origins, as he describes the nature and character of the "new man."[3]

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[3]For what follows see the discussion, <u>supra</u>, pp. 184-194.

The man who is in Christ is a new creature or a new creation. His creation took place at baptism, an act which Paul parallels to the Exodus and to God's creative activity in the beginning (I Cor. 10:1-2; Gal. 3:27-28). Above all, baptism is connected with the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which in itself is a mighty creative act (Rom. 6:3-11). By baptism, the new man shares in the victorious death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. He is liberated from the power of sin and death and the condemnation of the law. For he is joined in a solidarity relationship with Jesus Christ who is the head of the new humanity and the conqueror of all hostile powers (col. 1:20; 2:15; Rom. 8:31-39).

The new man is being transformed into the image and glory of God.[4] That is to say, he is regaining his identity as a man. For the true man is one who, like the second Adam, possesses the image and glory of God. The restoration of the image and glory means, too, that the distortions which so affected the life and relationships of the old man are being set right (Col. 1:20). Creation, which enjoys a solidarity with man in redemption, has been given the hope that just as the new man is being granted salvation, so it, too, will be liberated from its bondage to decay (Rom. 8:19-23).

In summary, then, it may be said that the new man is one who is finding his true identity in Jesus Christ. He is heir to salvation, redemption, wholeness, liberation and life. These things he enjoys in part already now, although the final consummation awaits the last act in the drama of redemption (I Cor. 15:23-28).

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[4] 2 Cor. 3:18; Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10. Cf. Supra, pp. 184-189.

Paul describes the new situation in which the new man finds himself, and the salvation which is his in Christ, in the language of return-to-origins. He speaks of a new creation; a setting in order of things that were in chaos; a restoration of the glory of God; a recreation in the divine image; the establishment of peace and unity; the activity of the life-giving Spirit. All this means that the situation of the new man may once more be described as "very good."

Paul's whole theology of the new creation, of which the new man is a part, is predicated upon his Christology. From the point of view of Paul's use of the return-to-origins motif, the most important theme in Pauline Christology is that of Jesus Christ as Lord in both creation and redemption.[5]

Paul speaks of Jesus Christ as the second or last Adam.[6] Christ is like Adam inasmuch as he is the head of a race of men. Both Adam and Christ wielded great authority; both could determine the fate of the race of which they are the progenitors. Paul here draws a comparison between Chrsit and Adam. More often he contrasts the two. The contrasts are numerous. Adam was disobedient; Christ was obedient to the Father.[7] Adam abdicated his position as lord; Christ exercises a cosmic lordship.[8] Adam's actions led to death; Christ's actions resulted in life for men.[9] Adam took men into

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[5] Supra, pp. 142-157.

[6] Supra, pp. 106-123.

[7] Rom. 5:19; Phil. 2:6-8.

[8] Rom. 8:19-22; 31-39; Phil. 2:9-11; Col. 1:15-20; 2:13-15.

[9] Rom. 5:15-17; I Cor. 15:20-49.

bondage; Christ made men free.[10] Adam made ruinous exchanges in God's good order in creation; Christ came to effect a reconciliation and restoration of all things.[11]

Within the matrix of the motif of return-to-origins, the thought of Christ as second Adam is closely connected with the description of Jesus Christ as the image and glory of God.[12] In this instance, Christ is contrasted to Adam and Israel. Adam and Israel once possessed the divine image and glory. These, however, they lost because of their infidelity and disobedience (Rom. 1:23; 3:23).

According to Paul, Christ Jesus is the man in whom the glory of God is fully manifested. He is the man in whom is to be seen the true image of God. Jesus Christ is indeed true God. But he is also true man. In him we see man stripped of the sin which disfigures and disforms him; we see man as God intended him to be; we see man in his real identity. As head of the new humanity, Christ mediates the true image and glory of God to those who are "solid" with him (2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:29; Phil. 3:21).

The descriptions of Christ as the image and glory of God are joined to statements regarding Christ as lord. The words eikōn and doxa belong to the language of creation and Exodus, and in themselves contain the implication of rule and authority.[13] Words

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[10]Rom. 5:17,21; 6:6-11; 6:20-23; 8:1-39; Col. 2:13-15.

[11]Rom. 1:18-26; 8:19-22; Col. 1:20; Eph. 2:11-22.

[12]Supra, pp. 123-141.

[13]Supra, pp. 134-136.

which Paul uses in conjunction with eikōn and doxa are aparchē; prōtotokos; archē; proteuein; plērōma; kephalē.[14] These words all indicate priority of rank, sovereignty, lordship.[15]

However, it is not merely in his vocabulary that Paul confesses the lordship of Christ. In hymns of great power and beauty Christ is portrayed as the lord of all, the lord of both creation and redemption. In all of these hymns the motif of return-to-origins is in evidence. This is true especially of the hymns recorded in I Cor. 8:6;[16] Phil. 2:6-11;[17] Col. 1:15-20;[18] and Col. 2: 13-15.[19] These hymns assert that Jesus Christ exercises a lordship which is far superior to any lordship which Adam was given or which Israel was supposed to possess.

We note, finally, the manner in which Paul uses the motif of return-to-origins in his theology of the church. It must be said at the outset that it is not certain to what extent Paul uses the motif in his ecclesiology.[20] It may reasonably be assumed that Paul's description of Christ as prōtotokos and aparchē indicates the use of the motif of return-to-origins to express the solidarity

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[14]E.g., Col. 1:15-20; Eph. 1:15-23; Rom. 8:29-30.

[15]Supra, pp. 134-138.

[16]Supra, pp. 142-148.

[17]Supra, pp. 111-118, 151-155.

[18]Supra, pp. 129-141.

[19]Supra, pp. 100-103, 150-151.

[20]Cf. supra, p. 181.

relationship between Christ and his church.[21] The expressions, prōtotokos and aparchē serve to emphasize the fact that Christ is the inclusive personality of the new creation. In some way he mediates his own life to the believers.

Another indication that the return-to-origins motif is present here is the fact that the words prōtotokos and aparchē are always used by Paul in the context of creation and resurrection. Thus Christ is described as "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (I Cor. 15:20); "the first-born among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29); "the first-born of all creation" and "the first-born from the dead" (Col. 1:15,18).

Paul's conception of Christ as the head of the church, and the church as the body of Christ, may also be an example of his use of the return-to-origins motif to express one aspect of his theology of the church. It seems likely that the Pauline concept of sōma tou Christou is to be connected with his Adamic Christology.[22] Paul views Adam as the head and inclusive personality of one race of men, the old humanity. Similarly, Christ is confessed as the one who includes in himself the eschatological community, of which he is head and Lord.

Christ is called the head of the church.[23] This title is one of several which is used in the motif of return-to-origins to indicate authority and lordship.[24] Its use in connection with Paul's

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[21] Supra, pp. 159-169.

[22] Cf. E. Schweizer, Jesus (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, c.1971), pp. 110-113. Cf. also supra, pp. 177-178.

[23] Col. 1:18; Eph. 4:15; 5:23b.

[24] Supra, pp. 178-181.

description of the relationship between Christ and his church adds weight to the suggestion that Paul is drawing upon the motif of return-to-origins to express some aspects of his theology of the church.

We have surveyed the main elements of the return-to-origins motif, and noted the use which Paul made of the motif in his theology. The question now arises: Why did Paul make use of this particular motif? One answer which may be given to this question is the following: Paul utilized the motif of return-to-origins because the motif, or some form of it, was being used by his contemporaries in Judaism to find a solution to their search for salvation.[25] Paul was convinced that the use which Judaism was making of the motif was leading them in the wrong direction. So Paul himself took up the motif of return-to-origins and used it to modify and radicalize the hopes and expectations of Judaism.

Further comments on this point are needed by way of elucidation and illustration. Judaism's hopes for liberation and redemption, that is, for salvation, centred on the proper observance of the Torah. It was said that if Israel kept the Torah for only one day, then the Messianic Kingdom would come. The Kingdom of the Messiah was primarily an ethical concept.[26] In it, justice and

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[25]Cf. S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), pp. 265-279; J. Bonsirven, Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, c.1964), pp. 174-176; K. Kohler, "Eschatology," in The Jewish Encyclopedia, edited by I. Singer (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., c.1903), V, 209-218; G. Lindeskog, Studien zum Neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken (Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1952), I, 119-121.

[26]Bonsirven, p. 176.

righteousness would prevail. Righteousness was understood as righteousness achieved by proper keeping of the law. When this righteousness was attained, then Israel would have restored in her the image and glory of God.[27] Then Israel would once again exercise the dominion which was rightfully hers. Then Israel would achieve immortality, and the Golden Age would begin.

Paul's devastating response to this set of ideas and hopes was to show that righteousness according to Torah was an unattainable goal (Rom. 3:19-21; Gal. 2:16). Hence a search for salvation which supposed the restoration and transformation of former conditions on the basis of the achievement of righteousness according to Torah, was a hopeless search. It led, in fact, to the very opposite of that for which Judaism was seeking. The attempt to achieve righteousness, and therewith a restoration of all pristine blessings, led not to life but to death. The striving for righteousness by way of law leads not to hope but to despair. The law does not produce righteousness; it serves only to increase unrighteousness (Rom. 5:20).

Righteousness according to Torah is an impossible goal. It follows, then, that the hope for a restoration of the divine image and glory was a hopeless hope. For these two things were inextricably interwoven in the thought of Judaism: the presence or absence of the image and glory in Israel depended upon the presence or absence of righteousness in the nation.[28] Furthermore, since

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[27]J. Jervell, Imago Dei: Gen. 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 114-118.

[28]Ibid., pp. 115-118.

the possession of the image and glory implied also world dominion, the impossibility of obtaining the divine image and glory meant that Israel had no hope of regaining its position as lord of all the ktisis, a position which Israel believed it had inherited from Adam.[29] This, in turn, meant that creation must continue in its present unhappy condition. There was no hope for a renewal of creation. For the new creation must begin as the first creation had begun--with Israel (Adam) in full possession of the image and glory of God, ruling as lord of creation, obedient to Torah.

Thus, by striking at the very basis of Jewish hopes, that is, righteousness according to Torah, Paul exposed the whole Jewish search for salvation as futile. It was doomed to failure because its success depended upon the attainment of an impossible goal.

Positively, however, Paul used the motif of return-to-origins to show how the vain hopes and expectations of Judaism may be redirected and given new content and meaning. Thus he insists that the true image and glory of God is revealed and possessed by the Messiah, Jesus.[30] Jesus Christ is the true man. As the image and glory of God, Jesus exercises a cosmic lordship. Under this rule of Christ, order is being restored in the twisted relationships which had existed between God, man, and the cosmos (Col. 1:20).

Jesus Christ is the founder of a new humanity or a new Israel. This new community is being brought into existence by means of a new creation or a new Exodus known as baptism.[31] Baptism is

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[29] Ibid., pp. 41-43.

[30] 2 Cor. 3:18-4:6; Col. 1:15; Phil. 2:6.

[31] 1 Cor. 10:1-2; Gal. 3:27-28; 6:15-16.

predicated upon the creative act of God's life-giving Spirit in raising Jesus Christ from the dead (Rom. 6:4; 8:11).

The new humanity, the new Israel, is indeed a righteous people. But its righteousness comes not from obedience to Torah, but through incorporation in Jesus Christ. His obedience and righteousness becomes the obedience and righteousness of those who are one with him (Phil. 3:9-11; Gal. 2:16-21). The community of the Messiah shares not only in his righteousness, but also in his suffering, so that ultimately it may share fully in his doxa (Rom. 8:17; Phil. 3:10). In this end-time, the new people of God are being transformed into that image and glory of God which is revealed in its fulness by the head of the community, Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:29).

Thus Paul shows that the return-to-origins motif may be valuable in directing man's search for salvation into the proper channels. But it is of value only if the correct correlations are made. The second Adam, the Head in whom alone there is salvation, is Jesus Christ. The new creation begins with the resurrection of Christ. Men become part of the new creation when they are made members of the body of the Messiah through the creative act of baptism.

The image and glory of God is being restored in the man who is joined by baptism to the one who is the true image and glory of God, that is, Jesus Christ. By being united with Christ, man regains his true identity as a human being. The new man is put into a right relationship with God and the creation. Peace, order and harmony is being restored in the universe.

So in Jesus Christ all man's legitimate hopes and expectations for salvation are fulfilled. The return-to-origins motif serves

to explicate these hopes and to show how the hopes may be realized. But the motif is of no use in man's search for salvation unless it leads men to seek salvation in Jesus the Messiah.

In the next section of our study we shall see that in Melanesia, too, a search for salvation is being made, and that the theme of return-to-origins gives direction to the search. We shall find that the same judgment which was passed upon Judaism must be passed also upon the messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia with respect to the bases of their hopes and the manner in which they expect the hopes to be realized.

The Return-to-Origins Motif and Messianic and Millenarian Movements in Melanesia

In the concluding section of our analysis of the millenarian and messianic movements in Melanesia,[32] the suggestion was made that the movements may be interpreted as a search for salvation by means of a return-to-origins. I propose, now, to examine three major aspects of the ideology of the Melanesian movements, and attempt to interpret them on the basis of the categories suggested by the theological motif of return-to-origins.

The messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia may be understood as an expression of man's search for identity. Insofar as this is an important element in the movements, one could agree with Strauss' judgment that the Melanesian movements are essentially anthropocentric.[33]

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[32] Supra, p. 52.

[33] Supra, p. 44.

The Melanesian movements give evidence of an awareness that man's present situation is not what it could and should be, and that things were not always as they are now. The stated reason for this situation is that in the mythical past, Melanesian man made certain decisions, and performed certain actions, which altered his status, made him inferior to other men, and deprived him of the means and opportunity to attain to the desirable condition known as "salvation." By his own foolishness, or by force of circumstances outside of his control, man lost his identity and his self-respect.

There lives in Melanesia the hope that a time will come when the fateful decisions and actions which were taken in the past will somehow be reversed. Man will thereby regain his true identity, and with it his self-respect and integrity as a human being. What is envisaged is, as Burridge says, "a new condition of being, a new man."[34] The Melanesian hopes to reach that most desirable position in society, the status of "big man."[35]

A second basic strand in the theme of the search for salvation by means of a return-to-origins is the expectation of the return of an ancestor or ancestors who will inaugurate the Golden Age, the age of salvation. Perhaps this expectation lies at the very heart of the Melanesian movements.

One thing Christianity and traditional Melanesian religions have in common is that both believe that the dead are not dead at all, but are alive. The comments of Christiansen on the Melanesian

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[34] K. Burridge, New Heaven New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), p. 112.

[35] On the theme of "big man," see G. Cochrane, Big Men and Cargo Cults (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), especially pp. 137-170.

viewpoint are *a propos*. He writes as follows:

> The spirits are also part of the existence of the living and have their place in the social system. Their actions and behavior are not essentially different from those of the living, apart from the fact that they possess infinite wealth and know the solution to the problems which the living have to deal with. But there is not any sharp dividing line between the living and the ancestors.[36]

The ancestor who is expected to return does not share in the present unhappy earthly existence of the Melanesians; hence he may be regarded as one from outside of the group. Yet he is by no means an "outsider." He is often thought of as the progenitor or founder of the clan. He is the one member of the community who is thought to possess the power, the ability and the knowledge necessary to effect the radical changes which are expected to take place in the cosmic and social structures. Hence, in Melanesian thought, salvation depends upon the intervention of one who is a member, and yet not a member, of the group which awaits salvation.

The salvation which is anticipated, and which will be brought by the ancestor, involves all known structures of society and the cosmos. Salvation will eventuate here, on this earth, in this present time. It is a concrete, this-wordly salvation for which the Melanesians hope.[37] "Salvation" means freedom from want and sickness, relief from the pressures of work and time, a state of wholeness and health, a regaining of one's prestige and self-respect.

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[36]P. Christiansen, *The Melanesian Cargo Cult: Millenarianism as a Factor in Cultural Change* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1969), p. 35.

[37]Cf. F. Steinbauer, *Melanesische Cargo-Kulte: Neureligiöse Heilsbewegungen in der Südsee* (München: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971), pp. 149-151.

A third aspect of the Melanesian search for salvation by means of a return-to-origins is that the expressed hopes and expectations do not concern the individual, but the group. They embrace also the animal world, and all creation.

The Melanesian movements hope for a reunion with the mythical folk-hero and with the resurrected ancestors. These always were united with the present generation in some way, but on a supra-natural level. The hope is for a reunion and a sharing in salvation on this earth at this time. All members of the group will be involved, those who are living as spirits and those alive in the body.

Messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia are always group movements. The group acts and must act together. An abberation on the part of one member endangers the success of the whole movement for the entire group. A communal salvation is envisaged. It is achieved by the whole community acting in concern and affirming their solidarity with the ancestors by performing the rites necessary in order to communicate with the spirits and to create a favorable climate for the ancestors' return. These rites seem to be imitations of Christian baptism and Holy Communion. Thus the prophet Mambu insisted that the members and prospective members of his group have their genitals sprinkled with water.[38] A common theme in the Melanesian movements is the communal banquet to be held when the ancestors return. These rituals may have been

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[38] K. Burridge, Mambu: A Melanesian Millenium (London: Methuen and Co., 1960), p. 185.

influenced by Christianity, but they have their roots in the pre-Christian traditional religions.

It is not only the community which will be affected by the dawning of the new age. There will be a "new heaven and a new earth."[39] Mountains will be flattened and converted to fertile plains. Trees will bear prodigously all the year round. Dogs and pigs will rise from the dead. Rivers will change their courses. The earth may even be turned upside down. In sort, great changes will take place in the structures of this world. The result, however, will not be chaos, but order, fertility, peace and harmony in the universe. This will be the new creation in which the new society will live in peace and prosperity forever.[40]

We have reviewed three of the dominant features of the Melanesian search for salvation by means of a return-to-origins. What, from the point of view of the Pauline motif of return-to-origins, can be said about the hopes and expectations expressed in the millenarian and messianic movements in Melanesia?

In the first place, the hopes and longings for a restoration to what is thought to be man's true self may be understood as a search for the renewal of the divine image and glory in man. An important aspect of the Pauline motif of return-to-origins is the assumption that the decisions and actions of the Stammvater (Adam or Israel) resulted in a loss of the glory of God and a defacing of the image of God. Thus, according to Paul, man is no longer the true man which God intended him to be. He has lost his real identity.

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[39]Cf. the title of Burridge's 1969 study of millenarian activities: New Heaven New Earth.

[40]Supra, pp. 21-24, 29-30.

Man lost his identity and gave up his position of lordship in creation. Instead of being king, he became a subject. He worshipped the creature. Other created powers began to dominate and direct man's existence. To put it simply: man lost control.

Man's loss of dominion in the world is related to his loss of the true divine image and glory. One could ask whether perhaps the devotees of the Melanesian movements are expressing, in their myth and ritual, some of the frustration which man feels, due to the loss of divine glory and the subsequent giving up of dominion over creation. He tries to reassert his dominion by a ritualistic manipulation of the powers which are believed to control the creative processes. The special objects of man's attention are those powers who are thought to guard the supply of all the good things required for the good life. These good things are given the collective name "cargo." Cargo is a symbol.[41] It includes such things as money, freedom from hunger and death, release from work, and the effortless acquisition of knowledge. Thus "cargo" may be understood as the Melanesian word for "salvation." As Steinbauer says: "Das Stichwort für das, an der alten melanesischen Tradition orientierte, erdgebundene Heilsverständnis ist eben das Wort Cargo."[42]

Christian theology may affirm the Melanesian search for a lost identity. But it directs a man to find his lost identity in the person of Jesus Christ. He is the true image of God. He is the whole, complete person whom men seek to be. Those who are

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[41]Cf. Burridge, New Heaven, p. 49: "The fact that free access to cargo represents a precisely opposite condition to that presently experienced should warn us that we are dealing with the symbolic."

[42]Steinbauer, p. 151.

incorporated with Christ by baptism have the divine image and glory renewed in them. They regain their true identity.

Christian theology may also affirm the Melanesian search for present salvation. The Christian Gospel proclaims that Jesus Christ is Lord in both creation and redemption, and his lordship is a present reality. He has won salvation for men and the universe, now. It is true that in this end-time we experience the tension of "already--not yet." Nevertheless, the new life and the new creation have been inaugurated with the resurrection of Jesus Christ. All things have been reconciled (Col. 1:20; 2 Cor. 5: 17-19). Thus the Melanesian hope for a salvation here and now is, at least in part, a theologically realistic expectation. And yet one must say that from the viewpoint of Pauline theology, the hope is invalid. Paul insists that participation in salvation in the end-time involves sharing in Christ's suffering (Rom. 8:17; Phil. 3:10). For there is, as Braaten says, "no painless access to the Kingdom of God; all things must go the way of the cross; all things must be incorporated into the death of Christ before sharing his everlasting future."[43]

Furthermore, again from the point of view of Pauline theology, it must be said that the Melanesian search for salvation by means of a return-to-origins will always end in frustration as long as the hopes are centred upon the return of the ancestor. On this point there is a fundamental disagreement between Pauline theology and the doctrine of the Melanesian movements. According to Melanesian ideology, the gaining of salvation is dependent upon the

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[43]Carl E. Braaten, Christ and Counter-Christ: Apocalyptic Themes in Theology and Culture (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), p. 129.

proper ritualistic preparation of the right moment for the return of the ancestor who will bring about a restoration and renewal of all things. According to Paul, however, a renewal of the divine image and glory; the granting of life and salvation; and the beginning of the new creation depend entirely upon the action of God in Christ Jesus. Apart from him all hopes are empty.

And yet, despite the fundamental difference, there is perhaps a point of contact, an area of agreement between Pauline theology and the Melanesian religious movements. In Melanesia, the hopes for salvation are expected to be realized with the return of the ancestor who comes into the present from out of the mythical past. Christians, too, look to their ancestor for salvation. The ancestor who brings salvation is not Adam, nor Israel, nor some folk-hero. The Christians' ancestor is the historical person, the true man, Jesus Christ. He has come and he has inaugurated the day of salvation (2 Cor. 6:2). Christ is the Stammvater of the new humanity. He is the only Ancestor who brings salvation.[44]

Finally we note that Christian theology may affirm the Melanesian desire for union with the ancestor, and the realization that salvation involves the group and faithful membership therein. But these expectations, too, must be given new content and direction. Union with the ancestor is indeed essential for salvation. But the ancestor with whom one must be united in Jesus Christ; he makes everything and all things possible.

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[44]Some African theologians speak of God as the Creator and Great Ancestor. Cf. H. Sawyerr, God: Ancestor or Creator (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1970), pp. 95-105.

Similarly, union with the group is an essential part of the salvation hope. But the community with whom one must be united is the church of Jesus Christ, which is his body.[45] It is within this group that baptism, the new creative act performed by God's life-giving Spirit, takes place. It is within this group that men have table fellowship with their Lord.

We find, then, that the Melanesian messianic and millenerian movements may be properly understood as expressions of some deep-felt human needs and longings. Since, however, wholeness, integrity, salvation will never be attained apart from Christ, it is the task of the Christian church to redirect the Melanesian hopes and expectations so that they are based upon a proper foundation and directed to valid and attainable goals.

The Melanesian movements will not simply disappear if the church pretends that they do not exist. In the past the church has not always been as realistic as is, for example, the anthropologist Peter Lawrence when he writes: "we must acknowledge and respect cargo ideology as a carefully integrated system which, as has been shown by its persistence over eighty years, is extremely durable."[46] The ability of the movements to grip the minds and hearts even of those who have been Christians for many years, is an indication of how much the aims of the movements answer to deep-rooted imperatives in Melanesian life and culture.

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[45]For the concept of "Kirche als neue Sippe," cf. H. Häselbarth, Die Auferstehung der Toten in Afrika (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus Gerd Mohn, 1972), pp. 247-261.

[46]Peter Lawrence, Road Belong Cargo (Melbourne: University Press, 1964), p. 272.

The Melanesian religious movements present a direct challenge to Christianity. The church's task in confronting this challenge appears to be a twofold one.[47] First, the Christian church must seek to communicate with the movements. Outright condemnation and rejection of the hopes and longings expressed in the Melanesian pursuit of salvation is not the first step towards establishing communication. There must be a striving to affirm at least some aspects of the hopes and expectations. The search for salvation as such may be regarded as legitimate. The church should try to understand the underlying causes which motivate the search. We have suggested that the common motif of return-to-origins provides a useful starting point for the attempt to arrive at an understanding of the Melanesian movements.

The second part of the church's task may be even more important than the first. The church must look to itself and its own preaching and teaching. The charge cannot be sustained that the Christian proclamation is the root cause of the messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. Nevertheless it is a fact of history that a misunderstanding of the Christian message, especially of Christian eschatology, has precipitated many movements and added fuel to the fires of enthusiasm.[48]

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[47]For a summary of how the church in the past has reacted to the challenge of the messianic and millenarian movements, see Steinbauer, pp. 176-178.

[48]The misunderstanding may be on the part of the preacher, or on the part of the hearers. An examination of actual cases often suggests that both preacher and hearer have failed to grasp the eschatological dimension of the gospel.

The church must start from the conviction that Jesus Christ is Lord in both creation and redemption now. A one-sided emphasis on the life of the world to come, and a refusal to confess the relevance of Christ for this present life leaves a vacuum which, as far as the Melanesians are concerned, must be filled. In Melanesia the present is real. The past is real. But the future is unknown, perhaps non-existent, and certainly of little interest.

The Christian church must sound the note of Christ's lordship in the present life. His lordship is a reality. Salvation is now (Luke 19:19; 2 Cor. 6:2). At the same time, the church cannot hide the "already-not yet" tension inherent in the nature of existence in the end-time. Salvation is a present reality, yet its consummation lies in the future. That there is a future; that the future is worth living in and for; and that Jesus Christ is lord of the future--this is the certain hope which the Christian church may proclaim to help the Melanesian burst the bounds of his little world with no hope. The Christian church confesses that in Christ the eschatological future of the world and of the whole of humanity has dawned. This is what it means to say: "I believe in Jesus Christ."[49]

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter the material which had been gathered in previous chapters was used as a resource for sketching the outline of

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[49]Braaten, p. viii.

an approach to a theological interpretation of messianic and millenarian movements in Melanesia. We began by summarizing the main features of the Pauline motif of return-to-origins. This was followed by a brief analysis of the manner in which Paul used the motif to radicalize and modify the hopes and expectation of Judaism.

The second part of the chapter attempted to indicate the way in which the motif of return-to-origins--a motif common to Paul and the Melanesian movements--may be useful in arriving at a theological understanding of, and response to, the religious movements in Melanesia. We found that the search for salvation is a legitimate search, and that to envisage salvation in terms of a return-to-origins has a precedent in the theology of Paul.

We observed, however, that the fundamental difference between the search for salvation as presented from within the matrix of the Pauline motif of return-to-origins, and as delineated within the framework of the Melanesian version of the motif, lies in the manner in which, and the persons by whom, salvation is effected. Melanesian ideology looks to the ancestors. Pauline theology looks to Jesus Christ. This is an irreconcilable difference, a difference which, from the point of view of Chrsitian theology, dooms all Melanesian messianic and millenarian movements to failure.

The chapter concluded with some suggestions regarding the task of the church as it seeks to face the challenge presented by the messianic and millenarian movements. We noted that the church must seek to understand the movements and try to communicate with them at their level and in their language. And the church must so

preach and teach, that the lordship of Christ both in this life and in the life to come, becomes a reality for the people of Melanesia.

We have reached the end of our study, in the sense that an attempt has been made to fulfill the terms of reference laid down in the first chapter. In another sense, however, the study has only begun. There are at least three areas in which further work could be done.

First, the use of the motif of return-to-origins in the Pauline writings needs to be subjected to closer scrutiny. For example, one area which was overlooked almost entirely in the present paper was the study of the use of the concept of Wisdom in the Pauline material. In the Old Testament and Judaism, Wisdom was regarded as a leading figure in creation.[50] Feuillet has shown that the figure of Wisdom occupies an important place in Paul's theology.[51] It seems likely that the theme of Wisdom is another facet of the larger motif of return-to-origins.

Secondly, the presence or absence of the return-to-origins motif in the rest of the New Testament could be the object of further research. In the present study the suggestion was made that the motif was known in the church at a very early stage in its history. This suggestion could be pursued further, with a view to arriving at a tradition-history of the motif.

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[50]Cf. W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament (London: SCM Press, c.1967), II, 80-91

[51]A. Feuillet, Le Christ Sagesse de Dieu d'Après les Épitres Pauliniennes (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1966), passim.

Finally, the value of the Pauline motif of return-to-origins for a theological understanding of Melanesian messianic and millenarian movements needs to be subjected to more rigorous examination than was done in the present paper. If the motif is found to be useful, then a full-scale attempt could be made to interpret the Melanesian movements from within the theological framework provided by the motif of return-to-origins. But if, upon further investigation, the proposals made in this study are found to be untenable, then a different approach must be sought and found. The need to come to theological grips with the Melanesian movements is one of great urgency.

The Christian church and Christian theology has always had the responsibility of interpreting reality. In doing so, it makes use of the insights provided by such disciplines as anthropology and sociology. But the basis of theological interpretation is the biblical revelation, of which the return-to-origins motif is an important element.

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