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THE IMAGE OF GOD IN THE

Short Title

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

by

Richard S. Taron

June, 1962

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Approved by:

Martin H. Franzmann
1962

Frederick D. Danks
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Through the ages one of the most disputed concepts of theology has been that of the image of God. The last nine-
teen hundred years have seen numerous attempts on the part
of various authors, both Christian and Jewish, to define
and explain the expression; yet the year 1960 still finds
widespread disagreement among theologians regarding what
exactly constitutes the image of God.

This paper does not purport to resolve the question
of the centuries with an air of final authority. Rather
it is an attempt to delve once again into the New Testa-
ment, in particular the letters of Paul, to find there
what precisely is said concerning the image of God. As we
proceed with the search it will be necessary to investi-
gate what different authors have said concerning various
key passages, and to weigh their statements on the scales
of other Pauline, New Testament, and Old Testament evi-
dence. Throughout we propose to adhere to the principle
that Scripture interprets itself, so that one passage in
Paul must be seen in the light of Pauline theology in
general, and all that Paul has to say regarding the image
of God must be seen in the light of the theology of the
New Testament and of the Old Testament in general. After

a brief examination of the word "image" itself and its development prior to the New Testament era, we shall then seek to determine the meaning of two important aspects of Paul's "image" theology. First we shall investigate the significance and implications of Christ as the image of God, and secondly we shall attempt to arrive at an understanding of the new man as the image of God.

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma$, "to be similar," "to resemble," "to appear." Hence the basic idea behind $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ is one of resemblance. The suffix $\omega\varsigma$, which appears in the genitive form $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma$, reflects the early indo-germanic $-uz$, and has the function of constructing nouns genetically connected with a prototype ($\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha$).¹ The word $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ seems to have made its first appearance in the fifth century B.C. in the writings of Euripides,² Aristophanes,³

¹ Friedrich-Wilhelm Mitteis, Εἰκὼν im Neuen Testament, Beihft 23 of Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1958), p. 1. See also J. B. Hofmann, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen (München: Verlag von H. Oldenbourg, 1950), p. 71.

² Hermann Kleinmichel, "Εἰκὼν," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), II, 386. Hereafter this will be referred to as "Εἰκὼν" Wörterbuch.

³ Mitteis, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴ $\iota\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$. Euripides, "Helen," Euripides, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Vieuve, and G. M. S. Jones (reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1950), line 73.

⁵ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$. Aristophanes,

CHAPTER II

ΕΙΚΩΝ --THE NUDUM VERBUM

Etymology and Development of Εἰκῶν

The noun Εἰκῶν goes back to the early Greek root Feik,¹ and is etymologically connected with Εἰκω and Εἶκοι, "to be similar," "to resemble," "to appear."² Hence the basic idea behind Εἰκῶν is one of resemblance. The suffix ὶν, which appears in the genitive form Εἰκόνος, reflects the early indo-germanic -en, and has the function of constructing nouns generically connected with a prototype (παράδειγμα).³ The word Εἰκῶν seems to have made its first appearance in the fifth century B.C. in the writings of Euripides,⁴ Aristophanes,⁵

¹Friedrich-Wilhelm Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, Beiheft 23 of Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1958), p. 1. See also J. B. Hofmann, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen (München: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1950), p. 71.

²Herman Kleinknecht, "Εἰκῶν," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 386. Hereafter this will be referred to as "Εἰκῶν," Wörterbuch.

³Eltester, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴Ἰουδαϊκὸς εἶκω. Euripides, "Helen," Euripides, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1930), line 73.

⁵τὰς εἰκοὺς τῶν ἐφ'χειλέων. Aristophanes,

and Herodotus.⁶

Originally εἰκών implied an original of which it was a likeness or to which it bore a resemblance. Thus it could be used of a picture or statue⁷ of that original. Related to this usage is the εἰκών which appeared on a coin.⁸ In ancient times it did not generally appear as the image of a god. "Ἄγαλμα" was the older word for this.⁹ At a later time εἰκών came to be commonly used of such a Götterbild,¹⁰ although such a usage had already appeared in Plato.¹¹

"The Clouds," Aristophanes, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1930), line 559.

⁶ ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΛΛΑΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΥΚΕΡΙΝΟΥ, Herodotus, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1935), II, 130.

⁷ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (Reprint; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 485. See usage in Herodotus in footnote 6, where the translation is "statues of Mycerinus' concubines."

⁸ Cf. "εἰκών," Wörterbuch, p. 386. Cf. also Matthew 22:20: "εἰκὼν . . . Καίσαρος."

⁹ Eltester, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁰ Of Isis it was said, "ἐξ ἧς αἱ εἰκόνες . . . πάντων τῶν θεῶν." B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), XI, 198.

¹¹ "Some of the gods whom we honour we see clearly, but of others we set up statues as images τῶν δ' εἰκόνας ἀγάλματα ἰδρυσαμένοι. . . ." Plato, "Laws," Plato, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd.,

In those instances in which εἰκών meant a statue it often happened that the relation of the statue to its prototype was diminished or forgotten. Sometimes εἰκών could mean a statue by itself, without any thought of its being a statue of something or someone in particular.¹² Hence from Abbild of an original, εἰκών received the sense of Bild with no original. As a result of this development, εἰκών could be used as mere "form," or "appearance."¹³

Plato's idea of εἰκόνες which exist within the soul¹⁴ led to the next step in the development of the meaning of εἰκών. These εἰκόνες do not come from experience (the world perceived by the senses), but come from within the soul itself.¹⁵ From this Platonic usage

1942), XI, 931a. It is interesting to note here the parallel use of εἰκών and ἄγαλμα.

¹²Eltester, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

¹³αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐρωμένων εἰκόνες. Plutarch, "Amatorius," Plutarch, in Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Libsiae: In Aedibus B. G. Teubner, 1892), XVI, 759c. Eltester translates this, "das Aussehen der Geliebten," "die Gestalten der Geliebten." Eltester, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁴"Gedankenbilde." Kleinknecht, op. cit., p. 386.

¹⁵This thought must be seen in connection with Plato's conception of ideas as universals, which exist in themselves, and which leave their impress in each human soul. In Timaeus it is stated that the Cosmos should be the image εἰκόνα of something, and this "something" is defined in the preceding section as that "which is apprehensible by reason and thought." Plato, "Timaeus," Plato,

εἰκών began to take on the meaning Vorbild (pattern, example, prototype, original), and in rhetorical theory it could (after Aristotle) even alternate with παράδειγμα.¹⁶

Ἑκών in Greek and Hellenistic

Cosmological Speculation

The Greeks differentiated between a hand-made image, such as a statue (τέχνη εἰκών) and a reflected image (φύσει εἰκών).¹⁷ In the latter category are images in a mirror.¹⁸ Related to this usage are the emanation theories of Greek and Hellenistic cosmological speculation. At the conclusion of Plato's Timaeus the Cosmos, which is the son of God, is called "a visible God, the image of the intelligible God εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ θεοῦ αἰσθητός."¹⁹ Here we see seeds of the complicated emanation theories of

in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1942), p. 29b. Hence the "Gedankenbilde" are but a part of the "Ideen" of which the Cosmos is an εἰκὼν .

¹⁶Eltester, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁸Liddell and Scott, op. cit., p. 485. Cf. also Euripides: "By a shining mirror, smiling at her own phantom image ἀψυχὸν εἰκὼν there." Euripides, "Medea," Euripides, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1935), line 1162.

¹⁹Plato, "Timaeus," Plato, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1942), 92c.

later authors. Plotinus offers a list of four principles, each of which emanates as εἰκὼν from the previous one and each of which is the εἰκὼν (Vorbild) from which the succeeding one emanates. He begins with the "One," who produces "Spirit," or "Mind," who in turn produces "Soul," from which the "World" comes. In addition the world sometimes appears as the εἰκὼν of the νοῦς. Each of these becomes weaker in the process of emanation. To express the progressively weakening nature of this process of emanation, Plotinus replaces Plato's "demiurge" with the idea of an image in a mirror.²⁰ Each entity is but a weakened reflection of the one which preceded it.²¹ Plutarch retained Plato's idea of the κόσμος as the εἰκὼν of the νοητὸς θεός (Osiris, in this case), both in the sense of a son and of an Ausfluss Gottes.²² Here again is the idea of emanation. This idea finds further expression in the works of Philo of Alexandria, whose λόγος is understood as a "Son of God," in the sense of a φύσει εἰκὼν.²³ The same conception is found in Jewish wisdom literature, where wisdom is both conceived of as being an εἰκὼν of God as

²⁰Eltester, op. cit., pp. 91-95.

²¹Basically this is a result of the attempt by Greek philosophers to bridge the gap between God who is good and matter which is evil.

²²Eltester, op. cit., pp. 62-65.

²³Ibid., pp. 33-34.

well as an ἀπόρροια.²⁴ Finally in the Hermetic literature, particularly the Poimandres, "The creative Word is the offspring of the eternal mind, just as articulate thought and speech in us are the offspring of the human mind. . . ."²⁵ In general, "for the Hermetists 'image' and 'offspring' are closely related terms."²⁶ Eltester concludes his lengthy survey of Greek and Hellenistic cosmology with three generalizations:

1. The image is always related substantially to its prototype.
2. The image is always "brought forth" (emanation) from the prototype.
3. In the image the prototype is represented in an active manner ("wirkend . . . vorgestellt").²⁷

This is by no means an exhaustive survey of the usage of εἰκών in the Greek and Hellenistic world, but it will serve to illustrate three points. In the first place εἰκών can be conceived of as a prototype as well as an image of that prototype. Secondly an εἰκών can be understood as a φύσει εἰκών, having a generic relationship with that of which it is an image. Finally εἰκών can be an actual representation of the prototype (cf. Eltester's

²⁴Wisdom of Solomon 7:25-26. Septuaginta, II, edited by Alfred Rahlfs (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).

²⁵C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), p. 119.

²⁶Ibid., p. 118.

²⁷Eltester, op. cit., p. 111.

third point above), so that the prototype actually is encountered in the image.

Ἐικῶν in the Septuagint

Ἐικῶν appears forty-seven times in the canonical books of the Septuagint and eight times in the non-canonical Wisdom of Solomon. Eleven times in the canonical Septuagint εἰκῶν translates the Hebrew word קִצְצָ .²⁸ This Hebrew word is also translated by εἶδωλον²⁹ (image of a god, idol), τύπος³⁰ (carved figure, image), and ὁμοίωμα³¹ (likeness, image). Fourteen times εἰκῶν translates the Aramaic equivalent of קִצְצָ , קִצְצָ .³² Three

²⁸Gen. 1:26,27; 5:3; 9:6; I Kingd. 6:11; IV Kingd. 11:18; 18; Psalm 38:7; 72:20; Ezekiel 7:20; 16:17; 23:14. Three meanings are noted by Gesenius: "shade, shadow," "image, likeness," and "image, idol." Wm. Gesenius, Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures, translated by Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), p. 710. Koehler lists four Old Testament uses. These are: (1) "statue"; (2) "image," in sense of "image of God"; (3) "image," in the sense of a copy or drawing; and (4) "image," in sense of something which is transient. Ludwig Koehler, Wörterbuch zum Hebräischen Alten Testament in Deutscher und Englischer Sprache, in Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros, edited by Ludwig Koehler and W. Baumgartner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), I, 804.

²⁹Numbers 33:52; 2 Chronicles 23:17.

³⁰Amos 5:26.

³¹1 Samuel 6:5.

³²Daniel 2:31,32,34,35; 3:1,2,5,7,10,12,15,18. The meaning given by Gesenius, op. cit., p. 895, is simply "image, idol."

times εἰκῶν translates עִקְוֹן,³³ a word which is also rendered by ἰδωλιόν³⁴ (idol, carved image) and also by εἰκόνη³⁵ (image of a god). Once εἰκῶν translates עִקְוֹן,³⁶ a word which usually is translated by ὁμοίωμα³⁷ (likeness), ὁμοίωσις³⁸ (likeness, resemblance). Finally εἰκῶν appears in the Septuagint once as the translation of the Hebrew עִקְוֹן.³⁹

Surveying this list we find that εἰκῶν most frequently translates the Hebrew עִקְוֹן and related Aramaic עִקְוֹן, and that these two words are most frequently rendered by εἰκῶν. These words go back to a root connected with the Arabic salama, "to cut off." This root also shows itself in the Aramaic salem. Originally both words meant "a hewn out stone in a form," hence "a statue," especially "a statue of

³³Deuteronomy 4:16; 2 Chronicles 33:7; Ezekiel 8:5. Gesenius, *op. cit.*, p. 727 translates this word "likeness, image," or "statue, sculptured likeness."

³⁴2 Chronicles 33:15.

³⁵Ezekiel 8:3.

³⁶Genesis 5:1.

³⁷Seventeen times: Genesis 1:26; 5:3; 2 Chronicles 4:2, *et al.*

³⁸Psalms 57:5; Ezekiel 1:10; 10:22; Daniel 10:16.

³⁹Isaiah 40:19, 20. Gesenius, *op. cit.*, p. 859, gives as the meanings of the word "carved image," "molten image," of which the latter is applied to the two passages in question.

a god."⁴⁰ Thus εἰκών in the Septuagint most frequently is used as an image of a pagan god, although it also appears in several other roles (shadow, likeness). On the basis of comparative usage of εἰκών it is difficult to determine its meaning in Genesis 1:26, Genesis 5:1, and Genesis 9:6. The meanings of these passages will have to be determined on the basis of other evidence which will be adduced later in the paper.

²Εἰκών in the New Testament

Before we begin with an investigation of the image of God in the theology of Paul, it is necessary to first make a brief survey of the word εἰκών as it appears in the New Testament. The word is found three times in the synoptics⁴¹ in parallel passages which refer to the image of Caesar on a coin. Here "image" has the ordinary, original meaning of a likeness, in this case a likeness as it is cast into a coin. In Romans 1:23 εἰκών is used in combination with ὁμοίωμα, "likeness of an image,"⁴² and again means an image which looks like man or is the "likeness" of man.

⁴⁰Eltester, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

⁴¹Matthew 22:20; Mark 12:16; Luke 20:24.

⁴²The word " εἰκών " as it is found here could mean "figure," "form." Thus the expression would read, "into the figure of an image of corruptible man." "εἰκών," Wörterbuch, II, 393.

Hebrews 10:1 is an instance in which εἰκῶν takes on the deeper coloring of later Greek usage of the word. Here it is contrasted with σκιά, as the real essence of God's dealings with man. The law, with its yearly sacrifices, was but a shadow of the coming dispensation in which there would be but one sacrifice (Hebrews 10:10). The law was a shadow and not the very image of that dispensation. In this passage εἰκῶν means "the things themselves, as seen."⁴³ Indeed "εἰκῶν ist an unserer Stelle nicht wie sonst im Griechischen das 'Abbild' . . . sondern . . . die Gestalt selbst."⁴⁴ Kleinknecht lists a Greek usage which would correspond to this usage in Hebrews. εἰκῶν can also mean "representation," "living image in the sense of exact likeness," "embodiment," "personification."⁴⁵ The word εἰκῶν appears eleven times in the Book of Revelation, all as the "image of the beast."⁴⁶ Here the "image" is to be understood as the Septuagint and later Greek

⁴³L. T. Wohlfeil, "What is Meant by 'All Fullness,' Col. 1:19?" Concordia Theological Monthly, IV (May, 1933), 344. In Colossians 2:16-17 σκιά is contrasted with σωμα.

⁴⁴Otto Michel, Hebräerbrief, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), XIII, 219.

⁴⁵Kleinknecht, op. cit., p. 386. He notes a passage in the utterances of Diogenes of Sinope, where the good men are called "εἰκόνας" of the gods, i.e., personifications of the good gods.

⁴⁶Revelation 13:14,15; 14:9,11; 15:2; 16:2; 19:20; 20:4.

Götterbild, representing the beast and being worshiped.

These sixteen occurrences of εἰκών, only one of which is in Paul's epistles, represent what we will call "ordinary uses of εἰκών." In the rest of the New Testament uses of εἰκών, the "image of God" is involved. In 2 Corinthians 4:4 and Colossians 1:15 Christ is called the εἰκών of God. In Romans 8:29 "those whom he foreknew" are "predestined to the image of his Son," while in 1 Corinthians 15:49 Christians are assured they will "bear the image of the man of heaven i.e. Christ." In 2 Corinthians 3:18 Paul says we "are being changed into his likeness." Here the context makes it clear that "his likeness" is the likeness of Christ.⁴⁷ In Colossians 3:10 Paul informs his readers that they "have put on the new nature, which is being renewed after the image of its creator."⁴⁸ Finally,

⁴⁷Verse 16 reads, "when a man turns to the Lord the veil is removed." "The Lord," through whom alone the veil separating man from God's glory can be removed (verse 14), is Christ. Quotation is from the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament.

⁴⁸Although in most New Testament instances God is the subject of "create," and although in Ephesians 4:22-24 the new man is renewed after (the image of) God, who created him, yet Jervell seems correct in asserting, "es ist auch I. Kor. 15,49 vor Augen hält, εἰκών auf Christus zu beziehen." Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei. Gen. 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis, und in den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 250. Lohmeyer, who claims the support of other commentators, concurs, stating that "we are renewed in knowledge, after Christ, the image of Him who created man." Ernst Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), IX, 142.

in 1 Corinthians 11:7 man is called "the image and glory of God." Of the twenty-three times $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\upsilon\nu$ is found in the New Testament we will for the remainder of this paper be concerned with these seven appearances of the word in the epistles of Paul, in an attempt to discover his theology of the image of God.

A study of the image of God in Paul's theology must be a Christological study. For Paul the image of God cannot be seen aside from Christ. Hence it is necessary to begin with Paul's conception of Christ as the image of God.

Colossians 1:13-23 contains the most fully developed presentation of Christ as the image of God. For in this passage we find a number of important phrases concerning Christ which are a development of the thought expressed in the key words in 1:15, "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of the Father." Therefore, before we proceed with a detailed examination of the theology of this entire passage, it will first be necessary for us to establish the authenticity and reliability of the passage itself.

It cannot be doubted that the passage in question presents many difficulties, and one's understanding of Christ as the "image of the invisible God" here depends on how one resolves these difficulties. The main problem centers around the fact that the passage appears to be out of context, being exegetical speculation in the midst of

CHAPTER III

CHRIST AS THE IMAGE OF GOD

Colossians 1:15-20

Authenticity and Reliability of Text

A study of the image of God in Paul's theology must be a Christological study. For Paul the image of God cannot be seen aside from Christ. Hence it is necessary to begin with Paul's conception of Christ as the image of God.

Colossians 1:15-20 contains the most fully developed presentation of Christ as the image of God, for in the passage are found a number of important clauses concerning Christ which are a development of the thought expressed in the key words in 1:15, "ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου." However, before we proceed with a detailed examination of the theology of this εἰκὼν passage, it will first be necessary for us to establish the authenticity and reliability of the passage itself.

It cannot be doubted that the passage in question presents many difficulties, and one's understanding of Christ as the "image of the invisible God" here depends on how one resolves these difficulties. The main problem centers around the fact that the passage appears to be out of context, being cosmological speculation in the midst of

soteriological thought. Dibelius points out that the strange relationship the passage has with its context has led many to regard it as an interpolation (Holtzmann, von Soden, et al.) and others to doubt the genuineness of the entire epistle (Baur and his school). He himself resolves the problem by claiming the thoughts of the passage to be pre-Pauline, deriving from the cosmological speculations of the pre-Pauline, Hellenistic world.¹ He is not alone in his view.² As one examines the passage, he cannot but agree with these exegetes that the predications of Christ in Colossians 1:15-20 bear a striking resemblance to the cosmic figure of Hellenistic speculation, whose name changes in various systems but whose identity is usually the same. Figures which qualify as this heavenly man are the Urmensch of Iranian speculation, the Logos of Philonic

¹Martin Dibelius, An Die Kolosser Epheser an Philemon, in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Günther Bornkamm (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953), XII, 14-15.

²Friedrich-Wilhelm Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, Beiheft 23 of Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1958), pp. 130-152. Ernst Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), IX, II, 55. Eduard Lohse, "Imago Dei bei Paulus," Libertas Christiana, Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, edited by E. Wolf (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1957), p. 127. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, translated by Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), II, 132. E. Käsemann, Leib und Leib Christi (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1933), p. 149, et al.

philosophy, and the Nous (Aion, Kosmos) of Hermetic literature. One or all of these figures is claimed to be lurking behind Paul's dynamic words in Colossians 1:15-20. Dodd notices the linguistic similarities between Colossians and Hellenism:

It is indeed remarkable how much of the language which Hellenistic writers employ to describe the divine or heavenly Anthropos . . . is applied by Christian writers to Christ. He is the Man from Heaven, the Son of God, the Image of God, the Bearer of authority over created things. . . .³

Bultmann makes special note of the fact that this heavenly figure of the Hellenistic world, "the son-divinity of Gnosticism," often possesses not only soteriological but also cosmological significance.⁴ Since the greatest difficulty of the passage is finding a place for the cosmological assertions of verses 16ff., Bultmann's statement looks like an attractive solution, a solution which has been accepted by many commentators. Lohse leaves no room for doubt, asserting that the passage can only be explained out of a Hellenistic background.⁵ Looking for specific points of comparison between Colossians 1:15-20 and the Hellenistic Anthropos speculations, Eltester finds that the

³C. H. Dodd, "Man in God's Design According to the New Testament," Man in God's Design According to the New Testament (Woodlands: Newcastle upon Tyne, 1953), p. 16.

⁴Bultmann, op. cit., p. 152.

⁵Lohse, op. cit., p. 127.

Philonic Logos, who takes his place as part of the Hellenistic Urmensch speculation, "often bears the predication 'Eikon Gottes.'"⁶ He notes that this being played a role in the creation of the world.⁷ Further he is called πρωτογόνοσ νιός, which is similar to the πρωτότοκοσ of Colossians 1:15.⁸ To make his case more convincing Eltester has taken the trouble of working out a chart whereby he intends to illustrate that everything that is said of Christ as image of God in Colossians 1:15-20 was said of the Hellenistic inspired Philonic Logos, as well as of the Aion and Kosmos (which beings are also in the family of beings similar to the Cosmic man) of later Hermetic literature.⁹ Hence we have the claim that the basic connection between cosmos and salvation is Hellenistic (Bultmann), and the claim that the predications of Colossians 1:15-20 are likewise Hellenistic. How did these ideas come to Paul? Lohmeyer claims that the channel was Hellenistic Judaism. The characteristics of the Hellenistic world-

⁶Eltester, op. cit., p. 119. Lightfoot offers a list of passages from Philo in which the Logos is referred to as image of God. J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, in Classic Commentary Library (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, n.d.), p. 144.

⁷Eltester, op. cit., p. 36.

⁸Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁹Ibid., pp. 141-142.

figure, who was a kind of creator and savior in the same package, and who had made his way into the system of Philo, were inherited by the "wisdom figure" of Hellenistic Judaism, who appeared particularly in the Wisdom of Solomon.¹⁰ Dibelius concurs with this position.¹¹

However, not only is a Hellenistic background for Colossians 1:15-20 sought on the basis of similar terminology and ideas. The structure of these verses is adduced as further evidence. Eduard Norden made an extensive investigation of Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian liturgical forms, and found in Colossians certain "traditional forms of predication, including the Stoic formula of almighty power [Allmachtsformel]." Colossians 1:15-20 he discovered to be in the style of typical later Oriental hymns.¹² He, and others after him,¹³ see the main characteristic of this

¹⁰Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 55.

¹¹Dibelius, op. cit., p. 16. Lohse notes that Philo (Leg. All., I, 43) calls Wisdom ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰκόνα . . . θεοῦ, which reminds us of the juxtaposition of εἰκὼν and ἀρχὴν in Colossians 1:15ff. Lohse, op. cit., p. 128.

¹²E. Norden, Agnostos Theos, Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913), especially pp. 250ff.

¹³Lohmeyer, op. cit., pp. 41ff. E. Käsemann, op. cit., pp. 134ff. Ernst Percy, Die Probleme der Kolosser und Epheserbriefe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946), p. 38. Dibelius, op. cit., p. 10. Eltester, op. cit., pp. 136-137. Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei. Gen. 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 199. J. M. Robinson, "A Formal Analysis of Colossians 1:15-20," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVI (1957), 272ff.

style to be the heaping up of participial clauses as predications of divinity. They divide the hymn into two stanzas, the first of which is cosmological and the second of which is soteriological in emphasis. Much effort has been spent to discover the length and rhetorical units of the passage, but the disagreement among various commentators who approach the passage in this way demonstrates how artificial such attempts can be.¹⁴

Many commentators, in keeping with their desire to find Hellenistic prototypes for the phrases of Colossians 1:15-20, attribute the origin of this hymn to Gnosticism, claiming that it was taken over by Christianity and applied to Christ. As Paul (or the author) wrote Colossians, he is said to have had before him a copy of this hymn, which he incorporated into his text.

On the basis of the arguments of these various authors one could be tempted to maintain that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of considering the section to be non-Pauline, even non-Christian in origin. If this be true, then the expression that Christ was "the image of the unseen God" loses much of its impact. However, the evidence is not all one-sided. Examining the first area of proofs adduced for Hellenistic origin, the similarity of terms and thoughts with those of Hellenistic cosmology, we find that

¹⁴Robinson, op. cit., p. 270.

the similarity is more apparent than real. In the case of the cosmic figure of the various systems current in the Hellenistic world, it must be observed that this figure, whether he was the Philonic Logos or the Hermetic Nous, was little more than a "philosophic abstraction."¹⁵ We would agree, then, with Dodd, who said that this "οὐβελῶδης Ἄνθρωπος essential man," who was but a "ray or spark of the eternal light . . . generated out of the being of God Himself and destined to be reunited with God" was "almost an abstract idea."¹⁶ Dodd correctly identifies the Philonic Logos with "the Platonic world of ideas."¹⁷ Comparing this figure with the Christ of Colossians we see that there cannot be even a shade of resemblance between the two. One of the most climactic verses of Colossians demonstrates how different the Christ of Paul is from the abstract beings of Greek and Hellenistic philosophy. The important words of this verse are, "in him dwells all the fullness of the godhead bodily βωματικῶς."¹⁸ The Christ of whom it is said that he is the "image of the invisible God" is the Christ whose presence had been

¹⁵Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 151.

¹⁶Dodd, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁷C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), p. 68.

¹⁸Colossians 2:9.

experienced not as abstraction, but $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

McCasland comments,

his [Paul's] view of Christ as pre-existent and the sole agent of creation is parallel to Philo's Logos in almost every way except in name. The chief difference is of course his belief that Christ has lived a life of flesh and blood.¹⁹

McCasland's "chief difference" is a decisive one. The same difference can be found to exist between Paul's Christ and the "Wisdom" figure of Hellenistic Judaism. Percy categorizes this figure with the Philonic Logos and says that the most that can be said of him is that everything was $\delta\epsilon\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, whereas of Christ everything is $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$.

"Christ is not only the implement, the mediator, but also the goal of Creation."²⁰ He continues that in the Wisdom of Solomon "Wisdom" appears "not as an actual personal being next to God," but "as an immanent world reason."²¹

Thus the difference between the "Wisdom" figure and the Christ of Colossians must be granted.

Concerning the hymnic character of the passage, more

¹⁹S. Sv. McCasland, "The Image of God According to Paul," Journal of Biblical Literature, LVIX (1950), 90-99. Cf. also the article on " $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 394. Kittel says that in Colossians 1:15 and related passages it perhaps is significant to notice not only what Paul did say of the Christ, but what Paul did not say and should have said if a Logos figure were in his mind.

²⁰Percy, op. cit., p. 70.

²¹Ibid., p. 71.

also must be said. Jervell points to the emphatic position of $\nu\mu\alpha\varsigma$ in verse 21, which, he says, indicates that what Paul has been quoting from a familiar hymn known to them also pertains to them.²² Hence he reflects the commonly held view that what Paul had before him was not a Gnostic or Hellenized Judaic formula, but an early Christian hymn. Although Käsemann, one of the foremost proponents of this view, still claims that the framework of the hymn had Gnostic origins,²³ others who support the view deny such an origin, claiming instead a Christian origin for the hymn.²⁴ Schweitzer, differing slightly, claims "Christian origins, influenced by hellenistic-Judaic syncretism, modified by the writer of Colossians with several interpretative additions."²⁵

This view still treats the verses in question as a

²²Jervell, op. cit., pp. 209-210.

²³E. Käsemann, Festschrift für R. Bultmann, quoted by Dibelius, op. cit., p. 11. Käsemann sees the hymn to be a Christian baptismal hymn. Jervell agrees. Jervell, op. cit., pp. 197ff.

²⁴Lochse, op. cit., pp. 126-127, footnote 14. Lochse says that the "relative style" delineated by Norden does show that Paul is using a "traditional" style, but, against Käsemann, that the hymn is not of Gnostic origin. He points particularly to the "firstborn from the dead" of verse 18, and says it is "specifically Christian." Schweitzer concurs with this. E. Schweitzer, Erniedrigung und Erhöhung bei Jesus und Seinen Nachfolgern (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1955), p. 103, footnote 465.

²⁵Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 103. Schweitzer claims $\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\upsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ as one such addition.

foreign intrusion to the text, making them a "digression" from Paul's chain of thought. Piper's position is worth noting in this connection. He admits that the section has the character of a hymn, but denies that it forms a digression from the thought of Paul. He criticizes those who call the section a "Christological excursus" or "digression." "Paul is not composing a theological treatise or quoting a fragment of it." This type of outburst, praising the marvelous nature and works of God, is a "frequent phenomenon in Paul." As Paul writes such "digressions" he always has "the practical purpose of his writing in mind."²⁶ To find the true significance and meaning of this passage, and thus of the expression *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*, we must examine the context of the passage. This we propose to do shortly.

Further evidence which can be applied against the claim of Hellenistic background for Colossians 1:15-20 is the very nature of Paul's writings and of those of the New Testament in general. Paul was not a product of Hellenism. It is very unreasonable to assume that he was deeply influenced by Greek literature and philosophy.²⁷ Paul came

²⁶Otto A. Piper, "The Savior's Eternal Work, An Exegesis of Col. 1:9-29," Interpretation, III (July, 1949), 287.

²⁷A. C. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1926),

from a Jewish background, and even this was not Hellenistic Judaism as is commonly claimed.²⁸ Filson proceeds further and convincingly shows that the message of the entire New Testament was not influenced by Hellenism, but the New Testament was a "distinctive" book with a distinctive message.²⁹

pp. 85-107. Rawlinson, however, tends to overemphasize the Jewish nature of Paul's Christianity. Others who speak against the theory that Paul was influenced by Hellenism are W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1958), p. 2 (Davies' statement that the "New Testament is being manipulated in the interest of theories" certainly applies to Colossians 1:15-20), and W. D. Stacey, The Pauline View of Man In Relation to its Judaic and Hellenistic Background (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1956), pp. 4-7. Stacey particularly emphasizes the fact that Paul was "a Hebrew of the Hebrews." So also H. W. Robinson, The Christian Doctrine of Man (Reprint; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1952), p. 104.

²⁸Stacey, op. cit., pp. 28-29. Davies, op. cit., p. 8. H. W. Robinson, op. cit., p. 277, et al.

²⁹F. V. Filson, The New Testament Against its Environment (Reprint; London: SCM Press, 1956), pp. 12, 29-42. Filson states (p. 12) that the New Testament is "not a Gentile book. Its deepest ties are with Judaism and indeed with Palestinian . . . Judaism rather than with the Hellenistic Judaism which we associate with Philo of Alexandria." He demonstrates (pp. 29-42) that the New Testament was distinctive from its heathen environment and hence did not borrow from it. He bases this conclusion on four grounds: (1) The New Testament rejected polytheism; (2) The New Testament combination of God's transcendence and gracious redemptive action finds no real parallel in the Gentile world (the "Logos" was not God, but an emanation from God); (3) Thus God as both Creator and Redeemer is foreign to the Hellenistic world; (4) The Christology of the New Testament is very early, dating back to the very early days of Christianity (thus the passage in Colossians 1:15-20 is not an accretion to Christianity from Hellenism, but has distinctive Christian roots). Regarding the claim that the New Testament message was influenced by Hellenism, Filson

If we are searching for a deep influence on New Testament writings, in particular the writings of Paul, we must look not to Hellenism, but to the Old Testament, as Bright and others have so beautifully demonstrated.³⁰ Stacey adds these significant thoughts concerning the distinctiveness of that part of the New Testament which is Pauline in its origin:

Pauline Christianity does not appear to be either Hellenism or Judaism, or a mixture of the two. Some other dominant influence is clearly at work. May it not be that this influence was revelation? It may well prove that the driving power of Paul's faith was an understanding of God that was hidden from the Greeks, and not revealed to the prophets or the Rabbis, but was revealed to Paul. In the life, trial, and death of Jesus, some of which Paul may have

states, "Such a view can be supported only by a radical rejection of the New Testament" (p. 37). The Christology of the New Testament found its impetus not in Hellenism, but in the resurrection of Christ. Once this happened, the high Christology and eschatology of the New Testament had a firm basis (pp. 41-42).

³⁰ John Bright emphasizes the solidarity which exists between the Old Testament and the New Testament: "the New Testament remains a book . . . organically related to the Old Testament faith." He calls the two "two acts of a single drama." John Bright, The Kingdom of God (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958), p. 196. Filson also emphasizes the close relation of the New Testament to the Old Testament. The New Testament presents God as "God who acts." He notes that this Biblical God, who works out his purpose in time, "is not the God of the Greek philosophers, to whom time is . . . a problem . . . it is the Old Testament God. . . ." Filson, op. cit., p. 54. Stacey focuses his discussion particularly on Paul, pointing out that thirty times or more Paul "clinches his argument by the formula *Kadus jepparzal* (or some other words), followed by a quotation." He continues that for Paul "Scriptures were an incontrovertible authority." Stacey, op. cit., p. 7.

observed, in the Resurrection, and, above all, in the encounter near Damascus, a revelation was made to Paul which, in due time, was followed by the appearance, in the form of letters, of a faith which we know as Pauline Christianity.³¹

Paul's words in Colossians 1:15-20 must be seen in the light of the distinctive Christian message which he represented and proclaimed. The Christ of whom Paul speaks, calling him the "image" of God, is the Christ of Christianity, the historical Jesus. In verse 14 Paul refers to this specific historical personality, "his beloved Son," with the words ἐν ᾧ (in whom), and the re-appearance of the relative ὅς shows that this personality is still in his mind. Furthermore, that Paul should conclude Colossians 1:15-20 with a quite unhellenistic reference to "the blood of his cross," demonstrates that Paul is in no way dealing with a kind of "Platonic archetype."³² This passage is anchored in redemptive history, the history of that risen Christ whom Paul had once encountered personally. The apostle is not speculating about a philosophic "idea," but he is testifying to a truly historic person.

Another view which has been suggested concerning Colossians 1:15-20 claims that the passage derived some of

³¹Stacey, op. cit., p. 55.

³²Stephen Bedale, "The Meaning of κεφαλή in the Pauline Epistles," Journal of Theological Studies, V (1954), 214. Bedale also emphasizes the encounter Paul had with the historic Christ.

its terminology from a Gnostic heresy at Colossae, which heresy Paul is combatting. Regarding Paul's words in Colossians 1:15-20, Rendtorff says, "Es so nachdrücklich und gerade in dieser Form zur sagen, treibt ihn die Verwirrung in Kolossae."³³ Dibelius calls the section a "Preis des Christus," and says that it is spelled out as it is because of the Colossian heresy.³⁴ The more extravagant form of this view presents itself in the assertions of Lohmeyer³⁵ and Bultmann,³⁶ who claim that the passage consists of philosophic speculation derived from the Gnostics and used to combat them. Everything the Gnostics ascribe to their intermediary world powers can be ascribed to Christ. Less radical is the well known position of Lightfoot, who sees at Colossae a heresy of the Gnostic type, which had become intermingled with certain elements of Judaism, and which was the forerunner of the later Corinthian heresy.³⁷

³³H. Rendtorff, Der Brief an die Kolosser, in Das Neue Testament Deutsch (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), VIII, 113.

³⁴Dibelius, op. cit., p. 10.

³⁵Lohmeyer, op. cit., pp. 60-61. Lohmeyer claims that Paul "in Abstrakten Formeln wiederholt, was bisher in überkommenen mythischen Bildern gesagt war" (p. 61).

³⁶Rudolph Bultmann, "Gnosis," Bible Key Words, translated from the German and edited by J. R. Coates and H. P. Kingdon (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), II, 41, footnote 2. Bultmann says that not only terminology is affected, but the Christology is developed "along the line of cosmological speculation."

³⁷Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 73-113.

Lightfoot notes that "St. Paul takes up the language of his opponents and translates it into a higher sphere."³⁸

Davies likewise sees an apologetic note in the passage, but cannot decide whether Paul was merely using his opponents' terms or speaking in their philosophy. He says, "the question . . . cannot be fully decided."³⁹

Piper speaks against the view that the passage is mainly polemic, as it has been claimed. He does not deny that such a heretical situation did exist at Colossae, but he notes, "The references to it are too scanty, however, to consider the whole letter as written for the sole purpose of refuting that Jewish Gnosticism." He continues that

Paul . . . does not go to the trouble of . . . a reasoned refutation. . . . He rather presents such a lofty view of the Christian faith that thereby the rival doctrines fade into insignificance.⁴⁰

Ernst Percy likewise speaks against the theory that Colossians 1:15-20 is polemic in nature. He says,

Nichts davon findet sich weder Kol. 1,15-23 noch 2,9-15, sondern es handelt sich hier um lauter positive Aussagen ohne jegliche Spur von Entgegnung auf Andersartige Auffassungen.⁴¹

³⁸Ibid., p. 100.

³⁹W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Brothers, c.1957), p. 160.

⁴⁰Piper, op. cit., p. 289.

⁴¹Percy, op. cit., p. 175.

Percy deals with one of the words most often considered by those who see Colossians 1:15-20 as polemic, the word *πλήρωμα*.⁴² He says it is "unlikely" this was a word borrowed from the Colossian heresy. Moreover the word has no "polemical ring" to it. "Rather, Paul chose the word himself."⁴³ Thus the passage does not seem primarily to be an apology, but rather a positive presentation of Christian doctrine.

We have noted already that the passage can only be legitimately understood in the light of its context. Iverach here notes the most significant aspect of the context when he says, "In the forefront of the statement of doctrine is placed the fact of redemption."⁴⁴ The passage is undeniably in a redemption context, being preceded and succeeded by soteriological statements. Colossians 1:15-20 is not an abrupt digression. The *αὐτός* (verses 15, 18) indicates this. The figure of whom Paul is speaking in these verses is the same figure of whom he said, "in him we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins" (verse 14).⁴⁵ "He"

⁴²So Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 260. Dibelius, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 105ff.

⁴³Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁴⁴James Iverach, "The Epistle to the Colossians and its Christology," *Expository Times*, XXV (1913), 205.

⁴⁵All Biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version, unless otherwise indicated.

(this one in whom we have redemption) is the image of God. The order in Paul's chain of thought is not therefore Christology-redemption, but it is redemption-Christology. Any cosmological thoughts in the passage only underscore the fact of redemption. Percy states this fact admirably well:

Wie in allen Paulusbriefen sammeln sich auch in den Kolosser und Epheserbriefen die verschiedenen Gedanken um ein und dasselbe Zentrum, nämlich die Erlösung in Christus; alles andere, Christologie, Anthropologie, Kosmologie, Angelogie ist durchaus von der Auffassung vom Heil bestimmt.⁴⁶

Specifically regarding the passage we are considering he remarks, "Die Versöhnungsglaube ist hier . . . die Grundlage der Christologie."⁴⁷ Lohse states a similar view when he says,

Paul, in the use of the expression $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is not interested in cosmological speculation, but takes up the concept in its soteriological-eschatological meaning. . . .⁴⁸

Finally we turn once more to Piper, who states his case convincingly. He says that Paul is here reminding his readers that redemption is not

a subjective state of mind . . . but rather . . . the experience of an objective event that has thoroughly affected their lives. Paul is not offering here cosmological speculations that originated in his mind apart from faith through an intuitive study of the

⁴⁶Percy, op. cit., p. 68.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁸Lohse, op. cit., p. 290.

universe. Rather he is developing here the implications of the experience that "in him we have redemption."⁴⁹

The passage we are considering, then, is not primarily speculative in nature, but is soteriological, and it is in this light that Christ as the image of God must be understood. However, before we proceed with a treatment of the $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omega\nu$ passage in this light, there is another important problem with which we must deal.

The Nature of the Original Image of God

If Christ as the image of God is a soteriological fact, then the question concerning the original image of God as it is spoken of in Genesis 1:26 presents itself. Two problems which have arisen in anthropological considerations of our day are, "What actually constituted this image?" and "Was it lost in the fall?" In the light of the answers to these questions we will better be able to understand what it means that Christ was the image of God.

In answer to the question, "What actually constituted the original image of God in man?" many views have been propounded. Since the immediate context of Genesis 1:26 speaks of man's dominion over nature, many have sought to show that this is the essence of man's image of God. The

⁴⁹Piper, op. cit., p. 290.

image means "that God has formed man to share with Him His delight in creating and in the things created." It consists in "dominion . . . man can . . . stand apart from nature, stand above it, judge it, and within limits, refashion it."⁵⁰ Several passages from inter-testamental Jewish literature place special emphasis on man's being created with dominion over creation.⁵¹ However, a careful reading of the Genesis account will confirm the fact that dominion over creation is not marked out as the essence of the image of God, but rather appears as the consequence of it.⁵² Genesis 1:26 states that "God created man in his own image," and offers no further exposition on that sublime statement. The essence of the image is not defined. The

⁵⁰H. G. Wood, "Man Created in the Image of God," Expository Times, LXVIII (1957), 166. Cf. also Karl Strange, "Das Ebenbild Gottes," Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie, XXIV (1955), 124.

⁵¹Wisdom of Solomon 9:2, which reads, "And by thy wisdom formest man, that he should have dominion over the creatures that were made by thee." R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old and New Testaments in English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), I, 549. Apocalypse Baruch 14:17ff., which reads, "When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst say that Thou wouldst make for the world man as the administrator of Thy works. . . ." R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old and New Testaments in English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 491.

⁵²F. Horst, "Face to Face: the Biblical Doctrine of the Image of God," Interpretation IV (1950), 262. Cf. also "εἰκὼν," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 390.

next verse speaks of a blessing which God bestowed upon this creature "in his own image," a blessing which includes "dominion" over all other creatures. Psalm 8:4-6 could be adduced as possible evidence that the thought of "dominion" is at least prominent in the concept of the image of God in man, for here the lofty position which man occupies in God's creation is spoken of in connection with the dominion which man has over creation of "the works of thy hands."⁵³

A second interpretation concerning the image of God in man is reflected in Wisdom of Solomon 2:23-24, which seems to equate the image of God with the incorruption man had in the beginning,⁵⁴ and points out that by the workings of the devil the image was lost and death came. With reference to this ancient opinion it indeed is true that as a result of the fall from God a curse of death and so of corruption was spoken over man. But this curse was spoken after man had lost his former state, and so the necessity of death or corruption was the consequence, not the essence of the loss of the image of God.

⁵³The passage reads, "What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou dost care for him? Yet thou hast made him little less than God, and dost crown him with glory and honor. Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands. . . ."

⁵⁴The passage reads, "Because God created man for incorruption and made him an image of His own proper being; but by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that belong to his realm experience it." Charles, op. cit., I, 538.

Another theory is that found in the writings of many patristic authors. Robinson points out that these writers emphasized "man's rationality and freedom as the central constituents of his likeness to God," and he includes such men as Justin and Tertullian in his list.⁵⁵ Augustine reflected this viewpoint when he spoke of memory, understanding, and will in connection with man's image of God.⁵⁶ Luther reacted strongly against this position as it reflected itself in the writings of the scholastic "doctors" of his day, that the image of God consisted in "Gedächtnis," "Verstand," and "Wille."⁵⁷ However, this position remains extant in the writings of many modern authors, who are reflecting the aftermath of the elevation of man which so characterized the last century. McCasland, seeking to determine the nature of the image of God, says, "By a process of elimination we arrive at man's intellectual powers," and he calls these powers "man's ability to discern right and wrong, truth and falsehood. . . ."⁵⁸ Richardson reflects

⁵⁵Robinson, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵⁶Saint Augustine, Sermons on New Testament Lessons, in Nicene and Post Nicene Church Fathers, edited by Phillip Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), VI, 264.

⁵⁷Martin Luther, Auslegung des Alten Testaments, in Sämtliche Schriften, edited by J. G. Walch (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894), III, col. 45-46.

⁵⁸McCasland, op. cit., p. 89.

the same position when he says that after the fall "there remained in man traces of his original righteousness in his reason . . . ," although he is not here making a stark identification of the image of God with reason.⁵⁹

With respect to this view we must admit that one of the peculiar abilities of the man made in the image of God is his ability to reason, but to equate this with the image is surely an oversimplification. However, a final judgment concerning this view depends on the answer to the question, "Was the image of God lost in the fall?" Man still possesses the gift of reason, even after the fall. So if it can be maintained that the image of God was lost in the fall, then quite obviously the image cannot be equated with the ability to reason. Therefore we will deal with this question shortly.

Other views have also been entertained concerning the original image of God. The view of one author is that "the image abides in man's power of judgment and decision, and in his ability to create."⁶⁰ Newton states another view when he says, "The image refers to anything in man which

⁵⁹Allan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, c.1958), p. 53.

⁶⁰Wood, op. cit., p. 167. This, however, is actually only an implication of Wood's main thesis, that man's image is equivalent to dominion.

resembles God . . . therefore it is his total personality."⁶¹ Concerning these views we cannot but admit that the ability to create and man's total personality are part of the uniqueness of man. But whether either of these is the image of God also depends on an answer to the question, "Was the image of God lost in the fall?" Man still can create and his personality yet remains, even after the fall. Thus again if it can be maintained that the image was lost in the fall, then these views are incorrect. As previously stated, we will turn our attention to the question about the loss of the image in succeeding pages.

The position of Luther and the Confessions is that the image of God consisted in man's "concreated righteousness." Luther says that if Adam had not fallen, "wären wir alle Gott ähnlich gewesen. Das hätte man denn geheissen eine Erbgerechtigkeit."⁶² According to the Confessions,

man was created in the image of God and after his likeness (Gen. 1:27). What else is this than that a wisdom and righteousness was implanted in man that would grasp God and reflect him. . . .⁶³

Much clearer is the identification of righteousness and the

⁶¹Thomas Newton, "What is Man--the Biblical Doctrine of the Image of God," Interpretation, XIII (October, 1959), 159.

⁶²Luther, op. cit., col. 46.

⁶³The Book of Concord, translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), pp. 102-103.

image in these words: "original concreated righteousness or . . . the image of God. . . ." ⁶⁴ We will comment more on the position of the Confessions in another connection.

Of interest is the approach of Gerhard von Rad. He refuses to pin the image of God in man down to any specific characteristic of man, and his reason is worthy of thought. He says the Old Testament actually tells us nothing about the image of God. This, he feels, is understandable, because of the inexpressible essence of God. It is difficult to describe God. ⁶⁵ Surely it is true that the Old Testament tells us little about the image of God, and that it is thus difficult to describe what it is. Yet Paul speaks of the image of God, and he speaks of the incarnate Christ as the image of God in a soteriological context. To him the image is important. What is it?

Probably the greatest defect in various theories proposed, with the exception of the Confessional position, concerning which we will have more to say, is that they tend to speak of the image as if it were a substance or quality in man. Horst remarks that the image is not "a possession placed at his [man's] disposal." ⁶⁶ Dodd begins

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 510.

⁶⁵"εἰκὼν," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 389-390. Hereafter this will be referred to as "εἰκὼν," Wörterbuch.

⁶⁶Horst, op. cit., p. 268.

to put us on the right track when he points out that the dominant theme of the Bible is not man but God. Man can therefore never be studied in isolation. He must always be viewed "in relation to God."⁶⁷ Hence the image of God in man, that which enables him to have dominion over all other creatures, that which gives him incorruption, that which gives him the power to reason and plan, that which in fact gives him his "total personality," is basically to be conceived of in terms of his relationship with God.

Osterloh defines the image in terms of relationship, as he points out that man, like all other creatures, was created from nothing (שׁוֹמֵר). Hence the material, substantial aspect of his being puts him in a category with the animals. Therefore the image of God can only consist in "a special kind of relationship of man to God. . . ."⁶⁸ This

⁶⁷C. H. Dodd, "Man in God's Design According to the New Testament," op. cit., p. 10. Kümmel also points this characteristic out about the theology of Paul. W. G. Kümmel, Das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1958), p. 21. Bratsiosis states of Christ that He, too, "sieht den Menschen . . . nur in seiner Beziehung zu Gott." P. I. Bratsiosis, "Das Menschverständnis des Neuen Testaments," Man in God's Design According to the New Testament (Woodlands: Newcastle upon Tyne, 1953), p. 24.

⁶⁸E. Osterloh, "Ebenbild Gottes," Biblisches-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Uebersetzungen, edited by E. Osterloh and H. Engelland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), p. 91. Cf. also "εἰκὼν," Wörterbuch, p. 388. J. A. T. Robinson, The Body (Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 34-35. Hereafter this will be referred to as Robinson, Body.

relationship is so unique that without it man is incomplete. Ramsay speaks of man's "affinity to God" which requires "that he make his boast in God and not in himself."⁶⁹ To Hodge the fact that man

has an affinity with the Creator . . . means that human life points beyond itself to a larger whole in terms of which alone it receives meaning and purpose. This larger whole is God.⁷⁰

He continues that it is with God alone where man "finds his true satisfaction and being."⁷¹ Man, then, is a creature made for communion with God. He cannot truly exist apart from God, and it is in this aspect of his nature that he can be said to have been created in the image of God.

Whitlock makes an interesting survey of the Hebrew concept of man in which he demonstrates how dependent man is on communion with God for his very existence. The term ruach (spirit) in Old Testament theology describes the animating, life-giving force within man, and it always is viewed as a God-given force. Even man who has wandered from God is still animated by the ruach, which has no other

⁶⁹A. M. Ramsay, The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1949), p. 91.

⁷⁰L. E. H. Stephens-Hodge, "The Nature and the Image of God," Evangelical Quarterly, XVII (January, 1945), 37.

⁷¹Ibid.

source but a divine one.⁷²

Foerster notes the very significant fact that Revelation 4:8-11 shows that the twenty-four elders (who represent the glorified church) "erfüllen den Sinn ihrer Existenz in der Anbetung und dem Lobpreis Gottes."⁷³ As at the beginning of the old heaven and earth man fulfilled the meaning of his existence by his relation to his creator, so it is at the beginning of the new heaven and earth.

Horst describes man's life of relationship to God by referring to him as God's "vis-a-vis." He says, "Just as man needs and should have a vis-a-vis, one corresponding to him, so God will have a vis-a-vis, one corresponding to him, an image and a likeness."⁷⁴ Bonhoeffer expresses the same thought in striking language. He says God "wanted to have the joy of beholding in Adam the reflection of himself. . . . God saw himself in Adam."⁷⁵

In the context of relationship all the statements which have been made about the image of God fall into

⁷²Glen E. Whitlock, "The Structure of Personality in Hebrew Psychology," Interpretation, XIV (January, 1960), 3-13.

⁷³"κτίσω," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), III, 1028. Hereafter this will be referred to as "κτίσω," Wörterbuch.

⁷⁴Horst, op. cit., p. 265.

⁷⁵Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1949), p. 269.

their proper perspective. Man, in the image of God, indeed did have a rational mind and the ability to remember, think, reason, and will, but these were merely his so that he could maintain a relationship with God as his vis-a-vis. He, unlike all other creatures, now was capable of intercourse with God.⁷⁶ However, the very fact that man was given faculties whereby he could respond to God implies that man alone of all the creatures was a responsible being.⁷⁷ Man was called by God "zu Verantwortung. Gott beim Menschen Antwort auf sein rufendes Wort erwartet. Der Mensch ist als verantwortliches Wesen gerufen."⁷⁸

In the light of this thought of responsible relationship, the term righteousness takes on new meaning. It is not an inherent quality within man, but it is a right relation with God,⁷⁹ by a man who has not broken off that relationship by rebellion, thus changing his responsibility to irresponsibility.⁸⁰ The Confessional position which

⁷⁶Cf. Horst, op. cit., p. 267. A. C. Gloucester, "The Doctrine of Man," Church Quarterly Review, CXXVIII (April-June, 1939), 5-7. Werner Elert, The Christian Ethos, translated by C. J. Schindler (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), p. 26.

⁷⁷Elert, op. cit., pp. 26-28.

⁷⁸W. Zimmerli, Das Menschenbild des Alten Testaments, in Theologische Existenz Heute (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, n.d.), XIV, 22.

⁷⁹Gloucester, op. cit., p. 7.

⁸⁰Elert, op. cit., p. 28. Cf. Romans 5:9-10 where

equates the image of God with righteousness whereby man can "grasp God and reflect him" certainly puts the concept of righteousness into the realm of man's responsible relationship to his maker.

Strange makes an interesting observation, as he says, that even man's consciousness of sin was the result of the image of God, his responsive, responsible relationship with God.⁸¹ If man's sin would not have been a breaking of a responsible relationship with God, he would not have self-consciously hidden from God in the garden.

That the image of God can only be conceived of in terms of a special relationship of man with God is a fact which also is unmistakably clear in the theology of Paul. This we propose to demonstrate in more detail in the concluding chapter of this paper.

Having treated the first question asked earlier in the chapter, "What constituted the image of God in man?," we now turn our attention to the second question which we asked, "Did man lose the image of God in the fall?" A claim often heard today is that the Old Testament nowhere speaks of a loss of the image of God.⁸² In fact the Old

righteousness is paralleled with reconciliation, or the renewal of a relationship.

⁸¹Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁸²So "εἰκὼν," *Wörterbuch*, p. 390; James Muilenburg, "Imago Dei," *The Review of Religion*, VI (May, 1942), 398; Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

Testament even speaks of the image of God after the fall (Genesis 5:1; 9:6). Regarding the first of these two passages, however, Jervell rightly admits, "Natürlich kann man hier sagen, dass wir in Gen. 5,30 es mit Adam und Seth zu tun haben und nicht mit Gott und dem Menschen," stating that $\square \xi \gamma$ can mean "model" as well as "image" (of a prototype).⁸³ As for Genesis 9:6, we will treat this passage shortly. In general, however, we must admit that the Old Testament nowhere explicitly says that man lost the image of God in the fall, although a loss of perfect righteousness is often implied.⁸⁴

Rabbinical teaching approached the matter of the image of God in terms of the personal conduct of each individual. The image of God in man was directly proportionate to his good conduct.⁸⁵ For the rabbis, then, the image of God was not lost.

In modern times, along with the trend to elevate the intrinsic value and worth of man, has come the tendency to regard man as being yet in the image of God. In modern

⁸³Jervell, op. cit., p. 23. Cf. Chapter II of this paper on the development of $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ from Abbild to Vorbild, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁴Cf. Ezekiel 28:15: "You were blameless in your ways from the day you were created, till iniquity was found in you."

⁸⁵George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: University Press, 1946), I, 447, 449. Cf. also " $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$," Wörterbuch, p. 392.

evolutionary psychology the fall has even come to be regarded as a "step upwards."⁸⁶

Attempts have also been made to prove that for Paul, too, the image of God in man was not lost. The most pointed passage in the epistles of Paul which seems to indicate that all men fell with Adam is Romans 5:12-14, ✓ where Paul clearly states that "sin came into the world by one man, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned." These words describe a sudden fall of the whole human race in Adam and imply a loss of man's special relationship with God. Yet even this passage is disputed.⁸⁷

In the light of the fact that the image of God must be seen in relation to man's close communion with God, those passages which speak of, or imply, a cleavage between God and man would have to be taken as sure evidence that for Paul the image of God was lost.⁸⁸ Also those

⁸⁶ Stephens-Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Cf. also D. K. Barnett, "The Return of a Theocentric Doctrine of Man," *Review and Expositor*, XL (October, 1943), 431. Both Stephens-Hodge and Barnett militate against this tendency.

⁸⁷ Kümmel, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Kümmel says the passage merely speaks of the "historical beginnings of sin," not the fall of everyone in Adam. Newton claims the passage is "disputed," and that doubt is "cast upon the historicity of Adam by the evolutionary development of man." Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁸⁸ Romans 5:10; 8:7; Col. 1:21. The last passage is especially significant, for it forms part of the context of the image of God passage in Colossians 1:15-20.

passages which speak of a "reconciliation" imply the restoration of a lost relationship, and with it the image of God.⁸⁹ However, the most convincing evidence which proves that in the theology of Paul the original image of God is regarded as lost is Colossians 1:15 itself. As was hinted at earlier, the mere occurrence of the image of God in a context of soteriology makes it clear that what was once lost was being restored again by God. The position of the passage after the significant words of verses 13-14, "He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved son, in whom we have the forgiveness of sins" aptly demonstrates that the image of God plays an important role in the redemption we have from him. Indeed it is the very restoral to us of that image in him which is our redemption.

If this is so, however, there appears to be a contradiction in Paul's theology. In 1 Corinthians 11:7 Paul seems to say that natural man still has the image of God,⁹⁰ thus making its restoration in Christ unnecessary. In attempting to harmonize the passage with Colossians we

⁸⁹ καταλλάσσω : Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:18,19,20; Col. 1:20,21. Again the last two passages are significant by reason of the fact that they are connected with the ἐξκῶν passage of Colossians.

⁹⁰ ἀκὴρ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἑβτεν. ἐκῶν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ σπάρχων
 ἡ γυνὴ

can dismiss the theory that Paul is here not giving "the specifically Pauline understanding of the Biblical Word on the image of God," because of a "rabbinically founded exposition of Scriptures."⁹¹ In Galatians 1:14 Paul indeed speaks of his former zeal for the "traditions of my fathers," but he makes it clear that this was part of the past he left behind after his dramatic conversion experience. We can also dismiss the view that

we may reasonably infer that he [Paul] means that the husband is divinely equipped with a greater measure of intelligence, understanding, and wisdom than his wife. . . . The image of God, therefore, in this case means intelligence.⁹²

Paul's main emphasis in this section, to be sure, is the respective position of man and woman, but the position is not a spiritual, but rather a social one. Hence Paul is not saying here that woman is the image of God only inasmuch that she is the image of her husband.⁹³

⁹¹Lohse, op. cit., p. 126.

⁹²McCasland, op. cit., p. 85.

⁹³The opinion that woman is less the image of God than man is based on the understanding of $\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ as a synonym of $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\upsilon\nu$, so that both mean "image" (Abbild). Cf. " $\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha$," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 240. Eltester says, "Die synonyme Verwendung von $\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ und $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\upsilon\nu$ wird verständlich aus der hellenistischen Umwelt." Eltester, op. cit., p. 155. Eltester, however, here quotes F. J. Leenhardt (Die Stellung der Frau in der Urchristlichen Gemeinde, in Kirchliche Zeitfragen (Zurich: n.p., 1949), pp. 19ff.), who does not take $\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ and $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\upsilon\nu$ as synonymous. Woman, he says, is only the Abglanz of man, but both are the direct image of God. Bedale

However, we are still confronted with the fact that Paul calls natural man the "image of God" here. Paul could be speaking of the new man, but the general way he says, "a man . . . is the image and glory of God" would seem to point away from such an interpretation. Paul appears to be saying that man, as he is, is the image of God, and he is not alone among New Testament writers in his assertion. A similar statement is found in James 3:9, although not εἰκὼν but ὁμοίω.βις is used here. The question presents itself whether there is a difference between the two terms. It is obvious that James has the Greek text of Genesis 1:26-27 in mind, as does Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:7. Therefore our attention is once again focused on this Old Testament passage, as we attempt to determine what

refers to κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 ("The head of every man is Christ, the head of the woman is her husband, and the head of Christ is God") and says this is "head" in the sense of "beginning" (cf. Old Testament וְאֵת, which meant both "head" and "first"), so that Paul is merely speaking here of man and woman in their respective sexual differentiation and functions, not of their spiritual status or capacity. Bedale, *op. cit.*, p. 215. This is entirely Pauline (cf. Gal. 3:28, where man and woman are equal in Christ, and 1 Tim. 2:13, where woman is second to man only in the sense that she was created from him). Even Eltester admits that κεφαλή can mean "source." Eltester, *op. cit.*, p. 156. Schlier says, "κεφαλή meint den, der über dem anderen in dem Sinne steht, dass er sein Sein begründet." "κεφαλή," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), III, 678. Surely Paul means to say no more here, as he clearly explains in 1 Cor. 11:12: "for as woman was made from man, so man is now born of woman. And all things are from God."

distinction, if any, can be made between $\Delta\zeta\Upsilon$ and $\Sigma\eta\eta\alpha\Upsilon$, the two words which lie behind the Greek terms $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\delta\mu\acute{o}\iota\omega\mu\alpha$. Some of the early church fathers, notably Origen, saw a distinction, which was preserved in medieval scholasticism, between the "narrower and . . . broader aspect of man's likeness to God."⁹⁴ According to Origen and other Alexandrian theologians man in the beginning received the "image" which continued in him after the fall, but the "likeness" was reserved for him at the consummation of history and was something toward which man was created, that he might strive for it and attain it.⁹⁵ This is a distinction maintained in present day Roman Catholicism, where

the image refers to man's spirituality, reason, and freedom, which belong to him by nature, while the likeness refers to his original righteousness which was a gift supernaturally added to him.⁹⁶

Is such a distinction valid? L. Köhler has shown that there is a basic difference in meaning between the two Hebrew counterparts to $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\delta\mu\acute{o}\iota\omega\mu\alpha$,⁹⁷ and ?

⁹⁴Horst, op. cit., p. 259.

⁹⁵Richard Chenevix Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958), pp. 49-53. Cf. also Wood, op. cit., p. 167.

⁹⁶Newton, op. cit., p. 154.

⁹⁷Ludwig Köhler, "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei Lehre, Gen. 1:26," Theologische Zeitschrift, IV (1948), 16-22. Concerning $\Delta\zeta\Upsilon$, he says, "in all diesen Stellen

Trench has demonstrated that a similar distinction must be made with regard to the Greek counterparts to the Hebrew terms.⁹⁸ However, the Old Testament usage of the two terms, whether Hebrew or Greek, is not consistent. In Genesis 1:27, which is parallel to Genesis 1:26, the word $\square \xi \gamma$ is used twice and $\eta \eta \nu \tau$ is missing. In Genesis 5:1 only $\eta \eta \nu \tau$ appears, while in Genesis 5:3 both terms appear in reverse order. Finally, in Genesis 9:6 only $\square \xi \gamma$ is used. All this indicates that the writer of Genesis sees no fine distinction between the two words, and that he merely uses both terms side by side in Genesis 1:26 to amplify the same almost inexpressible idea. In the Septuagint $\epsilon \acute{\iota} \kappa \acute{\omega} \nu$ is the usual translation for $\square \xi \gamma$ and $\delta \mu \acute{\omicron} \iota \omega \mu \alpha$ the usual translation for $\eta \eta \nu \tau$.⁹⁹ Yet $\epsilon \acute{\iota} \kappa \acute{\omega} \nu$ translates $\eta \eta \nu \tau$ in Genesis 5:1, which shows

ist 'Gestalt' die richtige Uebersetzung und eigentlich gemeint" (p. 19). He refers $\square \xi \gamma$ in Gen. 1:26 to "man's upright stature" (p. 19). $\eta \eta \nu \tau$ he translates as "something that appears as," which serves "überall zur Abschwächung einer Gleichheit," so that in Gen. 1:26 this is merely to weaken man's "image." Man is the image of God, he says, "nur in dem Masse, dasz es aussieht, als ob sie diese Gestalt hätten" (p. 21). Horst agrees that $\eta \eta \nu \tau$ has a "weaker" meaning than $\square \xi \gamma$, being mere "resemblance" in contrast to the "image," which stresses "faithful agreement with the original." Horst, op. cit., p. 260.

⁹⁸Trench, op. cit., p. 50. Trench points out that $\epsilon \acute{\iota} \kappa \acute{\omega} \nu$ "always assumes a prototype," while $\delta \mu \acute{\omicron} \iota \omega \mu \alpha$ "may be accidental" resemblance.

⁹⁹Cf. Chapter II, footnotes 28 and 37.

that the Septuagint, like the Hebrew Old Testament, uses the two terms almost interchangeably. Later Jewish writers likewise almost unconsciously changed from one term to the other in quoting Genesis 1:26.¹⁰⁰

Hence we have two passages in the New Testament seemingly claiming that man is in the image of God, both of which appear to be the basis for a certain worth which must be applied to man because he is in the image of God.¹⁰¹ What the two authors are trying to express is the same sentiment put into words by the writer of Psalm 8:4-5,¹⁰² namely that man, in spite of his rebellion and breaking of his relationship with God, still is a creature marked out by God with a special destiny. If man has broken his end of the relationship with God, God has not been so faithless. Man continues to live under the protection of God, and God still directs His attention toward man, giving him a law and making covenants with him. The Ruf which God had given to man in Eden, calling him to response and

¹⁰⁰Jervell, op. cit., pp. 21-22, footnote 21.

¹⁰¹In 1 Cor. 11:7 it is given as the reason why a man should not cover his head, and in James 3:9 as the reason why a man should not curse another man.

¹⁰²"What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou dost care for him? Yet thou hast made him little less than God, and dost crown him with glory and honor."

responsibility continued in the Ruf of Sinai.¹⁰³ Man, a lost creature, still lives in a context of possibility, but this possibility is always in the further context of revelation.¹⁰⁴ As Zimmerli says, "Alle Macht und Möglichkeit des Menschen ist geliehene Macht und Möglichkeit."¹⁰⁵ We would expand this still farther to include the Gospel. Man's "possibility," in spite of his lost image, relied and relies on the restoration of that image in Christ, so that it can truly be said, "the Gospel is the true meaning of man."¹⁰⁶ Man was created to be in the image of God and, after the fall, in view of Christ, was destined to again be the image of God. It was by virtue of his original image, his "affinity to God" that he possessed this further possibility.¹⁰⁷ In this sense man can still today be described with the terms applied to him by the Eighth Psalm, or by Paul, or by James. Such designations are not anthropological; they are theological. They do not describe man; they describe God's plans for man in view of Christ. In this sense Schumann's criticism of those who over-emphasize the lost image of God is

¹⁰³Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁰⁴Maillenbourg, op. cit., p. 404.

¹⁰⁵Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁰⁶Ramsay, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 151.

legitimate.¹⁰⁸ Schumann points out that we dare not forget that in view of Christ the possibility of the image of God still exists for man, but it always is a "God-given" possibility. The "new creation" in Christ (which we will treat in the next chapter) is simply a "Neubegründung der Existenz im Umkreis des geschaffenen Wesens."¹⁰⁹ He rightly is repelled by the idea that the coming of Christ was an afterthought with God, an alternate plan to replace the first one which failed. Everything in Scripture does not proceed from "einer Beschreibung eines sündlosen Urstandes," but rather everything is seen only in relation to Christ.¹¹⁰ Thus there never was a time in man's history when his "possibility" in Christ did not exist. He was still designed to be in the image of God. He still had a destiny.

¹⁰⁸Friedrich Karl Schumann, "Imago Dei," Imago Dei, Beiträge zur Theologischen Anthropologie, edited by Heinrich Bornkamm (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1932), pp. 167-180. Schumann reacts against the stark identification of the image of God with a quality of righteousness within man, which was lost in the fall. He says that Quenstedt, Gerhard, and Baier were reluctant to make such a flat equation. Gerhard, for example, spoke of reliquiae of the original "image" after the fall. Quenstedt explained, "Differunt imago Dei et iustitia originalis ut tota et pars." Baier differentiated between an "imago divina generaliter" and one "specialiter accepta" (pp. 169-171).

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 180.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 174-175.

Christ as the Restorer of the Image of God

The above considerations set the stage for the true significance of Colossians 1:15 and related passages which describe Christ as the image of God. The word must be studied for two aspects concerning Christ, His nature and His work. Regarding the first it must be admitted with Trench that

εἰκὼν . . . is indeed inadequate . . . it is true as far as it goes; and in human language employed for the setting forth of truths which transcend the limits of human thought, we must be content with approximate statements. . . . εἰκὼν is weak; for image is of equal worth and dignity with the prototype from which it is imaged?¹¹¹

Lightfoot also admits the inability of the word to express the nature of Christ. "The word itself . . . does not necessarily imply perfect representation."¹¹² Yet it is clear from the context that Paul intended this inadequate word to convey a great deal of meaning concerning the nature of Christ. Lehmyer makes the significant observation that it was characteristic of all "image" thoughts that the image always stood in the closest relation to its prototype. "Zwischen Bild und Wesen des

¹¹¹Trench, op. cit., p. 51.

¹¹²Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 145. He says the word was used by an early Christian writer to designate the duly appointed bishop, as the representative of divine authority.

unsichtbaren Gottes gibt es keine Vermittlung mehr."¹¹³

In this sense we agree with Kittel when he says that "das Bild-sein Jesu nur ein Versuch ist, in anderer Form von seinem Sohn-sein zu reden."¹¹⁴ As image of God Christ is portrayed as being in the closest of relationships with God, who is His Father. However, it is also true that the image could be the actual representation of the prototype (although, as was indicated above, this need not be the case), so that the prototype became visible in "its essential nature in the counterpart."¹¹⁵ In the light of the context it is necessary to give *εἰκών* here the highest possible meaning. Paul is expressing the thought that what God is, Christ is. Further contextual studies in succeeding pages of this paper will confirm this. Therefore Gerhard was justified in saying,

Filius Dei est imago Patris substantialis, ergo ut Pater est aeternus, omnipotens, justus, perfectus; ita quoque Filius est aeternus, omnipotens, justus, perfectus, nimirum quia substantialis et perfecta Patris imago.¹¹⁶

However, the passage is not only or primarily meant

¹¹³Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 55.

¹¹⁴"*εἰκών*," Wörterbuch, p. 394.

¹¹⁵Horst, op. cit., p. 268. See also Kleinknecht, who says that in the Greek world as one confronted the "image" of a god, he was believed to be confronting the god itself. "*εἰκών*," Wörterbuch, p. 387.

¹¹⁶Johann Gerhard, Loci Theologici, edited by E. Preus (Berolini: Bust. Schlawitz, 1865), III, 106.

to describe the nature of Christ. That Christ is the image of God is also to be understood as a fact of soteriology. Hence the main thrust of the passage is the work of Christ as Redeemer. It is indeed true that in Christ people are "not reminded of God," they are "confronted by God," so that "a decision for or against Christ is a decision for or against God."¹¹⁷ But that Christ was the image of God implies more than His divinity. The appearance in the stream of human history of Christ, the image of the invisible God, marks the return of that very image relationship of which man was a part in the Garden and which he was destined to have again. Man broke the relationship, and was helpless to regain it. Thus there was

only one way to achieve this purpose and that is for God, out of sheer mercy, to assume the image and form of fallen man. As man can no longer be like the image of God, God must be like the image of man.¹¹⁸

In the realization of this it happens that

a man comes to men . . . he gives us the new image. . . . The image of God has entered our midst, in the form of our fallen life, in the likeness of sinful flesh.¹¹⁹

Further significance lies in the words "image of the unseen God." A Greek-Hellenistic background has been

¹¹⁷Osterloch, op. cit., p. 90.

¹¹⁸Bonhoeffer, op. cit., p. 270.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 271.

claimed for this passage,¹²⁰ but the ideas of the passage are entirely germane to the theology of Paul. The great desire of the ages has been to find some way to see and know God as He is and as He deals with man, and this desire found its expression in the philosophic speculations of Greek philosophy.¹²¹ Paul describes these unknown dealings of God with man as the "mystery" of God,¹²² which was hidden from man for "ages."¹²³ In this sense God was for man Deus Absconditus, the invisible, hidden God. Such a state of affairs was a complete contrast to man's original relation to God when he saw Him face to face and when God's dealings with man were not hidden from man's eyes. However, the mystery of God did not always remain a mystery. At the conclusion of the "ages" God's hidden purpose for man, His mystery, became known in the declaration of the Gospel, which is therefore called

¹²⁰E. Preuschen, "Εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, Kol. 1,15," Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XVIII (1918), 245. Preuschen refers to Platonic background for the passage. Cf. Plato's Timaeus, where the κόσμος is called εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ Θεοῦ ἀβύδητος. Plato, Timaeus, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, W. D. Rouse, L. A. Post, and E. H. Warmington (Reprint; London: Cambridge University Press, 1942), p. 253.

¹²¹Rendtorff, op. cit., p. 113. Iverach, op. cit., p. 208.

¹²²Rom. 11:25,16; 1 Cor. 2:7; 4:1; 13:2; Eph. 1:9; 3:3,4,9; 6:19; Col. 1:26,27; 2:2; 4:3; 1 Tim. 3:9,16.

¹²³Rom. 16:25; Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:26.

the "mystery."¹²⁴ One of the most significant and pertinent passages in this connection is 1 Timothy 3:16: "Great indeed, we confess, is the mystery of our religion: He [God] was manifested in the flesh. . . ." The very manifestation or revealing of the mystery of God (His dealings with men) was "in the flesh." It is thus not unintentional that Paul identifies Christ as the "mystery" on four occasions in Colossians.¹²⁵ That Christ is the image of the unseen God says precisely the same thing. Christ is the manifestation of the hidden ways of God. He is the very mystery of God "in the flesh." Senft's comment is quoteworthy: "By this is meant that Jesus Christ is the revelation of God, He in whom God is adequately represented, in whom is manifested the plan of God for the world."¹²⁶ Engelland demonstrates that the real result of the fall was that God was hidden from man's eyes. Thereafter man could only know God by revelation. "Offenbarung heiszt, dasz Gott redet." Christ, in contrast to all other revelations of God (tabernacle, ark,

¹²⁴1 Cor. 2:7; 4:1; Eph. 1:9; 3:3,4,9; Col. 1:26,27; 2:2; 4:3; 1 Tim. 3:9,16.

¹²⁵Col. 1:26,27; 2:2; 4:3.

¹²⁶C. Senft, "Image," A Companion to the Bible, edited by J. Allman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 180.

staff of Moses, etc.) is the Revelation Himself.¹²⁷

Hence Paul primarily presents Christ as the image of God

nicht um zu zeigen, dass sich der Vater in Christus sein Bild erzeugte, sondern dass Christus uns als Gottes Bild gegeben sei, an dem wir erkennen, was Gott will und tut.¹²⁸

It is important to note in this connection Christ's own self-designation as the revealer of God, in whom alone men can see the father's dealings.¹²⁹

Second Corinthians 4:4 adds one important qualification to the statement that Christ is the image of the unseen God. There it is stated that

the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the likeness of God.

Christ is the manifestation of the *εἰκόν* of God, the revealed image of God's invisible dealings with men, but only to those whose eyes are open with the sight of faith. The image of God in Christ is "visible," not to the naked eye, but to the "Spirit-enlightened" eye.¹³⁰

¹²⁷Hans Engelland, "Offenbarung," Biblisch-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Übersetzungen, edited by E. Osterloh and Hans Engelland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), p. 419.

¹²⁸"εἰκόν," Wörterbuch, p. 394, quoting Adolf Schlatter, Theologie der Apostel (Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1922), p. 299.

¹²⁹Matt. 11:27; John 8:19; 14:9; 17:6.

¹³⁰Percy, op. cit., p. 68.

The context of Colossians 1:15a bears out the nature and meaning of the term "image" here. The first term paralleled to εἰκών is πρωτότοκος, a term similar to one applied by Philo to his Logos,¹³¹ and a term used by rabbinic Judaism in various connections.¹³² The word is also found in Psalms of Solomon¹³³ and Second (Fourth) Esdras.¹³⁴ However, the most significant pre-New Testament use of the word is Psalm 89:28, where it is said of David, "Κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν, ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βαβυλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς." On the basis of this Psalm πρωτότοκος "became a recognized title of

¹³¹ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος λόγος. Philo, On Dreams, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by E. Capps, W. D. Rouse, L. M. Post, and E. H. Warmington (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, 1949), V, 412.

¹³²H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Die Briefe des Neuen Testaments und die Offenbarung Johannes, in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, edited by H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), III, 257-258. Strack-Billerbeck point out that Adam was called "firstborn" (Numbers R. 4 (141c)), as well as Jacob (Benesis Rabba. 63 (40b)), and Israel (4 Ezra 6:58; Ps. Sol. 18:4), a step based on Exodus 4:22 ("Israel is my firstborn son"), a step which led to the identification of the Messiah as firstborn in Exodus R. 19 (81d): "R. Nathan used to say (160 A.D.), 'God spoke to Moses, 'As I appointed Jacob for firstborn (Ex. 4:22), so will I appoint the King, the Messiah as firstborn.'"

¹³³Ps. Sol. 18:4: "ἡ παιδεία σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὡς υἱὸν πρωτότοκον. . . ."

¹³⁴"But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy firstborn. . . ." The Apocrypha, Revised Standard Version (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957), p. 30.

Messiah."¹³⁵ The term is first applied to Christ in Luke 2:7, which speaks of Mary bringing forth "τὸν υἱὸν τὸν πρωτότοκον ." In Hebrews 1:6 it appears in a definite connection with the divine, pre-eminent, pre-existent Son spoken of in Hebrews 1:1-5. Significantly, the term appears here, too, in close juxtaposition to a υἱός designation, so that the term must be taken as a specifically Christian, specifically Messianic designation. In general the connotations of superiority of Psalm 89:28, which makes the "firstborn" higher than the kings of the earth, must be retained here,¹³⁶ as they are supported by the context.¹³⁷ However, the second use of πρωτότοκος in Colossians 1:15-20 demonstrates that the term is not merely part of a "Christological digression," but is intimately connected with its soteriological context. In Colossians 1:18 Christ is called "firstborn from the dead," for which a parallel is found in Revelation 1:5, and which Romans 8:29 puts definitely into a soteriological

¹³⁵Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 146.

¹³⁶This idea of superiority over all created things is explicit in the Hebrews passage. Also, Lohmeyer remarks that in oriental thought a differentiation in time was also one in worth. The thought of a "Herrschaft" is implicit in "firstborn." Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 56. Rendtorff says, "Als ein Recht, als ein Vorrang ist die Erstgeburt gedacht." Rendtorff, op. cit., p. 113.

¹³⁷"For in him all things were created. . . . He is before all things, and in him all things hold together."

light.¹³⁸ Christ is the firstborn of all creation, the pre-existent Messiah, who alone is qualified to be the embodiment of God's *μυστήριον* for men as it found its climax in His triumph over the grave.

However, there is a definite cosmological emphasis in the passage. Lohse notes that Christ, the firstborn, is the "Schöpfungsmittler."¹³⁹ Yet, in view of what we concluded above, it must be added that Paul speaks of Him as "Schöpfungsmittler" only to be able to present him as "Schöpfungserlöser." His appearance as *εἰκών* of the *μυστήριον* of God has significance for not only man, but for the cosmos and its alien, fallen powers as well.

Much has been made of the four ranks of powers listed in Colossians 1:16.¹⁴⁰ Bultmann sees the "demonic world rulers" of Gnosticism in this passage and in all other New Testament passages in which these terms occur.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸"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."

¹³⁹Lohse, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁴⁰ *ἢ ἔτε θεόνος ἢ τε κυριότητης ἢ τε ἀρχαί
ἢ τε ἐξουσία.*

¹⁴¹Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 173. Cf. John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; Rom. 8:38ff.; 1 Cor. 2:6,8; 15:24,26; 2 Cor. 4:4; Eph. 1:21; 3:10; 6:12; Col. 1:16; 2:10,15; 1 Pet. 3:22. Eberster's observation that "Die Ausdrücke *ἀρχαί* und *ἐξουσία* in dieser Verwendung begegnen nicht im Hellenismus, auch in der Heidnischen Gnosis nicht," must be considered to be quite conclusive evidence against Bultmann. "*ἐξουσία*," *Theologisches Wörterbuch*

Lightfoot claims that the words constitute part of a polemic against the Colossian heresy, and he paraphrases the entire passage as follows:

You dispute much about the successive grades of angels; you distinguish each grade by its special title; you can tell how each order was generated from the preceding; you assign to each its proper degree of worship. Meanwhile you have ignored or you have degraded Christ. I tell you, it is not so. He is first and foremost, Lord of heaven and earth, far above all thrones or dominations, all principdoms or powers, far above every dignity and every potentate--whether earthly or heavenly--whether angel or demon or man--that evokes your reverence or excites your fear.¹⁴²

Percy dismisses the theory that the section is polemic, as noted earlier.¹⁴³ That there were ranks of angels was a common understanding in Judaism. Rabbinic Judaism knew only of two classes of angels, the angels des Dienstes, and the angels des Verderbens, although the Thronengel before God were divided into four or seven classes.¹⁴⁴ There are, however, pseudepigraphical passages to be found in which angels in heaven are divided into ranks similar to those delineated by Paul in Colossians 1:16.¹⁴⁵ On the basis of this, Foerster thinks

zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 568. Hereafter this will be referred to as "Εξουσια," Wörterbuch.

¹⁴²Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁴³Cf. Chapter III, p. 29.

¹⁴⁴Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., p. 581.

¹⁴⁵Cf. Enoch 20:1, where in the seventh heaven Enoch

Paul's terminology rests "auf jüdischem Boden."¹⁴⁶

Schmitz, who concurs, thinks then that "Danach handelt es sich um eine von den höchsten Engelklassen. . . ." ¹⁴⁷

In general it appears best to lean away from the view that Paul means to delineate four ranks of powers,¹⁴⁸ although the terms he uses to designate these powers may have a Jewish background and are used to describe the "highest" of angels. Paul is merely using every term he can think of to describe spiritual powers, and he is saying, "Christ is over them."¹⁴⁹ In view of the triumph of

sees "dominions" (ἐξουβία), "orders" (ἀρχαί), "governments" (κυριότητες), and "thrones" (θρόνοι). Testament Levi 3:8, where in the fourth heaven Levi sees "thrones" (θρόνοι) and "dominions" (ἐξουβία) who always offer praise to God. Charles, op. cit., II, 306. Ascension of Isaiah 2:2, which speaks of Satan and his "powers" (ἐξουβία). Charles, op. cit., II, 160. Ethiopic Book of Enoch 61:10, which speaks of "all the angels of power ἐξουβία and all the angels of principalities κυριότητες." Charles, op. cit., II, 227.

¹⁴⁶ "ἐξουβία," Wörterbuch, p. 569.

¹⁴⁷ "θρόνοι," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1938), III, 167. So also Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., p. 583.

¹⁴⁸ So Lehmann, op. cit., p. 58. "ἐξουβία," Wörterbuch, p. 569. The use of εἴτε before each of the four terms seems to indicate Paul has no special order or rank in mind.

¹⁴⁹ Percy says that for Paul there were only two possibilities that could have "Wert . . . für unser Heil," Christ or other spiritual super-human beings. The Christians in Colossae were trying to seek their own salvation by way of a mixture of the Mosaic law and other outside elements which produced a false piety. To Paul this was

Christ over the ἀρχαί and the ἐξουβία in Colossians 2:15, as he "put them off," it is difficult to avoid the view that Christ's superiority over these powers in Colossians 1:16 is likewise soteriological. Percy says the "powers" must be seen in the light of Galatians 3:19 ("the law . . . was ordained by angels . . .") and 4:2 ("he [a child] is under guardians and trustees . . .").¹⁵⁰ These powers brought charges against us from the law. However, a better view is suggested by Robinson when he shows that βάρξ for Paul represents the world under the dominion of foreign forces, organized in opposition to God. To live κατὰ βάρκα is to be subject to these powers. "The state of opposition to God . . . can be described simply as κατὰ βάρκα εἶναι."¹⁵¹ It is these powers who hold us captive, alienated from God and subject to death. Salvation then necessitates a victory over these powers, a victory by one who is their superior. Victory over them results in a release from their reign of death.¹⁵² This

the result of the "Verehrung der Engel, welchen diese Welt untertan ist." To combat it, Paul simply asserted Christ's superiority over such angels. Percy, op. cit., pp. 175-176.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁵¹Robinson, Body, p. 22. Cf. also H. W. Robinson, op. cit., p. 117.

¹⁵²Cf. Rom. 5:14: ἐβασίλευεν ὁ θάνατος, together with 1 Cor. 15:26: ἔλχθος ἐχθρος καταρτίζεται ὁ θάνατος.

passage states that Christ, the εἰκὼν of God, is indeed the superior over such powers, which makes it possible for him to be the πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Hence, as was the case with εἰκὼν, both the nature and work of Christ are implicit in his Lordship over the angelic powers.

The same can be said of Christ's relation to the cosmos in Colossians 1:15-20. In the first place the nature of Christ as God is implied by the fact that he is pre-eminent over all creation. The three prepositions used as a link between αὐτός and τὰ πάντα, "ἐν," "διὰ," and "εἰς," simply purport to show that in every conceivable way Christ is superior to all creation. He is its source, its sustainer, and its goal. "In jeder Richtung erweist sich Gott in Christus als die allein entscheidende Macht, ob man sagt in oder durch oder aufhin."¹⁵³ The same relation of Christ to τὰ πάντα is found in other passages also,¹⁵⁴ and one is reminded of Daniel 2:34-35, which speaks of the stone that destroyed the great figure and then "filled all the earth." This assurance, that Christ is Lord of all the cosmos, has two implications for the message of the εἰκὼν passage in Colossians 1:15-20. Rudolf Bultmann's insight seems to touch on one when he says that the Christian message "by and large" held to the

¹⁵³Rendtorff, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹⁵⁴1 Cor. 8:6; Eph. 1:10, 23; 4:10; Heb. 1:3.

view that "the world is the creation of the one true God, and hence that the creator-God and the redeemer-God are one."¹⁵⁵ This is to say that the ἀπολύτρωσις we have in Christ must be effective, because "redemption emanates from the same hand as creation."¹⁵⁶ There is but One who is able to be superior to all the cosmological powers which separate us from God, and that One is God himself. Hence, as Piper asserts, this passage says essentially the same thing as Romans 8, namely that "since the Son is superior to all creatures, none of them is able to separate us from his love. . . ."¹⁵⁷

There is a second implication of Christ's superiority over all creation. Once again Bultmann provides the key, stating that for Paul "creation has a history which it shares with men."¹⁵⁸ "Creation" is bound up with man in its alienation from God and its domination by the evil angelic powers, as Romans 8:21 demonstrates ("because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay . . ."). Hence the redemption brought by Christ has cosmic dimensions. "For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God" (Romans

¹⁵⁵Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 168.

¹⁵⁶Rendtorff, op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁵⁷Piper, op. cit., p. 394.

¹⁵⁸Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 230.

8:19). The goal of Christ's entrance into time as *εἰκὼν* of God is not only the restoration of man but of all creation. It is not without significance that the word *παριγγελία* is used twice in the New Testament, once in connection with the application of salvation to the individual through baptism (Titus 3:5) and once in connection with the entire new order of things as it will exist when Christ sits upon his throne (Matthew 19:28). Davies correctly points out that by virtue of the fact that all creation was involved in Adam's fall, "the ascription of Messiahship to Jesus implied from the first that he had cosmic significance, and that for Christians His advent was a new creation."¹⁵⁹ Here the importance of "all things were created in him" becomes clear. His coming as the image of God involves the recreation of all things. The nature of this recreation is indicated by the term *ἀποκαταλλάξω* in Colossians 1:20-22.¹⁶⁰ This "reconciliation" is the restoration of a lost relationship between God and his fallen creation.¹⁶¹ It is important

¹⁵⁹ Davies, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁶⁰ Lohmeyer sees the background for the connection between creation and reconciliation here to be the great day of atonement in Judaism, which was universal in its implications and which was closely associated with the commemoration of creation on New Year's Day, ten days before. Lohmeyer, op. cit., pp. 44-45, 66-67. J. M. Robinson finds Lohmeyer's evidence "unconvincing," however. J. M. Robinson, op. cit., p. 270.

¹⁶¹ Friederich Büchsel explains that the word is used

to notice, however, that the reconciliation of "the all" to God is not as yet a completed fact. It is merely the good pleasure (εὐδόκησεν) of God, whereas the personal reference in Colossians 1:21, "ὑμᾶς," is the object of a completed act (ἀποκατήλασεν). This involves one final aspect of Christ's superiority over creation. As creator, sustainer, and goal of creation, he is qualified to be its redeemer. And the goal of his redemption is that the all be reconciled to God (i.e., himself) again, so that he can be Lord over all. Paul expresses this strange paradox with the words, "εἶνα γένηται ἐν πάντων αὐτοῦ πρῶτων."¹⁶² The same sequence occurs in Philippians 2:6-11, which we shall treat in the next section of this

of reconciliation between man and wife, and between man and God, with God always the subject of the active voice. It is the renewal of a relationship between man and God, and makes a man a "new creature." "καταλλάσσω," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933), I, 255-260. It thus comprehends the whole life-situation of man, and is not only one-sided. Together with our reconciliation with God comes our reconciliation with each other (Eph. 2:16). This point will become clearer in our consideration of the new man as the image of Christ in Chapter IV.

¹⁶²This is the only occurrence of πρῶτων in the New Testament. In the Septuagint it appears three times. It is found, in Esther 5:11 (of the king's advancing of Haman): ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν πρῶτον; in 2 Maccabees 6:18 (Eleszar): τῆς τῶν πρῶτων γραμματέως, and in 2 Maccabees 13:15: (he stabbed) τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἐλεφάντων. It simply means "be first," "have first place." W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 733.

chapter. This is the meaning of the words "εἰς αὐτόν," as Percy recognizes, when he says that the "εἰς αὐτόν" (verses 16, 20) shows

dass die Unterordnung des Alls unter Christus das Ergebnis der Versöhnung des Alls durch ihn ist. Darum muss sich die Versöhnung auf das Verhältnis des Alls zu Christus und damit zu Gott beziehen.
 . . .¹⁶³

Such an understanding of the universal scope of Christ's reconciliation is to broaden the scope of those who are members of the church, his body. *Αὐτός*, namely the same *αὐτός* who is Lord and reconciler of all creation, he is the *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου* in whom we have redemption. "The same power by which the universe is given unity . . . manifests itself in the church,"¹⁶⁴ so that here, in this church, we see already the realization of his goal.

Die volle heilbringende Realisierung seines Hauptseins geschieht in seiner Liebe, der Kirche, in der im besonderen Sinn die Fülle des alles in allen Erfüllenden statthat. . . . Dort . . . zeigt er beispielhaft, was sein Hauptsein für alle Wesen bedeuten soll.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Cf. Revelation 11:15, which describes the fulfillment of the goal of reconciliation: "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever." This is the climax toward which all God's redemptive history moves.

¹⁶⁴Piper, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

¹⁶⁵Otto Perels, "Kirche und Welt nach dem Epheser und Kolosserbrief," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, VII (July, 1951), col. 393.

One final term bears consideration in connection with Christ as the image of God in Colossians 1:15-20, the term *πλήρωμα*. "In him all the *πλήρωμα* of God was pleased to dwell" (Colossians 1:19). There is some dispute concerning the subject of *εὐδόκησεν*. Many commentators (Meyer, Alford, Lightfoot, DeWette, Winer) take *ὁ θεός* as the subject, though it seems better to make *πλήρωμα* the subject.¹⁶⁶ *Πλήρωμα* was a technical term in the later Valentinian Gnostic system, referring to a *πλήρωμα* of thirty aeons who constituted the third generation of beings after the primary group of two,¹⁶⁷ but Moule adequately eliminates the possibility of any connection between this and the *πλήρωμα* of Colossians.¹⁶⁸ Moule

¹⁶⁶T. K. Abbott, The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, in International Critical Commentary, edited by F. Brown and A. Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), XXXVI, 216. Abbott points out that in the Pauline writings a human agent is subject of *εὐδοκέω* seven times in the New Testament to only three times for *θεός*. In addition the change of subject for two verbs in the same sentence is "harsh." Wohlfeil agrees, and calls the term a constructio praegnans, characteristic of Paul in Colossians. L. T. Wohlfeil, "What is Meant by 'All Fulness,' Col. 1:19?," Concordia Theological Monthly, IV (May, 1933), 339-341.

¹⁶⁷Cf. C. F. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, pp. 105-106.

¹⁶⁸C. F. D. Moule, "'Fullness' and 'Fill' in the New Testament," Scottish Journal of Theology, IV (1951), 79-80. Lightfoot characteristically claims that the term is polemic, being a Gnostic conception employed by Paul against the Gnostic heresy at Colossae. Lightfoot, op.

says that the word πλήρωμα should have a distinctively Christian background and should mean "the sum total of divine attributes." That it is not a technical Gnostic word is supported by Colossians 2:9 ("all the fullness of the godhead [θεότητος]. . . ."),¹⁶⁹ 2:3 ("in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom," which says Christ is the container for divine wisdom), by the fact that πλήρωμα was a common Septuagint term, and by other New Testament

cit., pp. 102-103. Lightfoot, in his famous excursus on πλήρωμα, says the word can mean (1) that which fills, or (2) that which completes. He prefers the latter and says πλήρωμα is "that which is completed," "the complement," "the entire number." He notes that verbs ending in μω always give the result of the agency involved in the corresponding verb. So the word does not mean that which fills or that which is filled, but "that which is complete in itself." When Paul used the word, it had a "more or less definite theological value, and meant the complement, the aggregate of Divine attributes, virtues, energies." Lightfoot, op. cit., pp. 257-273. J. A. Robinson disagrees with Lightfoot to the extent that he claims words ending in μω are not always passive and do not always denote the result. J. A. Robinson, St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (London: Macmillan and Company, 1909), pp. 255-259. We are inclined to favor Lightfoot's view, for the majority of New Testament uses of the word can be rendered by his translation.

¹⁶⁹This is the only occurrence of the word in the New Testament or Septuagint. It is a Greek philosophical term, denoting the essential Godhead in itself as distinguished from "the sum of its characteristics." Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 105. Ethelbert Stauffer merely says, "the εἰς θεός of the Old Testament has drawn all the power of God in the wide cosmos to himself, and . . . appointed Christ to be the bearer of the Divine office [Gottesamt] with all this fullness of power." "θεότης," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), III, 120.

uses which do not infer a technical sense for the term per se.¹⁷⁰ To explain *πλήρωμα* of the Church as is sometimes done on the basis of Ephesians 1:23, is to "needlessly and unwarrantedly . . . restrict it in utter disregard of the qualifying adjective *πᾶν* and the significant definite article. . . ." ¹⁷¹ Colossians 1:19 must be taken with Colossians 2:9, as was indicated earlier, so that "*πλήρωμα* is used to convey much the same idea as the Logos doctrine. . . ." ¹⁷² Further still, the passage agrees essentially with 2 Corinthians 5:19, so that the meaning is that God appeared in his saving ways (*ἀποκαταλλάξαι*) in Christ (*σωματικῶς*).

Briefly recapitulating, we see that the term *εἰκὼν* in Colossians 1:15 has two implications, both of which are brought out by the context. In the first place it describes the nature of Christ, making him the very representation of God in whom all the attributes of the Godhead dwell. As such he is Lord over all creation. This qualifies him to be what the second implication of the term is, namely that Christ is the very revelation and embodiment

¹⁷⁰C. F. D. Moule, The Epistles of Paul, the Apostle, to the Colossians and to Philemon, in Cambridge Greek Testament, edited by C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), pp. 165-166. Hereafter this will be referred to as Moule, Colossians.

¹⁷¹Wohlfel, op. cit., p. 392.

¹⁷²Moule, Colossians, p. 167.

of God's *μυστήριον* or plan of salvation. As such he is the reconciler of all creation, alienated from God, and the restorer of a lost relationship.

Second Corinthians 4:4

Much of what has been said concerning Christ as the image of the unseen God in Colossians 1:15 also applies to 2 Corinthians 4:4. However, in this passage we encounter one additional concept which is closely associated with the image of God, the term *δόξα*. In view of the fact that we have discovered that Christ, the *εἰκὼν* of God, is the very embodiment of the *μυστήριον* of God, hence of the Gospel, it is interesting to note that the very embodiment of that Gospel is the *δόξα* of Christ ("The Gospel, which contains and proclaims the glory of the Messiah. . . ."¹⁷³). When this is seen in the light of Hebrews 1:3, "*ὅς ὢν ἀπαύρατος τῆς δόξης*," it would appear that *δόξα* is almost a synonym for *εἰκὼν*¹⁷⁴ as the divinely representative, revelatory nature of Christ. It is important,

¹⁷³A. Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in International Critical Commentary, edited by F. Brown and A. Plummer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), XXXIV, 117. Cf. also Ramsay, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁷⁴Jervell quotes J. Schneider (*Doxa*, p. 154), who says, "*δόξα* erscheint damit zugleich als verstärktes Synonym von *εἰκὼν*." Jervell, op. cit., p. 101, footnote 114.

then, to discover the meaning and force of this word.

Eltester comments, "Die synonyme Verwendung von $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ und $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ wird verständlich aus der hellenistischen Umwelt."¹⁷⁵ We need not, however, look to the Hellenistic world environment to discover why these terms are synonymous. A brief survey of Old Testament usage will provide the answer. The original Greek meaning of "opinion" found as early as Homer and Herodotus, which had two uses, "the opinion which I have," and "the opinion which someone has of me,"¹⁷⁶ does not appear in the Septuagint.¹⁷⁷ To find the meaning of the Septuagint and hence the New Testament term, we must examine the Hebrew word $\tau\grave{\iota}\beta\grave{\eta}$, which underlies $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. $\tau\grave{\iota}\beta\grave{\eta}$ means first of all "that which makes a man important," his "position of honor." From this basic meaning came the application of the word to God, to refer to that which is manifest to man about God, "die Wucht seiner Erscheinung."¹⁷⁸ Gerhard von Rad remarks that $\tau\grave{\iota}\beta\grave{\eta}$ was applied primarily to Jahweh in

¹⁷⁵Eltester, op. cit., p. 155.

¹⁷⁶" $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 236-237. Hereafter this article will be referred to as " $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$," Wörterbuch.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 348.

¹⁷⁸" $\delta\delta\xi\alpha$," Wörterbuch, p. 242.

the Old Testament.¹⁷⁹ Ramsay makes the significant comment, "Sooner or later however the kabod appears in the Old Testament literature with the meaning of the character of Jahweh as revealed by his acts in history."¹⁸⁰

Turning to the δόξα of the Septuagint, we find that it translates a number of Hebrew terms,¹⁸¹ but by far the word most frequently behind it is תְּהִלָּה.¹⁸² Like its Hebrew counterpart, it is used as "glory, honor, fame," but this usage is rare.¹⁸³ It also appears as "might, splendour, human magnificance,"¹⁸⁴ a transition which is

¹⁷⁹"εἰκὼν," Wörterbuch, p. 390. A rapid survey of the Old Testament reveals that the word is used in some relation to God in 103 instances, while it appears 65 times in some other connection (a number of these, referring to the "glory of Israel," are naturally connected with the "glory of the Lord"). In addition there are references to giving glory to the Lord (Josh. 7:19; 1 Sam. 6:5; 1 Kings 3:13; Ps. 29:1,2; 6:1; 96:7,8; Jer. 13:16) and Messianic references to a future glory to be revealed (Is. 40:5; 60:1,2; 62:2; Ezek. 39:21).

¹⁸⁰Ramsay, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁸¹osher (riches)--Gen. 31:16; ga'on (majesty)--Is. 14:11; 24:14; Ex. 15:7; hod (honor)--Num. 27:20; (majesty)--Job 37:22; tiph'arah (beauty)--2 Chron. 3:6; oz (strength)--Ps. 68:34; Is. 12:2; hon (wealth)--Ps. 112:3; ge-uth (majesty)--Is. 26:10; yophi (beauty)--Is. 33:17; on (might)--Is. 40:26; hadar (comeliness)--Is. 53:2; pe-er (garland)--Is. 61:3; yamin (right hand)--Ps. 63:8; tehillah (praise)--Ex. 15:11; to'ar (form)--Is. 52:14. Cf. Ramsay, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁸²171 times.

¹⁸³Cf. Gen. 45:13; Ps. 8:6; Hos. 4:7; Prov. 11:16; 20:3; 26:8, et al.

¹⁸⁴Cf. Is. 8:7; 16:14, et al.

not too harsh, because "Pracht und Macht in der Regel Ehre und Ruhm nach sich ziehen," being outer manifestations of a position of honor, often its cause.¹⁸⁵ Chiefly, however, it is used of "God's honor" and "God's might," as an expression of his divine being.¹⁸⁶ In fact it is the most distinguishing characteristic of God, so that he can be called simply "the God of glory,"¹⁸⁷ or he can be equated with glory.¹⁸⁸

In the New Testament the only one of the original two Greek meanings of the word which remains is the meaning, "fame," "honor," "reputation."¹⁸⁹ Δόξα also appears as "splendour," "majesty."¹⁹⁰ However, the most prominent New Testament use of the word is one completely without Greek analogy, namely the "divine and heavenly brightness" which represents "the sublimity and majesty, indeed the being of God and his world."¹⁹¹ Ramsay correctly asserts that the majority of New Testament uses of δόξα are drawn

¹⁸⁵"δόξα," Wörterbuch, p. 248.

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷Ps. 28(29):3.

¹⁸⁸Ps. 56:6.

¹⁸⁹Cf. Luke 14:10; 1 Cor. 11:15; 1 Thess. 2:6.

¹⁹⁰Cf. Mt. 4:8; 6:29; Luke 4:6; 12:27; Rev. 21:24,26.

¹⁹¹"δόξα," Wörterbuch, p. 240.

from the Old Testament doctrine of Kabod.¹⁹² In the New Testament the δόξα of God is transferred to Christ,¹⁹³ so that "Die Herrlichkeit Christi ist nichts anderes als die Herrlichkeit Gottes. . . ."¹⁹⁴ This brings the δόξα of God into a soteriological light, as the messianic prophecies to a future glory already indicated in the Old Testament.¹⁹⁵ Δόξα, as we have noted in a quotation from Ramsay, is God as he is revealed by his acts in history. In view of this Ramsay's further assertion is worthy of note:

In every aspect of the glory the person of Jesus Christ becomes the dominant fact. Insofar as δόξα means the power and character of God, the key to that power and character is found in what God has done in the events of the Gospel.¹⁹⁶

Δόξα in the New Testament is the term, then, which describes God's dealings with men as they reach their climax in the face of Christ, in the Gospel. In 2 Corinthians 3 and 4 this picture is portrayed very plainly. The giving of God's law came with δόξα (3:7), but it came to have

¹⁹²Ramsay, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁹³Cf. 1 Cor. 2:8, where the Old Testament "God of glory" becomes "the Lord of glory."

¹⁹⁴Eltester, op. cit., p. 132. Cf. also Ramsay, op. cit., p. 48. Ramsay says "the glory of the Messiah" and "the glory of God" are identical.

¹⁹⁵Is. 40:5; 60:1,2; 62:2; Ezek. 39:21.

¹⁹⁶Ramsay, op. cit., p. 28.

"no splendour at all, because of the splendour that surpasses it" (3:10). This surpassing δόξα is τῆν δόξαν Κυρίου as it is manifested in τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ (4:4). Therefore δόξα is a synonym of εἰκὼν in that it ascribes to Christ attributes of Godhead and makes him the revelation of God's saving ways with men.

Philippians 2:6-11

This passage does not employ εἰκὼν, but it uses the similar word μορφή, and a number of church fathers understood the passage to be parallel in meaning to Colossians 1:15.¹⁹⁷ The question to be resolved is whether μορφή is here to be conceived as a synonym of εἰκὼν in Colossians 1:15. Trench compares μορφή to the Latin forma, and the German Gestalt, and says it refers to the "form as it is the utterance of the inner life; not 'being,' but 'mode of being,' or better, 'mode' of existence."¹⁹⁸ In favor of this is the verb ὑπάρχω, which

¹⁹⁷Jervell, op. cit., pp. 203-204. Jervell lists Tertullian, Novatian, Eusebius, Ambrosiaster, and others. Trench says they took the phrase "who, being in the form of God" to mean an οὐβία or φύβις against the Arians, and, he says further, the Lutherans did the same against the Socinians. He asserts, however, "μορφή is not οὐβία." Trench, op. cit., p. 262.

¹⁹⁸Trench, op. cit., p. 267. So also Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, translated by K. Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 192. Bultmann says it is "the shape or form in which a person or thing appears."

Behm translates "be clothed with,"¹⁹⁹ and the fact that *μορφή θεοῦ* is paralleled with *μορφῆν δούλου* in verse 7.²⁰⁰ Hence it would appear that *εἰκῶν* and *μορφή* as used in the two passages under consideration are not parallel terms.²⁰¹ In Colossians the emphasis is on the Christ, who was *βωμαζικῶς*. Here in Philippians the thought is pre-existence. Paul is pointing to Christ as the supreme example of humility, declaring the extreme contrast between what he was and what he became. The pre-existent Christ was "in the form of God,"²⁰² that is, he

¹⁹⁹"*μορφή*," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1942), IV, 759. Here author Behm gives Luke 7:26 as an example of such usage:

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 758. Behm says *μορφή* is to be understood "nur aus dem Zusammenhang des Abschnittes." Hereafter the article by Behm will be referred to as "*μορφή*," Wörterbuch.

²⁰¹This is the view of Lohse. Lohse, op. cit., p. 129. It is also the view of Behm. "*μορφή*," Wörterbuch, p. 760. Oscar Cullman, on the other hand, tries to show that the "image" is here intended by *μορφή*. He says that *μορφή* corresponds to the Hebrew *תְּבִלֶת* of Gen. 1:26. Since *תְּבִלֶת* or its synonym *צֶלֶם* can correspond to either *εἰκῶν* (Gen. 1:26) or *μορφή* (Dan. 3:19), *μορφή* can be parallel with *εἰκῶν*. Oscar Cullman, Christology of the New Testament, translated by S. C. Guthrie and C. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 176. However, Cullman appears to be overreaching himself with no evidence to support his claims. *Μορφή* never translates *תְּבִלֶת* in the Septuagint and *צֶלֶם* only once. Cullman is attempting to fit the evidence into his theory that Christ, the second Adam, in the image of God, is being contrasted in Phil. 2:6ff. to the first Adam.

²⁰²Trench, op. cit., pp. 262ff. J. B. Lightfoot, St.

was clothed with the $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$,²⁰³ or attributes²⁰⁴ of God. Yet he humbled himself, and took upon himself the attributes of a servant, not changing substantially,²⁰⁵ but putting on a humble dress over his Godhead ($\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$). This, then, is a classic expression of the two states of Christ, his state of exaltation and his state of humiliation, neither of which displaced the other. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the passage does not say that Christ divested himself of his $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ which he had in his pre-existence. He still retained his divine $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. In fact, it was this very $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ which constituted his being as the image of the invisible $\mu\upsilon\beta\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ of God in our midst. Yet, taking on the characteristics of servanthood, which paradoxically compose the essence of God's $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ as it appears to us, he was in the $\beta\chi\eta\mu\alpha$ and $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\omega\mu\alpha$ of a man. The terms Paul uses indicate he means to say that manhood did not eliminate

Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1953), pp. 132ff. Both Trench and Lightfoot demonstrate that the phrase speaks of the pre-existence of Christ.

²⁰³Behm compares the phrase with John 17:5: "the glory which I had with thee before the world was made." " $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\eta$," Wörterbuch, p. 759.

²⁰⁴Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, p. 132.

²⁰⁵Schweitzer calls this a change of "status" or "position," not of "substance" or "shape." Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 54.

the Godhead,²⁰⁶ yet manhood still existed.²⁰⁷ This fact adds emphasis to what we have said about the εἰκών predication of Colossians 1:15. Christ was the fullness of God, the εἰκών of God's *υποχρησιον* in the flesh, but, as 2 Corinthians 4:4 shows, he is visible as such only to those who see with the eyes of faith the δόξα which co-exists with his *μορφή δούλου*. In addition, as we have indicated earlier, by virtue of Christ's being in the form of a servant and becoming obedient unto death (which, in effect, amounts to the redemption of Colossians 1:14), Christ's goal is to reconcile all things to himself, so

²⁰⁶ Behm points out an interesting parallel, when he says of *μορφή* that it is the thing, "das Ganze," as it is in itself, and *εχίμα* is "something which belongs to it." "*μορφή*," *Wörterbuch*, pp. 751-752. Trench contrasts *μορφή* with *εχίμα* by drawing an English parallel. A man is deformed and "the deformity is bound up in the very existence of the one [deformed]." A man is disfigured, and "the disfigurement . . . may in a few days have quite passed away." Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Lightfoot calls the *εχίμα* an "accident," which "may change every minute." "The *εχίμα* is often an accident of the *μορφή*." Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 127. The same may be said of *εμοιωμα*, which, of itself, simply means likeness, with no necessary thought of an inner relation. Arndt-Gingrich say that Paul's "use of our word is to bring out both that Jesus in his earthly career was similar to sinful men and yet not exactly like them." Arndt-Gingrich, *op. cit.*, p. 570. Cf. Rom. 8:3 in this connection: "in the likeness of sinful flesh. . . ."

²⁰⁷ By Paul's use of *μορφή* in parallel with the *μορφή* of Christ's pre-existence, he means to make clear that Christ actually did have the characteristics of servanthood, and of manhood, just as he possessed the characteristics of Godhood.

that all will acknowledge him as Lord (Philippians 2:11).

Hebrews 1:1-4

We refer briefly to this passage because of its striking similarity to Colossians 1:15-20. Here the divine sonship of Christ is mentioned (cf. Colossians 1:13), the final, climactic Word of God spoken to his people being in the person of his Son. This Son he has appointed to be heir of all things (cf. the βασιλείαν of the Son of Colossians 1:13, into which, the context demonstrates, τὰ πάντα is to come). This Son was the "by whom" of creation (cf. τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ . . . ἔκτισαν of Colossians 1:16). He is the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτῆ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ (cf. εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ συνέστηκεν of Colossians 1:15).²⁰⁸ Christ is the

²⁰⁸ Eltester notes that in the hellenistic world εἰκὼν, ἀπαύγασμα, and χαρακτῆ alternated with one another. Eltester, *op. cit.*, p. 151. Jervell sees ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτῆ as mere synonyms for εἰκὼν. Jervell, *op. cit.*, p. 198, footnote 98. Ernst Käsemann says that χαρακτῆ is identical with σφραγίς, but first of all means Abbild, and he puts both χαρακτῆ and ἀπαύγασμα into the category of the "hellenistic εἰκὼν-concept." Ernst Käsemann, Das Wandernde Gottesvolk (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), p. 61. Kittel translates ἀπαύγασμα with "Ausstrahlung der göttlichen Doxa. . . ." ἀπαύγασμα, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1932), I, 505. Wisdom of Solomon 7:26 places ἀπαύγασμα and εἰκὼν as parallel predications of Wisdom. It is interesting to notice that Luther translated ἀπαύγασμα as Glanz and χαρακτῆ as Ebenbild. Michel says the "divine fullness of power, predicated to the son here is a parallel

sustainer of τὰ πάντα (cf. τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ
 συνέστηκεν of Colossians 1:17). Other similarities be-
 tween the two passages are found in the fact that Christ is
 the "firstborn" (Hebrews 1:6; Colossians 1:15), the "re-
 deemer" (Hebrews 1:3b; Colossians 1:14), and, as a re-
 sult, is exalted (Hebrews 1:2; Colossians 3:18: "that he
 might be pre-eminent"). In Hebrews, as in Colossians 1:
 15ff., the emphasis is twofold, both Christ's nature and
 his work being stressed.

to Col. 1:15." Otto Michel, Hebräerbrief, in Kritisch-
 exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen:
 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), XIII, 39. This seems to be
 the best way to draw the parallel.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW MAN AS THE IMAGE OF CHRIST

A New Creation

We have shown that Paul's concept of Christ as the image of God is not presented as an end in itself, as hellenistic cosmological speculation about the person of Christ, but as a means to an end. It appears in the context of soteriology and of reconciliation. This leads us to the third major step in our study, the new man as the image of Christ. The goal of Christ's appearance as the soteriological image of God is the recreation of new men in that same image. Colossians 3:10 is the first passage we shall consider in this connection, for it speaks of the "new nature, which is being renewed . . . after the image of its creator."¹

There has been some dispute about the "newness" of this new nature. Those who prefer to regard man as not having lost the original image of God in the fall say that *ἀνακαινών* does not imply the restoration of something which was once completely lost and now is completely regained. Rather the prefix *ἀνά*, it is said, only serves

¹All Biblical quotations will be from the Revised Standard Version, unless otherwise indicated.

to intensify, and "renew" indicates a mere change in life.²

Such a view is contradicted by the Pauline conception of the "new man." To Paul this "new man" is of necessity an entirely "new creation," a creation ex nihilo, to use a phrase unpalatable to Stacey (cf. footnote 2). Dodd adds a significant afterthought in a footnote: "In many ways the Christian conception of redemption is the counterpart of the Jewish conception of creation."³ Richardson expresses the same thought in stronger terms: "redemption is in the Bible necessarily an act of new creation."⁴ He, too, like Dodd, sees "a deliberate parallel with the first creation . . . a new Genesis has taken place in Jesus Christ."⁵ It is difficult to avoid this conclusion in view of the fact that Paul, in Colossians 3:10, uses the exact Septuagint words from Genesis 1:26, κατ' εἰκόνα.

²Thomas Newton, "What is Man, The Biblical Doctrine of the Image of God," Interpretation, III (1949), 160. So also Friedrich-Wilhelm Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, Beiheft 23 of Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1958), p. 162. W. D. Stacey, The Pauline View of Man in Relation to its Judaic and Hellenistic Background (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1956), p. 134. Stacey prefers to think of man's "natural spirit" being "recreated," rather than a creation ex nihilo.

³C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 106, footnote 3.

⁴Allan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, c.1958), p. 244.

⁵Ibid., p. 243.

Lightfoot calls Genesis 1:26 "an analogy" in Paul's mind in Colossians 3:10.⁶ That Paul is thinking of an entirely new creation, like that in Genesis, is borne out by his *καὶνὴ κτίσις* passages⁷ with respect to the creation wrought by Christ. Regarding Paul's use of this term, Davies remarks that he "is almost certainly thinking of the account of creation given in Genesis as the counterpart of the new creation in Christ."⁸ Of particular interest is the fact that Paul on one occasion actually says the "new man" was "created."⁹ In view of this we must accept what Harrisville calls the "dynamic aspect" of the concept of newness in the New Testament, so that the new "crowds" the old "out of existence."¹⁰ This indicates

⁶J. B. Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, in Classic Commentary Library (Reprint; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, n.d.), p. 215.

⁷2 Cor. 5:17: "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation. . . ." Gal. 6:15: "For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts anything, but a new creation." Cf. also Eph. 2:10: "For we are his workmanship, created in Jesus Christ for good works. . . ." Eph. 2:15: "that he might create in himself one new man in place of two."

⁸W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S. P. C. K., 1948), p. 37.

⁹Eph. 4:24: "τὸν καὶνὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτίθειν. . . ."

¹⁰Ray A. Harrisville, The Concept of Newness in the New Testament (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), pp. 18-20. Harrisville also shows that there is no difference between *καὶνός* and *νέος* in the New Testament, stating that the classic distinction between the two terms

that the new man is an entirely new creature.

Regarding the nature of the new creature, Senft starts us on the right track when he says, "Paul . . . means that this renewal comes about through communion with Christ, the revelation of God and of his creative and saving will."¹¹ The communion established with Christ for the new man is so intimate that the new man and Christ can be conceived of as being one and the same entity. Eltester observes, "Christus ist der neue Mensch, und der Gläubige wird das, was Christus ist."¹² Hence it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in Colossians 3:10 the image after which the new man is renewed is Christ, the image of God. This position is entertained by as outstanding a commentator as Lohmeyer,¹³ although it is not without its difficulties. Even if Christ is not immediately identified with the "image" of Colossians 3:10, nevertheless an

had virtually disappeared by New Testament times. Richardson agrees, showing that the papyri make little difference between the two. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Both *νεός* and *καλός* refer to a "qualitative relationship with the past" and also a "temporal" one. Harrisville, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-11.

¹¹C. Senft, "Image," A Companion to the Bible, edited by J. Allmen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 180.

¹²Eltester, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹³Ernst Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), IX, 142.

examination of other Pauline evidence will reveal that the very image in which the new man is being recreated is Christ, the image of God. In Romans 8:29 Paul says that God has foreordained those whom he foreknew to be "ὁμοίους τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ." In 2 Corinthians 3:18 Paul is even more explicit, stating that we are being changed into "τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα" (i.e., of Christ). Concerning this passage Bright appropriately comments that man "confronts his Christ face to face like one beholding the glory of God in a mirror . . . himself takes on that image. . . ." ¹⁴

A Pauline concept which bears consideration in this connection is ἐνδύομαι, a term which he employs in Colossians 3:10, as he says, "and have put on the new nature . . ." and in Ephesians 4:24, as he says, "put on the new nature. . . ." In two instances Paul uses this same term for putting on Christ, ¹⁵ which indicates that to put on the new nature and to put on Christ are one and the same event. Hence the new man and the image of God is none other than

¹⁴John Bright, The Kingdom of God (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), p. 232.

¹⁵Gal. 3:27; Rom. 13:14. Robinson says that the opposite of this expression, "putting off" (Col. 2:15; 3:9) implies that by "putting on" Paul is thinking of a "new body" rather than a "new set of clothes." On succeeding pages we will elaborate how this is true in Paul. J. A. T. Robinson, The Body (Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 63-64.

Christ in us. We, as new men, are identified with Christ. Colossians 2:9-10 says essentially the same thing, identifying the fullness of Christ with the fullness which we possess.¹⁶ John 17:21-23 presents a similar picture of Christ's being identified with God ("Thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee . . . we are one") and his disciples' being identified with him ("I in them . . .").

However, the restoration of the image of God in us as it comes to us in the image which is Christ is not a physical or metaphysical recreation, although it is a complete restoration of what was lost in the fall. As we concluded in Chapter III, the "lost image" was a lost relationship. The new man, or Christ in us, is simply the restoration of that relationship with God. As with the lost image so with the restored image of God, "The apostle Paul . . . never considers man as an entity in himself, but always sees him in his relationship to God."¹⁷ In the case of the "new creature" it is significant that in 2 Corinthians 5:17-18 the expression *καὶνὴ κτίσις* appears in a context of reconciliation, i.e., the restoration of a

¹⁶"For in him the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily, and you have come to fullness of life in him." Cf. also Eph. 3:19: "and to know the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge, that you may be filled with all the fullness of God."

¹⁷W. R. Nelson, "Pauline Anthropology," Interpretation, XIII (January, 1960), 15.

lost relationship with God.¹⁸ Indeed the creature is renewed through the new relationship to God through Christ. The decisive fact is not a change of the moral condition of man, but his Ja-sagen to a new relationship with God.¹⁹ To make this relationship more real and vivid, Paul uses three concepts, all of which appear in a context of the new man as the image of Christ. These concepts are "the body of Christ," "the glory of God," and "the knowledge of God."

The Image as the Body of Christ

In Colossians 1:18 the concept of the body of Christ appears in the words, "He is the head of the body, the church. . . ." In Colossians 3:11 of the new man, renewed after the image of its creator, it is said, "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all." In view of the proximity of this concept to a description of the new man as the image of Christ, we agree that "to view these descriptions of the new life in purely individualistic terms rather than in terms of a

¹⁸"All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself. . . ."

¹⁹"κρίσω," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), III, 1033.

corporate existence in the body is to do great injustice to Paul."²⁰ Hence in Colossians 3:9-11 we have "another presentation of the new man as that of the church as the body of Christ."²¹ "Hier ist es also deutlich dasz der neue Mensch Christus als Leib ist."²² Eltester expresses the thought of Paul adequately when he says of Colossians 3:9-11 that "der Christ Eikon Gottes ist als Glied am Leibe Christi."²³ Elsewhere in Colossians the concept of oneness in the body of Christ is strikingly apparent,²⁴ and elsewhere in Paul we find the same concept repeated again and again, particularly in his letter to the Ephesians.²⁵ Two passages, however, are especially significant

²⁰Harrisville, op. cit., p. 64. Cf. also Nelson, who comments, "Paul never thinks of man in purely individualistic terms. Instead he sees man in his redeemed humanity as part of a corporate personality in Christ." Nelson, op. cit., p. 16.

²¹Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei. Gen. 1:26 in Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 246.

²²Ibid., p. 245.

²³Eltester, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁴Col. 1:24: "his body, that is the church . . ."; Col. 2:19: "and not holding fast to the head, from whom the whole body, nourished and knit together through its joints and ligaments . . ."; Col. 3:15: "And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to which you were called in one body."

²⁵Eph. 3:6: "the gentiles are fellow heirs, members of the same body . . ."; Eph. 4:4: "There is one body and one Spirit . . ."; Eph. 4:15-16: "Christ, from whom the whole body, joined together by every joint with which it

for our purpose. In Galatians 6:15²⁶ and Ephesians 2:15²⁷ the "new man" and "new creation" appear in the context of the body of Christ. Hence there is a close interrelation between the new man as the image of Christ and the body of Christ. Therefore it will be profitable for us to investigate this concept more fully.

Lohmeyer claims that the reference to the body of Christ in Colossians 3:11 is "metaphysical,"²⁸ so that the concept would mean something like "the mystical body of Christ." However, he is not without his adversaries, who oppose his view.²⁹ Dillistone, afraid of "playing into

is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love"; Eph. 4:25: "we are members one of another."

²⁶"For neither circumcision counts for anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creation."

²⁷"By abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace."

²⁸Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 143.

²⁹Otto Michel, Das Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments von der Gemeinde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1941), p. 53. Richardson, op. cit., p. 250. Ernst Percy, Der Leib Christi in den Paulinischen Homologumena und Antilegomena (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1942), pp. 10-14. Percy says those who support a "mystical body" interpretation "are influenced by Hellenistic concepts of body and soul." For Paul, who is in the "Israelic-Judaic line," man is an entity, and *ἅμα* indicates "the entire man" (cf. also W. G. Kümmel, Das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1848), pp. 22-23). Hence the church as *ἅμα* is not "einen von Christus beseelten Leib." Nelson makes a significant apology against a mystical interpretation when he says, "To be in

the hands of the Roman communion," sees in the church as *ἐκκλησία* concept a mere metaphor, whose meaning cannot be pressed too literally.³⁰ However, against his reluctance to take Paul literally stands the general principle that Scripture should be taken at face value, unless otherwise indicated. Robinson³¹ and Percy³² point out that *ἐκκλησία* for Paul and his readers would have had no other meaning than a literal one. One of the most striking passages from Paul's epistles indicates that the church's relation to Christ is so close that it can be called his very fullness.³³ Percy presents another argument which shows that

Christ does not depend on states of abstraction or ecstasy. . . . It depends on active fellowship with others who are also related to Christ." Nelson, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁰F. W. Dillistone, "How is the Church Christ's Body?," Theology Today, II (April, 1945), 56-68.

³¹Robinson, op. cit., p. 50. Robinson shows that *ἐκκλησία* in Pauline terminology did not connote something "corporate but corporeal."

³²Percy, op. cit., p. 5. Percy says any other interpretation aside from a literal one is "impossible."

³³Ephesians 1:23; "the church, which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all." Nearly all commentators take *πλήρωμα* here to refer to the church. Cf. E. F. Scott, The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to Ephesians, in Moffatt New Testament Commentary, edited by James Moffatt (New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d.), XI, 159. E. K. Simpson, Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in New International Commentary, edited by H. B. Stonehouse (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), X, 42. H. Rendtorff, Der Brief an die Epheser, in Neue Testament Deutsch, edited by Paul Althaus and J. Behm (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949), XVIII, 62. Rendtorff says, "Von der

the identification of the church with the body of Christ is to be taken seriously. He refers to the $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \beta\omega\mu\alpha$ in 1 Corinthians 12:13 which is the goal and result of baptism, and says that when $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ appears with an object after a verb like $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, then $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ can interchange with $\omega\varsigma$, so that "der Täufling durch die Taufe mit der dabei erwähnten Person verbunden wird." In 1 Corinthians the "body" is Christ, as the preceding verse shows.³⁴

It is necessary, therefore, to take Paul's words at face value, and to identify the church as the very body of

Gemeinde gilt, dass alle ihre Glieder in all ihrem Leben leben auf die Fülle des Christus. . . . Darum ist die Gemeinde die volle Auswirkung des Christus; weil in ihr sich darlegt, was Christus ist, der Inhalt seines Wesens." See also Robinson, op. cit., pp. 68-70. Robinson stresses the fact that the church is continually being filled with the fullness of Christ. Dillistone reproduces Knox's striking translation, "His body, that which is always filled by him who is always being filled." Dillistone, op. cit., p. 64. At any rate, whether the church is the completed fullness of Christ (cf. Chapter III of this paper, footnote 168) or it is always being filled by Christ, it is closely associated with His $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$. Moule is one of the few who say $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\omega\mu\alpha$ refers to Christ alone here. C. F. D. Moule, "'Fullness' and 'Fill' in the New Testament," Scottish Journal of Theology, IV (1951), 31.

³⁴Percy, op. cit., p. 16. Radermacher calls this $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ a "Hebraism," and gives other examples. Ludwig Radermacher, Neutestamentliche Grammatik, in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by H. Leitzmann (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1912), I, 16-17. Robertson agrees, but says Moulton calls it a "secondary Hebraism." In the Septuagint, he says, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ often translates $\bar{\imath}$, and can have the force of $\omega\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. A. T. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, c.1923), p. 481.

Christ, whose members, by virtue of their belonging to that body, are the image of God. A brief survey of the background of Paul's concept will bear this out. Many have seen in Paul's σῶμα -thoughts concerning the church the Gnostic motif of the indwelling of the heavenly man in those who are spiritual.³⁵ Percy finds the background for Paul's terminology in the Stoic idea of a human society as a human body,³⁶ an idea which appeared also in both

³⁵So Jervell, op. cit., p. 243. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, translated by K. Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 178. "Κεφάλαι," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), III, 679. "ἐκκλησία," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, III, 12-14. Schmidt, author of the last mentioned article, modifies his view by saying that Paul is just using Gnostic terminology, but that the New Testament σῶμα is nothing more than the fulfilled Old Testament Versammlung.

³⁶The classic locus is found in Livy, who tells how the patricians sent Menenius Agrippa as an ambassador to the rebellious plebeians to relate a story about the state being like a body, whose members must work together. Livy, Works, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1939), II, xxxii. Cicero uses the same analogy. Cicero, "De Officiis," Cicero, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (Reprint; London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1928), III, 21-22. Seneca also employs the analogy. Seneca, "De Ua," Moral Essays, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1928), I, xxxi, 7-8. Epictetus speaks of the sympathetic principle of the universe, so that the experience of one part necessarily affects every other. Epictetus, Works, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (London: Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., 1925), XIII, 5.

Josephus³⁷ and Philo.³⁸ Davies suggests that Paul is using Rabbinic ideas about Adam, who had become a world figure of immense proportions, made of dust from all over the world.³⁹ However, we can look elsewhere for the background of Paul's *ἁνθρωπίνου* concept, especially in view of what we have stated earlier about the background for his letters and for the New Testament as a whole.⁴⁰ Nelson comments that

Paul not only connects himself with the Old Testament by his language and his theological arguments, but the entire religious perspective of his ecclesiology seems to have its roots in Israel . . . such terms as "Israel," "seed," "circumcision," and

³⁷Josephus says "it is in kingdoms as it is in your gross bodies *μεγάλους ἁνθρωπίνου*." Josephus, "Wars," Josephus, translated by W. Whiston (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., n.d.), p. 650. Cf. also Josephus, Wars, 2, 13, 6; 4, 7, 2; et al.

³⁸Referring to the way the Chaldeans set up the universe as a unity consisting of parts, he says Moses agrees concerning this "sympathetic affinity of its parts," stating that the universe is "one," "for since it came into being and is one, it stands to reason that all its . . . parts have the same elementary substances for their substratum, on the principle that interdependence of the parts is a characteristic of bodies *ἁνθρωπίνου* which constitute a unity." Philo, Works, in Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1932), IV, 234-237.

³⁹Davies, op. cit., p. 53. G. F. Moore refers to the rabbinic legend: "The dust of which his body was formed was gathered from every part of the world. . . ." G. F. Moore, Judaism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), I, 455.

⁴⁰Cf. Chapter III, footnote 29.

"uncircumcision" . . . clearly designate a collectivity.⁴¹

There are, in the first place, many Old Testament passages in which Israel is viewed as a single unit,⁴² and even as a person.⁴³ In the second place in the Old Testament the "head of the people was at the same time representative of the people, the people are summed up in the king."⁴⁴ However, most important, the Servant of the Servant poems of Isaiah is sometimes identified with the whole of Israel (Isaiah 49:3), and is sometimes identified with a single man, the Messiah (chapter 53).⁴⁵ Bright comments that this double identification carries over into the New Testament body of Christ.⁴⁶ The same juxtaposition was found in the "Son of man" of Daniel 7,

⁴¹Nelson, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴²Psalms 80:8-19; Is. 26:2; Jer. 50:17; Ezek. 19:10-14.

⁴³Is. 5:1; Jer. 3:8; Ezek. 16, passim; Hosea 2:2. The latter passage is of special interest, for it conceives of Israel as the bride of God. In this connection cf. Eph. 5:25-33, where the church is called the bride of Christ.

⁴⁴Michel, op. cit., p. 54. Cf. also F. Pederson, Israel, Its Life and Culture (Oxford: University Press, 1926), III-IV, 76-106.

⁴⁵Oscar Cullman, Christology of the New Testament, translated by S. C. Guthrie and C. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 140.

⁴⁶Bright, op. cit., p. 140.

who was identified with the "saints of the Most High."⁴⁷ Surely Paul's concept of the church as the body of Christ cannot be seen apart from these Old Testament concepts, which stress an extremely close relationship between God, His Messiah, and His people.

However, more recent roots lie behind Paul's terminology about the church. The most vivid experience he had in his career as an apostle was undoubtedly that which happened to him on the road to Damascus, when Christ appeared to him and said, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"⁴⁸ Christ was identifying himself with those whom Saul was persecuting. Even more significant, however, is the fact that Paul records the words of institution, as a tradition which he had received,⁴⁹ and himself bases his doctrine of the unity of the church on the fact that "all partake of the same loaf."⁵⁰ Hence the deepest roots for Paul's doctrine of the church lay in Christ's own words, particularly those spoken at the last supper. "In this covenant meal Christ identified his followers with himself."⁵¹ The body of Christ offered to the church was the

⁴⁷Cullman, op. cit., p. 140.

⁴⁸Acts 9:4.

⁴⁹1 Cor. 11:23-26.

⁵⁰1 Cor. 10:17.

⁵¹Bright, op. cit., p. 230.

very body which was to die and rise again. This leads to the further conclusion that "Dieser mit der Gemeinde identische Leib Christi ist deshalb im Grunde kein anderer als jener der am Kreutze starb und am dritten Tage auferstand. . . ." ⁵²

Hence the Christian, being renewed in the image of Christ, is incorporated into the dead and risen body of Christ in such a way that he himself has died and risen, ⁵³ thus being able to stand in a new relationship to God as a member of Christ's body. Yet this has an often-overlooked involvement. To be the body of Christ, to be in his image, implies a sharing of the sufferings of that body. Dillistone expresses this fact, when he says,

In the interim between his resurrection and the second Advent, the Body lives as the Messiah on earth even though the Lord is in Heaven: it bears his testimony, shares his sufferings, dies with him. . . . ⁵⁴

Placing these thoughts into an image perspective, Bonhoeffer, a modern expert on suffering, says,

The image of God is the image of Christ crucified. It is to this image that the life of the disciples

⁵²Percy, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵³Cf. Rom. 6:4. Robinson states this well when he says: "The Christian, because he is in the Church and united with Him in the sacraments, is part of Christ's body in the flesh so literally that all that happened in and through that body in the flesh can be repeated in and through him now." Robinson, op. cit., p. 47.

⁵⁴Dillistone, op. cit., p. 63.

must be conformed; in other words, they must be conformed to his death.⁵⁵

The body of Christ concept, then, shows how intimate is the relationship set up between Christ and the Christian. It demonstrates that the Christian, as the image of Christ, actually is involved in those soteriological acts which Christ, as the image of God, performed, so that he can stand in a renewed relationship with God. However, it also demonstrates the unity the Christian has with Christ, a unity so close that he participates in Christ's very sufferings. By virtue of this unity with Christ in the body of Christ, he experiences unity with God, that is, the image of God which he once lost.

One term bears further comment, a term closely connected with the body of Christ, the term κεφαλή. In Colossians 1:18, 2:19, Ephesians 1:22 and 4:15, Christ is called the "head" of the body, the church. Michel quotes Schlier as saying that the "head concept destroys all thoughts of the body as a real organism."⁵⁶ If it is true that Christ is the head of the body, then it would appear that he cannot be identified with the body, except in a metaphysical or metaphorical way. Percy, however,

⁵⁵Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1949), p. 275.

⁵⁶Michel, op. cit., p. 51, footnote 39.

explains this dilemma, when he points out that the concept "body of Christ" in Paul "contains a double thought." In the first place it is the congregation as Christ's body, "in which he himself is all in all." Secondly "this body forms an organic unity consisting of many members."⁵⁷ It is in connection with the latter that the concept κεφαλή appears. Christ as "head" implies that, although he is identified with the church, still he is Lord over the church.⁵⁸ "As the head, as ruling member of the body, gives the body movement, direction, organization, so Christ with His Body."⁵⁹

The Image as δόξα

In three Pauline passages the doctrine of the image of God is in close connection with the glory of God.

⁵⁷Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Paul speaks often of the multiplicity of the body of Christ. Cf. Rom. 12:4,5; 1 Cor. 6:15; 10:17; 12:12,27; Eph. 4:16; 5:30; Col. 1:18; 2:19.

⁵⁸ κεφαλή, related to the Old Testament *לִישׁוֹן*, has the twofold meaning of "head" and "first." Cf. Stephen Bedale, "The meaning of κεφαλή in the Pauline Epistles," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, V (1954), 211-215. Schlier says, "κεφαλή meint den, der über dem anderen in dem Sinne steht, dass er sein Sein gegründet." "κεφαλή," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), III, 679.

⁵⁹H. Rendtorff, *Der Brief an die Kolosser, in Neue Testament Deutsch*, edited by Paul Althaus and J. Behm (Göttingen: Verlag von Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), VIII, 115.

Ramsay says that 1 Corinthians 11:7 "links the doctrine of the δόξα to the doctrine of the εἰκόν." ⁶⁰ In addition we can point to Romans 8:29-30, where "to be conformed to the image of his son" is in a parallel position to "those whom he predestined . . . he also glorified." Finally, in 2 Corinthians 3:18 to be "changed into his likeness" is defined as being changed "from one degree of glory to another." In all of these cases the glory is the glory of Christ, so that being changed into his image is to have his same Gestalt, namely to possess his δόξα. ⁶¹ This is a goal achieved by "beholding the glory of the Lord," ⁶² so

⁶⁰ A. M. Ramsay, The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1949), p. 150.

⁶¹ Eltester, op. cit., p. 165.

⁶² Ramsay favors the translation, "beholding," after Philo, who says Moses asked to see the image of God "mirrored not in any creature but in God himself" (Alleg. Leg., iii, 33). Ramsay, op. cit., p. 53, footnote 1. Gerhard Kittel also favors this translation. "κατοπτρίζομαι," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 693-694. However, W. L. Knox claims that Paul is being influenced by the conception in philosophy that the reflection in a mirror "was produced by a series of emanations proceeding from the object and establishing themselves in the polished surface of the mirror." Hence he translates the word, "reflect." W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (Cambridge: University Press, 1939), pp. 131-132. Jervell is probably correct when he says that on the basis of the main point of comparison between Moses and us, that is, he gazed intently and could not see, but we can "behold," the best translation is "beholding." To behold Christ's glory is to share it. Jervell, op. cit., pp. 183-186. However, to behold is simply the "recognition" of the divine glory

that the sequence of thought is paralleled by that in John 17, where Christ prays that his disciples may "behold" his glory (verse 24), and says in the same context, "The glory which thou hast given me I have given to them . . ." (verse 22). This passage is of particular interest to us, for it connects the glorifying of the disciples with their oneness in Christ (that is, the body of Christ). Verse 22 continues, "that they may be one even as we are one." To share the glory of Christ is to be a member of his resurrection body.

This glory is the restoration of what once was lost. In fact, Paul equates the fall into sin with the loss of the "glory of God."⁶³ Man was no longer directly exposed

in him through faith. "δόξα," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 252. (Hereafter this will be referred to as "δόξα," Wörterbuch.) Jervell says that this "seeing" is none other than "hearing" the Gospel. Jervell, op. cit., p. 190.

⁶³Romans 3:23: "since all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." C. H. Dodd says, "the glory of God is the divine likeness which man is intended to bear. . . ." According to Rabbinic teaching one of the things man lost in the fall was the glory of God. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, in Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London: Macmillan Company, 1932), p. 80. Kittel says, "der ursprüngliche Mensch an Gottes Kabod teilhatte . . . und dieser Glanz ihm nach der Sündenfall entzogen wurde. . . ." "δόξα," Wörterbuch, p. 249. Cf. Eduard Lohse, "Imago Dei bei Paulus," Libertas Christianiae, Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, edited by E. Wolf (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1957), p. 124, and Ramsay, op. cit., p. 46, footnote 1, who say that Paul took over this rabbinic teaching. Yet a study of the

to God's glory, so that he no longer could himself reflect that glory in such a way that he could be God's vis-a-vis. It is therefore of significance to notice that Paul associates glory with righteousness, or the state of being in a right relation with God.⁶⁴ In view of the fact that the Old Testament glory of God "has been unfolded in the Gospel history and its results,"⁶⁵ it is not an overstatement to say that "für Paulus Doxa-Eikon mit seiner Vorstellung der Dikaioyne Gottes zusammenhängt."⁶⁶ Δόξα characterizes the life of the Christian ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ, being "the impress of the position one has when he is justified."⁶⁷ This "position" or right relation with God enables one to do what man was originally

Biblical concept of glory (cf. Chapter II of this paper, p. 74) reveals that the glory of God always is the actions of God in history as man experiences them, and God's glory is always directed toward a soteriological goal, so that Christ is the climax of God's glorious actions in history. That man fell short of the glory of God meant that God was now Deus Absconditus, the invisible God of Col. 1:15, whose revealer was Christ, His image.

⁶⁴Rom. 3:23-24: "Since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, they are justified by his grace as a gift . . ."; 2 Cor. 3:9: "For if the ministration of condemnation is in glory, much rather doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory" (quoted from the King James Version); Rom. 8:30: "Whom he justified, those he also glorified."

⁶⁵Ramsay, op. cit., p. 48.

⁶⁶Jervell, op. cit., p. 180.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 182.

intended to do, namely glorify God.⁶⁸ Hence to share the glory of God does not mean to have a substance, but to stand in that glory, to be able to recognize it, and to acknowledge it with meaningful response.

The Image as Knowledge

We have seen that both concepts which Paul connects with the image of Christ, namely the body of Christ and glory of God, emphasize the closeness of relationship between man and Christ, hence between man and God. The third concept related to "image" in Paul's theology performs the same function. In Colossians 3:10 Paul says that the new nature is renewed in knowledge, and in 2 Corinthians 6:4 he says that God "has shone into our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ." In the latter passage the "knowledge" is of the glory of God, which already indicates that a relationship is implied in the word knowledge, particularly in view of our concluding statement in the last section. Bultmann's view that this knowledge as it presents itself in New

⁶⁸ Kittel shows that this merely means to recognize God's glory, not to add anything to it (cf. Psalm 57:5,11; 108:5; Is. 6:3, et al.). The glorified church in heaven represented by the 24 elders (Rev. 5:9-10) are shown fulfilling the meaning of their existence by glorifying God. "δόξα," Wörterbuch, p. 248.

Testament theology is "Gnostic"⁶⁹ need not be seriously considered, for the mystic nature of such Gnostic knowledge⁷⁰ is far removed from the Pauline understanding of knowledge of the historical figure, Christ. However, this same scholar has presented a valid picture of the Old Testament concept of knowing which lies at the heart of the Pauline conceptualization. To the Old Testament mind true knowledge was not mere "appropriated information," "objectively seen in a disinterested way." Knowledge involved a hearing and a resultant action. To know God meant to be in a responsible, responsive relationship with him and to act according to his will.

The Hebrews never thought of a mystical vision of the Godhead. . . . Knowledge in the Old Testament, therefore, means perception accompanied by emotion, or rather by movement of the will. . . . But above all yadha is used to indicate recognition of the acts of God. . . . To know him or his name means to recognize him, to confess him, to give him honour, and do his will. . . .⁷¹

Hence "know" in the Old Testament was a term involving a relationship which necessarily involved action. This is especially clear of God's knowledge of man, which is

⁶⁹Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 180.

⁷⁰Cf. C. H. Dodd, Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), pp. 16-17.

⁷¹Rudolf Bultmann, "Gnosis," Bible Key Words, translated from the German and edited by J. R. Coates and H. P. Kingdom (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), II, 16-17. Hereafter this will be referred to as Bultmann, "Gnosis."

"equivalent to choosing or electing. . . ." ⁷² Here is the kernel of the meaning of the knowledge of God in the Old Testament. Man's knowledge of God rests on God's knowledge of man. The Israelites could only know God because of an initiative taken by God. ⁷³

The New Testament idea of "knowledge of God" parallels the Old. It is an acknowledgement of God's will and of his salvation as he has revealed it to us, and it is based on God's knowledge of us, which comprises God's will and God's salvation. ⁷⁴ It involves "an obedient recognition of his will." ⁷⁵

Hence, like *bānā* and *šōfa, jrūbis* is a word which suggests a restoration of a relationship. It is an ability to recognize God as he is and deals with us, to acknowledge what he is, and to live a life or response to him in accordance with his revealed will for us. In its most perfect form such knowledge is, in short, the image of God.

⁷²Ibid., p. 18. Cf. Gen. 18:19; Amos 3:2; Hosea 13:5.

⁷³Exodus 29:45-46: "And I will dwell among the people of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God. . . ."

⁷⁴Gal. 4:9: "but now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God. . . ." 1 Cor. 13:12: "but then shall I know even as also I am known" (King James Version).

⁷⁵Bultmann, "Gnosis," p. 36.

The Eschatological Tension of the Image of God

As one examines the doctrine of the image of God in Paul, he cannot escape the fact that it contains an apparent contradiction. The restoration of the image is conceived of as an accomplished new creation, so that the image of God has been restored.⁷⁶ Yet, the image is thought of as something to be restored in the future,⁷⁷ or its restoration is described as an ongoing process.⁷⁸ This same tension applies to the Pauline understanding of "glory."⁷⁹ Kittel calls the tension which exists in Paul's theology of the image "Haben und Nochnichthaben,"⁸⁰ which two thoughts appear side by side in Paul.

The apparent contradiction becomes unavoidable in Galatians 4:19, where Paul travails until "Christ be formed

⁷⁶Cf. Aorist ἐρδύβάμενοι in Col. 3:10; κτεθήντα in Eph. 4:24.

⁷⁷1 Cor. 15:49: "we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven."

⁷⁸2 Cor. 3:18: "we all . . . are being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another. . . ." Cf. also Rom. 8:29; 12:2; Gal. 4:19; Phil. 3:10; Col. 3:10. In these passages the new man is "being renewed." Cf. also 2 Cor. 4:16, where the inner man is "being renewed day by day."

⁷⁹Cf. Rom. 8:30, where the aorist, ἐδόξαθεν, is used, pointing to a completed fact. Yet in the same chapter Paul speaks of the "glory which shall be revealed in us" (Rom. 8:18). Cf. also Col. 3:4 and Phil. 3:21 for references to a future glory.

⁸⁰"δόξα," Wörterbuch, p. 255.

μορφωθῆναι" in his readers, and in Romans 12:2, where he urges his readers to be "transformed μετὰ μορφῶν θεοῦ" from within. Here Paul seems to be urging his readers to become what they already are, which he indeed is doing. Although we have already been recreated in the image of God, "Christ's work in us is not finished until he has perfected his own form in us."⁸¹ Elert gives a good definition of what it means that Christ is being "formed" in us, when he says,

Paul's "Christ in us" indicates that . . . the present exalted Christ actually controls our situation, not only as an advisor, not as a pattern to be copied, but in such a manner that he becomes the conduct-forming subject of our existence.⁸²

Thus Christ's being formed in us does not involve a change of substance within us, but it does involve our conduct. That Christ be formed in us means that we become more like him, namely obedient to the will of his Father.⁸³ This simply means that we, in a new relationship with God, live lives of response and responsibility to him. Elert calls

⁸¹ Bonhoeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁸² Werner Elert, The Christian Ethos, translated by G. J. Schindler (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), p. 230.

⁸³ This makes clear Paul's emphasis on Christ's "obedience unto death" (Phil. 2:8) and the fact that Christ "learned obedience" (Heb. 5:8). Christ, as God's image, in a close relationship with God, did what Adam, also in the image of God, did not do, namely live a life of response and responsibility in that image.

the new image a "restoration of the integrity of the responsible creature."⁸⁴ This is the meaning of Ephesians 4:24, where it is said that the new man was created in righteousness and holiness. This is also the meaning of Romans 6:4, where the result of dying and rising with Christ in baptism (that is, putting on the new man or receiving the image of God) is that we "walk in newness of life." It is interesting to note that the same word which is used of the putting on of the new man (ἐνδύομαι) is used as an imperative in Colossians 3:12, urging the putting on of "compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, patience."

Hence the new man, or the restored relationship with God, is a present reality for us, a Haben. Any incompleteness which exists lies in the realm of our reaction to that restored relationship. We must become what we are. We must be responsive and responsible over against God, for which purpose we were created and recreated.

This leads us to the final consideration of our study, the eschatological implications of the image of God, or the Nochnichthaben. Harrisville emphasizes the fact that in all the "new man" concepts in the New Testament there always is the emphasis on a "dynamic movement towards

⁸⁴Elert, op. cit., p. 226.

a goal which characterizes the life of the new man."⁸⁵ Concerning that goal, Elert says it is in the "eschaton." It is the "restoration of the divine image" which only the first man bore, the restoration of "wholeness" of personality.⁸⁶ Again it appears that the image of God will not completely be restored until a future time. The "image" passage which bears this out is 1 Corinthians 15:49.⁸⁷ The "image" reference in Romans 8:29 also has been understood eschatologically.⁸⁸

It is interesting to note that the three concepts we found related to the new man as image of God are given strong eschatological associations also.⁸⁹ In addition

⁸⁵Harrisville, op. cit., p. 82.

⁸⁶Elert, op. cit., pp. 329-330.

⁸⁷"just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven."

⁸⁸"For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son. . . ." Osterloh remarks, "Paulus spricht in diesem Abschnitt von der Hoffnung und von der Zukunft des Glaubens." E. Osterloh, "Ebenbild Gottes," Biblisch-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Uebersetzungen, edited by E. Osterloh and H. Engelland (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), p. 90. Cf. also Robinson, op. cit., p. 82. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 193.

⁸⁹Body: Phil. 3:21: "Who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body. . . ." 1 Cor. 15:44: "It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body." Glory: Phil. 3:21 (cf. above); 1 Cor. 15:43: "it is raised in glory." Of the latter passage Kittel remarks,

the term used in connection with the new man, recreated in the image of God, "ἐνδύομαι," appears in an eschatological context.⁹⁰ This only appears to intensify the apparent contradiction to which we have made reference at the beginning of this section.⁹¹ The image of God and all it implies is ours now, yet it is still to be realized in the eschaton.

John provides a clue to the solution of this dilemma:

Beloved, we are God's children; it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he appears, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.⁹²

Here the image or new relationship with God is a present reality, for "we are God's children." Yet we do not yet see "what we shall be," but when we "see him as he is," then "we shall be like him." Paul expresses the same idea in 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face." Hence the "incompleteness" of our restored relationship consists in the fact that we do not yet see Christ "face to face." This will

"der Mensch nicht der Gegenwart, sondern der Eschatologie hat teil an der $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$." " $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$," Wörterbuch, p. 254. Cf. also Col. 1:27; 3:4; 2 Thess. 2:14; Rom. 5:2; 8:18; et al.
Knowledge: 1 Cor. 13:12: "then I shall understand. . . ."

⁹⁰1 Cor. 15:53,54: "For this perishable nature must put on the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on immortality. . . ."

⁹¹Cf. Chapter IV, page 109.

⁹²1 John 3:2.

constitute the full restoration of what was lost in the Garden, a direct "face to face" relationship with God. That which hinders such vision presently is the presence side by side of two aeons, the old and the new. Richardson speaks well on the subject:

What has happened in the Christ-event is no mere evolution from Israel's past history; it is a breaking into history of the qualitatively new,
 τὰ ἐβχάτα .⁹³

He fortifies his statement by showing that the adjective *καλρός* in the New Testament (cf. earlier treatment in this chapter on "new creation"⁹⁴) "becomes . . . almost a technical eschatological term," and he refers to the new heaven and new earth references in 2 Peter 3:13 and Revelation 21:1,5.⁹⁵ As new creatures recreated in the image of God, we are living in the new aeon. But we also are still surrounded by the old,⁹⁶ against which the new man must constantly guard himself,⁹⁷ and from which he is delivered by the sacrifice of Christ.⁹⁸ It is the presence of the old aeon with its Satanic governorship that

⁹³Richardson, op. cit., p. 245.

⁹⁴Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 85ff.

⁹⁵Richardson, op. cit., p. 245.

⁹⁶Cf. "this age" references in 1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6,8; 3:18; Eph. 1:21; et al.

⁹⁷Rom. 12:2; Eph. 6:12; 2 Tim. 4:10.

⁹⁸Gal. 1:4.

prevents the culmination of the image of God for man as it will occur when he sees God "face to face." When the old aeon passes away, then Christ will appear,⁹⁹ and we will attain the perfect vision of God, with all the consequences of such vision, namely a body unhindered by the defects of the old aeon, a partaking of the glory of Christ as we see his glory, and an intimate knowing of him as we are known. Indeed it must be said of such a vision, "für die Eschatologie bleibt dieses Schauen das höchste Ziel:

ὄψεται τὴν δόξαν κυρίου Is. 35,2; ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν μου Is. 66:18."¹⁰⁰

At that time man will perfectly be able to carry out the purpose for which he was created, to glorify God. Revelation 4:11 is a prophecy of the fulfillment of this goal of the saving plan of God.¹⁰¹ Then the lost image will have been perfectly restored.

⁹⁹Col. 3:4: "When Christ who is our life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory."

¹⁰⁰"δόξα," Wörterbuch, p. 253.

¹⁰¹The passage finds the 24 elders engaged in singing praises to God.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Having investigated seven key "image" passages and other related passages in Paul's epistles we have arrived at what we believe to be a consistent chain of thought and a correct understanding of the image of God.

The most important passage, we found, was Colossians 1:15-20, which speaks of Christ as the image of God. Since this is a widely disputed passage we found it necessary first to examine the relationship of the passage to its context and to Pauline thought in general. At the same time we sought to determine its meaning. Regardless of surface evidence to the contrary, we discovered that the passage is neither an example of Hellenistic cosmological speculation nor a "Christological digression," divorced from its context. It is an integral part of its context, and its context helps determine its meaning. Since the context is one of soteriology, then Christ as the image of God must be seen in a soteriological light. As God's image Christ was God's exact representation in our midst, appearing as the revelation and manifestation of God's *μυστήριον* or mysterious plan of salvation and reconciliation for mankind, indeed for the entire cosmos. Other similar New Testament passages and concepts we found

to say essentially the same thing concerning Christ as the image of God.

At this point we found it expedient to investigate the original image of God in man, prior to his fall. We found that this image was not a substance or quality which man possessed in toto before the fall and in parte after the fall. The fact that Christ's appearance as the image of God appears in a soteriological light implies that man completely lost the image of God, and that it was only restored in Christ. Rather the image appears as a special relationship man had with God, a relationship which was made possible through certain unique attributes given to man, and a relationship which called man into righteous response to God and responsibility before God. Loss of man's divine image meant a loss of his special relationship with God, but the attributes which had been given him lingered on. At the same time man, who had lost the image, still possessed the "possibility" of again regaining it in Christ. God still regarded His fallen creature as being of infinite value and worth restoring.

With the coming of Christ into the world as the image of God, man's relationship with his creator was restored. Through Christ man could again receive the image, through intimate association with Christ, who is the image. That is, he could now enter again into a close relationship

with his creator, a relationship involving righteous response and responsibility. This relationship remains incomplete until the coming of the new world, because the new man, or man in the image of God, is hindered by the old world in which he still continues to live. In the world to come he will again be restored to a perfect relationship with God on a par with that of Adam in the Garden of Eden. In this relationship he will be able to again "see" God "face to face" as Adam once had done; he will be able to look upon him and behold in him, as he had beheld in Adam, his vis-a-vis.

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