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SHORT TITLE:

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF PAUL'S COLLECTION

Young; S.T.M., 1967

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF PAUL'S COLLECTION FOR JERUSALEM

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

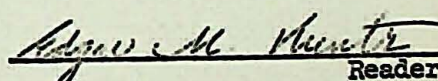
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May 1967

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem was to bring a contribution of money to the Christians of that city. Paul presented the gift to the Jerusalem church personally as a collection which climaxed his missionary efforts in the eastern Mediterranean. The offering is reported in four of his New Testament epistles.¹

It is evident from the extensive arrangements and detailed plans described in these epistles that the collection was of primary importance for Paul. In fact, it seems that the collection was more significant for Paul than it was for others. No other New Testament writer relates its particulars. No second century writer mentions it. If the book of Acts describes it, the references are veiled. There is no evidence of how the gift was received in Jerusalem. Perhaps we may conclude, therefore, that the collection was more important to Paul than it was for the recipients.

¹Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans. A. H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament (Second edition revised by C. S. C. Williams; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 132-158, *passim*. Paul Feine and Johannes Behm, Introduction to the New Testament (Fourteenth edition revised by Werner Georg Kummel; New York: Abingdon Press, c.1966), pp. 198, 202, 211, 222. Alfred Wikenhauser, New Testament Introduction (New York: Herder and Herder, c.1958). pp. 380, 389, 396, 405.

The gathering of funds from the Gentile churches for the brethren in Jerusalem became a major undertaking for Paul. The project was sponsored by Paul alone, but was carried out with the help of subordinates appointed by him. Paul asked for gifts from the people in the churches of Macedonia, who were themselves not rich, and similarly from Corinthian Christians, among whom there was dissension, and with whom Paul had some serious misunderstandings. In 1 Corinthians 16:2 he gave detailed instructions for making systematic contributions to this cause. The collection extended over a period of years, and contributions were received from a wide geographical area around the Aegean Sea. A retinue of delegates accompanied Paul on his last trip to Jerusalem. The travel expenses for the company would have been considerable; they probably were paid out of the funds Paul collected.

Paul's collection has always been looked upon for its functional value. It relieved the needs of the Jerusalem poor, and it was an ecumenical venture embracing Jews and Gentiles. Other minor functional explanations have been suggested. Such explanations usually treat the collection as a small event in the history of the early church.

The scope of our investigation is devoted to the eschatological significance Paul attached to the project. Paul's understanding of the end-time seems to provide the only explanation that can justify the time and effort being spent on this matter. Our inquiry may be formulated as follows:

The problem: to discover what significance can be placed on Paul's collection for the saints in Jerusalem.

The thesis: that Paul saw in his collection more than a practical accomplishment, but that it was for him the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies that at the end time the Gentiles would bring "the wealth of nations" to Jerusalem.

In order to establish that the collection comprised this eschatological gift, we need to see how Paul placed himself in line with the Old Testament prophets and how Jerusalem was understood in the light of eschatology. We shall investigate the hopes of the intertestamental age, and come to understand in what fashion the gifts of the Gentiles were part of these expectations.

It is necessary to build up to Paul's understanding of eschatology. Chapter two gives a brief historical sketch of previous evaluations of Paul's collection and presents the proposal of Johannes Munck which places Paul's collection into the Heilsgeschichte of Scripture and into Paul's eschatological view of things.² Chapter three considers the terms Paul used for the collection. It attempts to answer the question why Paul employed so many different words. Chapter four investigates the various purposes of the project.

Chapter five contains the burden of our thesis. Paul was wedded to the eschatology of his day. However, he made a substantial change in the order of salvation for Jews and Gentiles. The giving of gifts was a common practice among both the Old Testament people and ancient

²Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, translated from the German Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte by Frank Clarke (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, c.1959).

nations. The prophets describe Jerusalem as receiving gifts from Gentiles as part of the glorious future of the latter days. This theme is continued in the literature of the intertestamental period. Lastly, there are seven eschatological motifs of the collection which seem to substantiate our thesis that Paul's offering was the gift from the Gentiles in prophecy.

The curious aspect of Paul's venture that aroused our interest was this, that although Paul devoted a great deal of time and effort on the collection, there seemed to be no satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon among scholars. It could almost be said that the offering had been slighted in the various discussions of the many-faceted aspects of Paul's career and theology. Aside from its charitable and ecumenical purposes, the collection, as it was usually presented, had little significance for Paul and the early church. The practical value of the gift was readily admitted and Paul was pictured as an enterprising churchman, but the collection, as it was held, had little to do with the great issues of God and salvation with which Paul most often dealt.

Our investigation led us to the view that the collection constituted an integral part of Paul's theology. In this dissertation we propose to present an interpretation of the collection that gives Paul's project the attention it requires. The offering was a daring piece of strategy which preoccupied Paul before he made his long-desired journey to Rome.

Except where otherwise indicated, all quotations are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. We have given priority to Paul's own words concerning the collection as recorded in his epistles and have used the book of Acts as a secondary source.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO OUR SUBJECT

According to the Tuebingen school, Paul and the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem were in conflict with each other. As soon as Paul met a measure of success in bringing the message of Christ to the Gentiles and founded a church, emissaries from Jerusalem followed hard on his heels to undo his work. The mother church in Jerusalem seems to have exercised a measure of control and jurisdiction over various missionary enterprises. Paul's work was no exception.¹

The Tuebingen theory held that the collection for the saints indicated the superiority and pre-eminence of the Jerusalem church. The offering was a compulsory levy on the Gentile churches. It was imposed on Paul in return for far-reaching concessions to which the Jerusalem apostles reluctantly consented. As much as Paul emphasized the voluntary nature of the collection in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, Paul's motives were false, and he was guilty of untruth.

In his book Paul and the Salvation of Mankind,² Johannes Munck

¹The interpretation of Paul and Jerusalem according to the Tuebingen school is summarized by E. Earle Ellis, Paul and his Recent Interpreters (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, c.1961), pp. 18-23.

²Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, translated from the German Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte by Frank Clarke (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1959).

has subjected the Tuebingen school to a systematic frontal attack. Munck is not satisfied to take issue with various Tuebingen interpretations, and so he wages an all-out war on Ferdinand Christian Baur. Munck explains that while the dating of the New Testament documents has been corrected from the Tuebingen distortion, Baur's interpretation of the sequence of historical events has lingered on to our day.

Munck recognizes that the account of the events given in the New Testament is not always neat and precise. On the historical interpretation of the Tuebingen school Munck comments: "Instead of a richly faceted historical reality, there has been found a colourless homogeneity."³ Munck furthermore points out that "his [Baur's] philosophic efforts for coordination turned living history into a rationalized and dead abstraction."⁴

In the past one hundred years the subject of Paul's collection for the saints has seldom been singled out for concentrated study. It has often formed part of a larger scheme of things, as it did in the Tuebingen school, and as it does for Munck. An exception to this failure to devote individual attention to this subject was an article written by F. Rendall seventy years ago.⁵ He singled out

³Ibid., p. 70.

⁴Ibid.

⁵F. Rendall, "The Pauline Contribution for the Saints," The Expositor (London), fourth series, 8 (1893), 321-336.

the various features of the collection, much as they are presented in this paper itself. Yet the eschatological motif is not mentioned.

In 1921 Adolf Deissmann called for more investigation of this subject. It is, he said, one "of the pictures which are comparatively little noticed in the long series."⁶ In St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry,⁷ G. S. Duncan devoted an entire chapter to the collection, but his major concern for the collection was its historical relationship with other events in Paul's life. The chapter on the collection is titled, "Governing Ideas behind the Collection." One of these governing ideas is Paul's eschatology. Duncan noted how the law of Moses and the temple in Jerusalem unified the Jews in the diaspora and the Jews in the homeland. He quoted Isaiah 2:3. And he says, "Paul was a passionate believer in the ingathering of the Gentiles as was Isaiah."⁸ However, Duncan did not go on to develop the eschatological aspect of Paul's gift.

In St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem⁹ Wilfred L. Knox wrote an extensive chapter on Paul's collection. He interpreted it in the light of the Jewish temple tax and other religious collections of the time.

⁶Adolf Deissmann, St. Paul. A Study in Social and Religious History (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), 223.

⁷G. S. Duncan, St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry (New York: Charles Scribner, 1930).

⁸Ibid., p. 231.

⁹W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (Cambridge: University Press, 1925).

This background material is especially illuminating for our understanding of Paul's undertaking. Knox adopted at least a quasi-Tuebingen point of view by calling the collection an act of "conciliation"¹⁰ on the part of Paul and his Gentile churches. More recently John Knox has used the collection for determining the chronology of Paul's movements. He holds that the collection had the effect of healing "the terrible schism between Jerusalem and the Gentile churches."¹¹

Johannes Munck has made the collection an integral part of Paul's theology. He shows how Paul saw himself in the unique position of being the "apostle to the Gentiles." By winning the firstfruits of every nation for Christ, Paul sought to achieve the fulness of the Gentiles. Munck says of Paul and his companions, "They go up to Jerusalem with gifts, as it had been prophesied that the Gentiles would when the last days had come."¹² Partly by means of the collection, Paul hoped to arouse his unbelieving Jewish brethren to emulate the faith of the Gentiles. Munck also sees a similarity between the trial of Paul and the fate of Jesus. Just as Jesus bore his witness to men and then died innocently, so Paul preached the Gospel among the nations, made his witness before authorities, was accused unjustly in Jerusalem and went to Rome to his death. In dying both conquered.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 285.

¹¹John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul (New York: Abingdon-Cokesburg, 1950), p. 54.

¹²Munck, p. 303.

Because of Munck's attack on the Tuebingen school, and because of his strong eschatological orientation, we want to note some reviews his work has received. E. Earle Ellis praises Munck's work, when he says: "In interpreting Paul's ministry within the framework of his initial call and of his eschatology, Munck gives due heed to critical emphasis; on balance, his work marks a constructive advance."¹³ Hans Schoeps writes on Paul with scholarly insight. He himself rejects the Tuebingen view; but he accepts Munck only with reservations. He says, "The new work of J. Munck . . . turns historical truth upside down through its polemic against traditional Tuebingen views and exaggerates out of all proportions certain correct opinions."¹⁴ W. D. Davies has given an extensive review of Munck's book. He welcomes the analysis of Paul from the viewpoint of eschatology, but concludes that Munck has isolated Paul from "Paulinism" as a whole.¹⁵ Morton Smith disagrees with Munck's view that Judaizers are part of the Gentile Christian heresy.¹⁶ John Knox takes exception to the extreme view of Munck's Pauline eschatology. He says: "When Cullman and Munck go on, however, to affirm that Paul thought of Christ's return as dependent

¹³E. Earle Ellis, Paul and His Recent Interpreters (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Erdmans, c.1961), p. 21.

¹⁴Hans J. Schoeps, Paul. The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History (Philadelphia: Westminster, c.1961), p. 69, n. 2.

¹⁵W. D. Davies, in a book review of Munck's Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, New Testament Studies, II (1955/56), 72.

¹⁶Morton Smith, "Pauline Problems. Apropos of J. Munck, 'Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte,'" Harvard Theological Review, L (April 1957), 107-132.

on his--that is, on Paul's own preaching to all the nations, I think we must more seriously demur."¹⁷

In summary, we may say that the burden of Munck's analysis has been well received. Munck has interpreted Paul according to the eschatological aspect of his call as the apostle to the Gentiles. Paul's self-understanding in the light of eschatology is not the "extreme" to which the reviewers have taken exception. It is the application of eschatology to the various facets of Paul's life and work that have troubled some scholars. Unfortunately, the subject of the collection is not considered in any of the reviews.

We conclude our chapter by mentioning the most recent research on the collection. Keith F. Nickle's The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy¹⁸ is the most thorough investigation. It indicates three purposes for the collection: charitable, ecumenical, and theological. While the argumentation and format of this paper may follow the same lines as his work, our research is not dependent on it. Nickle sees in the many representatives traveling with Paul to Jerusalem the eschatological coming to Jerusalem of the Gentile nations. But he does not mention the Old Testament prophecies of the "wealth of nations," which seems to be a major emphasis that needs consideration.

¹⁷John Knox, "Romans 15:14-33 and Paul's Conception of His Apostolic Mission," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXIII (1964), 1-11.

¹⁸Keith F. Nickle, The Collection: A Study of Paul's Strategy Studies in Biblical Theology (Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, Inc., c.1966), XLVIII.

Two other current works relating to our subject may be mentioned. One is Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus fuer Jerusalem by Dieter Georgi.¹⁹ After investigating the various arrangements of bringing this gift to Jerusalem, he presents the theological implications of the offering. The second work is Ferdinand Hahn's Mission in the New Testament.²⁰ Although the book does not deal with our topic directly, the collection is mentioned in connection with eschatology. There Munck's work receives favorable comment.

¹⁹Dieter Georgi, Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus fuer Jerusalem Theologische Forschung, 38 (Hamburg: Herbert Reich, 1965).

²⁰Ferdinand Hahn, Mission in the New Testament (Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, Inc., c.1965).

CHAPTER III

THE TERMS FOR THE COLLECTION

Paul spoke explicitly of his collection for Jerusalem in only forty-eight verses of his letters. Eight different terms are applied there to the offering. No one Greek word seems to be adequate for the job of explaining the significance Paul attached to this project. Only in one instance did Paul use a word for his undertaking that is a standard word for collecting money. In this chapter we shall investigate the nuances of each word Paul used.

This seeming lack of consistency on Paul's part has led Karl Holl to call these terms Umschreibungen.¹ Holl's view is that Paul was ashamed to speak of the collection for what it was really intended to be, a tax or levy on Gentile Christians for the Urgemeinde in Jerusalem. Paul was embarrassed, Holl holds, about his subservience to the Jerusalem apostles and therefore talked around the point.

The terms are circumlocutions, to be sure, but they are not used by Paul in a defensive stance, as we propose to show. Our contention is that the words used by Paul explain and express the purpose and motives of his endeavor. Paul's choice of words is determined by the following two considerations.

¹Karl Holl, "Die Kirchenbegriffe des Paulus in seinem Verhaeltnis zu dem der Urgemeinde," Gesammelte Aufsaeetze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1928), II, 59.

In the first place, there is no fixed term to express what Paul has in mind for the collection, as there might have been if it were a contractual agreement (διαθήκη, συνθήκη), or a tax (δεκάτη, τέλος, ὀφείλη), or simply a gathering of funds (σύνθesis, λογεία). When Paul spoke in Romans 12:6 and 1 Corinthians 16:15 of serving in general, and in Romans 13:13 of giving in general, he used the same words as in Romans 15:26,27,31 and in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, where he described the collection in particular.

Secondly, Paul saw the collection as an occasion for the grace of God to do its work, both in the givers and in the recipients. Thus his undertaking is described with words that carry theological meaning: χάρις, κοινωνία, διακονία, λειτουργία, εὐλογία. Paul presented the highest spiritual motivation for the project; so he expected spiritual and theological results. Just as Paul urged the Christians to make the most of a situation and to take advantage of various opportunities² to do God's work, so Paul is here asking his contributors to seize this occasion to help fellow Christians and to allow the grace of God to do its work in them.

We must now turn to a consideration of the individual terms used. We shall begin with λογεία. This word occurs twice in 1 Corinthians 16:1,2 but is used nowhere else in the New Testament or in the Septuagint. For many years the derivation of the word was a mystery, but an investigation of ancient papyri, ostraca and inscriptions led Adolf Deismann

²See Καίρος, Gal. 6:10; Eph. 5:16; Col. 4:5.

to discover that it came from *λογέωω*, "I collect."³ *λογεία* is an ordinary, matter-of-fact word, which was used for special collections and irregular contributions, as opposed to systematic taxes.

Paul used this standard word in a concise and even abbreviated context. He had a great deal to say quickly and briefly. In the four verses of 1 Corinthians 16:1-4, he spoke of his program for this gigantic project. He mentioned the Galatian churches; he indicated that giving ought to be done carefully and systematically; he referred to his trip to Jerusalem and the people who were to accompany him. He had already explained the significance of the collection on one of his personal visits. He comes back to these matters in 2 Corinthians.

We next turn to the word *κοινωνία*. Three different thoughts are suggested by this term: (a) participating in, sharing in, receiving a share; (b) giving a share, contributing; and (c) fellowship, communion, in an abstract sense. The term expresses the state of fellowship, as well as the reciprocity inherent in that fellowship.

κοινωνία was one of Paul's favorite words to designate the new life of a person in the Christian community. In Galatians 2:9, James, Cephas, and John give to Paul "the right hand of fellowship." This Christian fellowship is possible only as a result of the relationship a person has with the resurrected Christ, as 1 Corinthians 1:19 says: "God is faithful, by whom you were called into the

³Adolf Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East (Revised edition; New York: George H. Doran, 1927), pp. 104-105.

fellowship of his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord."⁴ The Holy Spirit works to bring people into this fellowship.⁵

Paul designated the very concrete and specific endeavor of the collection by the highly theological term, *κοινωνία*. In 2 Corinthians 8:4 Paul writes *δεόμενοι ἡμῶν τὴν χάριν καὶ τῆν κοινωνίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους*. The double accusative is an hendiadys. The phrase is correctly translated, "begging us for the favor of taking part in the relief for the saints." Here *κοινωνία* means "having a share in, taking part in."

In 2 Corinthians 9:13 Paul wrote that the collection by the Gentiles will glorify God because of their obedience in acknowledging the Gospel of Christ and by their *ἐπιλόγῃ τῆς κοινωνίας*. In Romans 15:26 Paul said that the Macedonians and Achaians had been pleased to make some *κοινωνία* for the poor among the saints.

In the above two instances there is a passive sense of giving a share and contributing; that is, something has been handed over, something has been given already. In Leviticus 6:2 (LXX, Leviticus 5:21) *κοινωνία* is the word which the Revised Standard Version translates as "deposit."⁶

⁴Also 1 Cor. 10:16; Phil. 3:10.

⁵2 Cor. 13:13; Phil. 2:1.

⁶Strack-Billerbeck give the German for the Hebrew here (Hebrew text, Leviticus 5:21) as "in die Hand Gegebenes." Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash (Muenchen: Beck, 1922-1928), III, 316. Strack-Billerbeck adds that the Aramaic for Rom. 15:26 would mean, "ein Kompaniegeschäft betrieben," *ibid.* Similarly, Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu (3. bearbeitete Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, c1962), p. 147, translates *κοινωνία* in Acts 2:42 as Unterstuetzung, rather than the more usual Liebstaetigkeit or Gemeinschaft.

Of all the expressions used for the collection, the most theological term is $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$. Paul used this word in a variety of ways. It occurs in salutations and in conclusions of his letters. It is the word for "thanks" in 2 Corinthians 9:15; 1:16. It is Paul's distinctive expression for the relationship between man and God which comes through Jesus Christ.⁷

Paul used the word to designate his particular office as apostle to the Gentiles.⁸ Romans 15:15,16 reads, "I am writing to you very boldly by way of reminder because of the grace given to me by God to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles." In this situation the "grace" given to Paul approximates $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, but must not be identified with it.

$\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ is used almost twice as often as any other expression; and Paul applied it to the collection seven times in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9. The word conveys the meaning of exceptional effects produced by divine grace, as in the case of the collection and of Paul's apostleship. Therefore the best translation of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ is "gracious work" which retains the flavor of God's divine grace. "Gift" would be too neutral a translation. In 2 Corinthians 8:7 the collection is listed with faith, utterance, knowledge, earnestness, and love, all of which are characteristic of the new life in Christ.

By means of this word we see one of Paul's great motives for his

⁷Eph. 2:8; Rom. 3:24; 5:15; Gal. 1:6; 2 Cor. 6:1.

⁸1 Cor. 3:10; 15:10; Gal. 2:9.

project. The collection is to be a result of divine grace and an accomplishment of God's power. It is not a device of man created for his own purposes. Paul's motives are high. His purposes are unassailable. His reasoning is theological and spiritual.

Paul expressed the charitable nature of the gift when he designated the collection as a *διακονία*. In profane literature *διδάκονος* is, first of all, a person who waits on tables.⁹ Later on it gets to mean a holder of public office.¹⁰

διακονία takes on a special significance because Christ used this word to designate his work and ministry as in Matthew 20:28: "For the Son of Man comes not to be served but to serve." Similarly, Jesus enjoined service upon his disciples.¹¹

Paul used this word four times in 2 Corinthians, chapters 8 and 9. The context clearly indicates that Paul wanted this gift to alleviate the poverty in Jerusalem (2 Corinthians 8:14). In Acts 11:29 and 12:25 *διακονία* denotes the gift which Paul and Barnabas brought from Antioch to relieve the famine in Judea. In Acts 6:1 *διακονία* is used for the charitable gifts and support given to the widows in Jerusalem.

⁹Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), *διδάκονος*, p. 183.

¹⁰James Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914-1929), *διδάκονος*, p. 149.

¹¹Matt. 20:26; 25:44; Mark 10:43; John 12:26.

By calling the collection a *λειτουργία* Paul used a word which describes the temple sacrifice in the Old Testament. The sacrificial overtones of the language contained in the New Testament are not always apparent in English. The verbs *λατρεύω* and *λειτουργέω*, both of which mean "to serve," and the nouns *λατρεία* and *λειτουργία*, both of which mean "service," have been taken over from their use in temple worship and ritual.¹² In the Septuagint *λειτουργέω* refers to service performed to man (Joshua 1:1; 1 Kings 1:4; 10:15; 19:21), but *λατρεύω* is used exclusively of service performed to God. The meanings of both words, however, relate to the ministrations and offerings of priests in the temple.

With the arrival of Christ and with the cessation of temple sacrifices after the destruction of the temple, *λειτουργία* has the symbolical sense of service to God with reference to one's neighbor. Thus Christ is called a *λειτουργός* in Hebrews 8:1. The concern for Paul's welfare by the Philippians is called a *λειτουργία* (Philippians 2:30). According to Romans 15:15 Paul designated himself a *λειτουργός* "of Christ in regard to the Gentiles in the priestly service [*ἱερευροῦντων*] of the Gospel of God." And Romans 15:27 says that "the Gentiles, who have come to have a share in the spiritual blessing from Jerusalem ought to be of service [*λειτουργήσαι*] to them in material things." In 2 Corinthians 9:12 Paul called his undertaking a *λειτουργία*, in a context where there are several references to the Old Testament.

¹²Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, c.1958), p. 297.

The next word in our investigation of terminology seems to contain a play on words. In 1 Corinthians 16:1,3 Paul says, λογεία , "a λογεία collection," and in 2 Corinthians 9:5,6 he speaks of εὐλογία , "a really find collection."¹³

In Joshua 15:19 and Judges 1:15 (LXX) εὐλογία means "gift, bountiful gift, large gift or present,"¹⁴ rather than the more usual, "blessing, good will." In 2 Corinthians 9:6 the word is used twice as a contrast with φειδομένως , "in a miserly manner, sparingly," so that the opposite thought would be "bountiful." In these instances the generosity of the giver is paramount.

The nature of the gift is also illustrated by εὐλογία . In 2 Corinthians 9:15 εὐλογία is put into juxtaposition with πλεονεξίαν so that its meaning is partly governed by the thought that the contributions are not to be "a gift grudgingly granted by avarice."¹⁵ It is rather a gift from a willing mind. In Genesis 33:11 (LXX) Jacob offers Esau an εὐλογία , because God has dealt graciously with him, and because God has blessed him with great material possessions (Genesis 33:4-11). Thus in 2 Corinthians 9:5 Paul spoke about the arrangements

¹³This is the opinion of Philip E. Hughes, in Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, in The New International Commentary (Grand Rapids, Michigan, c.1962), p. 327, n. 59.

¹⁴Thus Hermann W. Beyer, in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel, translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids; Michigan: Eerdmans, c.1964), εὐλογία II, 759.

¹⁵Bauer, πλεονεξία , p. 673.

he was making in Corinth for their εὐλογία, which carried with it a blessing for the receivers.

Our final consideration is the word εὐδρότης and means "lavish, liberal gift." The noun is probably from εὐδρός,¹⁶ which properly means "thick, bulky," and thus "full-grown," and thus "abundant, lavish." Paul seems to think that the more lavish the gift and the larger the collection the greater impression it will make on the recipients.

One other word in the Pauline letters may refer to the collection; namely, προσφορά τῶν ἰδουαίων in Romans 15:16. The genitive may be appositional, meaning, "the offering which consists of the Gentiles"; or it may be possessive: "the offering which the Gentiles bring."

The most widely accepted view is that the phrase is an appositional genitive.¹⁷ But linguistically it is possible for the phrase to be a genitive of possession. There are other reasons why this is also probable. προσφορά is a term used for sacrifices in the temple,¹⁸ and Paul in 2 Corinthians 9:12 has called the collection λειτουργία. Cognates of λειτουργία and other sacrificial terms are used in this same

¹⁶Moulton and Milligan, εὐδρότης, p. 10.

¹⁷William Sanday and Arthur Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans, in The International Critical Commentary; (Fifth edition; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 405, προσφορά, p. 727; Franz J. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 367; Strack-Billerbeck, III, 315.

¹⁸Richardson, p. 299.

chapter of Romans with direct reference to the collection. Furthermore, just as Paul hoped his *δικουσία* for Jerusalem would be acceptable (*εὐπρόσδεκτος*, Romans 15:31), so did he here (Romans 15:16) hope that the Gentiles offering would be acceptable.

Such a reading as "the offering of the Gentiles" would give weight to the eschatological motif of Paul's undertaking. It would be the one instance where Paul says the collection is actually from the Gentiles, and thus it would help substantiate our thesis that Paul's collection is the "wealth of nations" which the Gentiles would bring to Jerusalem (Isaiah 60:6,11; 66:12).

There are only implicit references to Paul's offering in Acts. We read that seven delegates from Gentile churches accompanied Paul to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). Paul discussed the topic of money and giving with the Ephesian elders, a likely subject for him on his way to Jerusalem with contributions (Acts 20:33-35). In Jerusalem Paul paid the expenses of four and for himself to cover the costs of the rite of purification (Acts 21:23,24,26). Because Felix expected Paul to give him a bribe (Acts 24:26), it is possible that Felix knew about money in Paul's possession.

The most direct hint in Acts of Paul's great collection is the statement in Acts 24:17: "Now after some years I [Paul] came to bring to my nation alms (*ἐλεημοσύνη*) and offerings (*προσφορά*)." The first meaning of *ἐλεημοσύνη* is "pity."¹⁹ Then it comes to

¹⁹Bauer, *ἐλεημοσύνη*, p. 249.

mean the expression of that feeling in doing kind deeds and giving alms to the poor. *προσφορί* means offering or presentation, especially a sacrificial offering in a temple, as in the Old Testament.²⁰ Paul is here saying that he brought a gift to his nation to relieve poverty, and that he performed sacrifices,²¹ which is probably a reference to the fact that he made an offering in the temple for himself and four others under Nazarite vows.²²

Paul applied the eight terms in his letters explicitly to his special offering. We have seen that Paul understood the collection as a "community project." But for him it was more than that. This undertaking had to do with the congregation's communion with God in Christ. The project was the result of God's grace working in people. The undertaking was part of a Christian's service, both to God in a priestly sense, and to man in relief of his need. It was a blessed and gracious

²⁰Richardson, p. 299.

²¹Cf. Acts.21:23,24,26.

²²It seems strange that the author of Acts did not state clearly that the purpose of Paul's last trip to Jerusalem was to bring the collection. To explain this omission would take us far afield from the topic of our paper. We may mention the explanation of Kirsopp Lake and H. J. Cadbury. They reason that the collection did not prove "the inspiration of the Church or the legal innocence of Paul." Kirsopp Lake and H. J. Cadbury, The Acts of the Apostles, vol. IV in The Beginnings of Christianity, edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan, 1933), p. 303. Martin Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, edited by Heinrich Greeven (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 176, suggests that the reason Paul's collection is reported in Acts 24:17 is because the author of Acts edits his material concerning events, but does not edit speeches.

gift and work, because it had been given by those who were blessed by God, and because it would bless those who would receive it. On the basis of the terms with which Paul designated his undertaking, we discover three distinct purposes for the collection: (a) charitable (διακονία, ἡμερόνια); (b) ecumenical (κοινωνία); and (c) theological (χάρις, εὐλογία, λειτουργία, προσφορά).

CHAPTER IV

THE FUNCTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COLLECTION

To clarify the situation for our eschatological argument in the next chapter, it is necessary to establish the precise nature of the functional significance of the collection. Whatever acknowledgment Paul's project gave to the special position held by the Jerusalem church, Paul was not submitting himself to superior apostles. He consistently maintained that his apostleship was independent of men. With the collection as a reference we shall investigate the relationship which existed between Paul and Jerusalem. The five considerations are given in an ascending order of antipathy between Paul and Jerusalem.

Relief for the Poor

The *πτωχοί* in Jerusalem are to be thought of as the economically poor for the following reasons:

1. Paul said in Galatians 2:10 that he was eager to remember the poor in Jerusalem. In this connection he in no way qualified his use of the term.
2. Paul expressly spoke of the need of the recipients in Jerusalem in 2 Corinthians 8:14, 9:12, and in Romans 15:25-27. *διακονία* is his term in these passages for the relief project.

3. In 2 Corinthians 9:9,10 *δικαιοσύνη* means "benevolence, mercy, charitableness."¹
4. The Christians in Jerusalem continued the Jewish practice of distributing gifts to widows, as stated in Acts 6:1.²
5. Even in post-apostolic times the poor in Jerusalem were supported from a common fund.³
6. According to Acts 12:1 and 11:19 the Christians in Jerusalem were persecuted. Such persecution would lead to economic deprivations.
7. In Acts 3:6 Peter stated that he can offer no one silver and gold. This would indicate the poverty of the group to which he belonged.
8. The community of goods practiced for a time by the New Testament church (Acts 2:42-47; 4:32-5:11) seemingly led to the abuse of not replenishing its capital.⁴

¹Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, translated and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, c.1957), *δικαιοσύνη*, p. 195. *δικαιοσύνη* has this meaning also in Matt. 5:20; 6:1; Ps. 112:9.

²Jeremias gives the large proportions of this practice. Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu (3. bearbeitete Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoech und Ruprecht, c.1966), p. 124.

³As cited from Ign., Ad. Polyc, iv.3, by William Sanday and Arthur Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans, in The International Critical Commentary (Fifth edition; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 412.

⁴Charles H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, in Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Ray Long and Richard Smith, 1932), p. 230.

9. We may infer from 1 Corinthians 1:26 that persons from the lower social and economic classes in particular were attracted to Paul's preaching. The same would possibly be true of Christianity in Jerusalem.
10. The Jerusalem church had the burden of supporting missionaries and of giving hospitality to Christian pilgrims and visitors.⁵
11. The church in Thessalonica expected Christ's return shortly, so that there arose a disregard for work (2 Thessalonians 3:6-12). This could have also been the case in Jerusalem.
12. The πτωχοί in Jerusalem at the time of Paul may also be thought of as belonging to the "pious poor" of the Psalms.⁶ These people were oppressed and disillusioned. They were in special need of God's help. Jesus gave them his personal concern.⁷
13. Finally we note that this poverty was chronic, not a one-time phenomenon.

Karl Holl adopted the view that the πτωχοί in Jerusalem were the "pious poor" of the Psalms. He went one step further in proposing

⁵F. Rendall, "The Pauline Contribution for the Saints," The Expositor (London), fourth series, 8 (1893), 321-333.

⁶Psalms 9:18; 34:6; 40:17; 68:10.

⁷Matthew 5:13; 11:5; 19:21; Luke 4:18; 6:20; 14:13.

that the entire Jerusalem church was given the honorable epithet of *πτωχοί*. He concluded that the poor "waren doch nicht bloss die armen Glieder der Urgemeinde, sondern die Urgemeinde als solche."⁸ Along with *ἱεροί* he saw in *πτωχοί* "ein feststehender gelaefiger Name."⁹

We may say, however, that Holl's proposal has been laid to rest by Leander Keck.¹⁰ After analyzing the arguments of Holl and of others who agree with him, Keck concludes that *πτωχοί* is not synonymous with the Jerusalem church. He lists the following reasons:

1. Luke-Acts has no reference to the poor in this sense of the word.
2. The Gospel according to Matthew does not designate the Jerusalem church as "the poor."
3. Even though the epistle of James exhibits bitter feelings against the rich, this does not mean that Christians called themselves "the poor."

⁸Karl Holl, "Die Kirchenbegriffe des Paulus in seinem Verhaeltnis zu dem der Urgemeinde," Gesammelte Aufsaezte zu Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1928), II, 59.

⁹Ibid., p. 60. Holl's view is followed by Wilfred F. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (Cambridge: University Press, 1925). Knox says, "The *πτωχοί* are of course the Hebrew Christians, not the poor in general," p. 190, n. 20.

¹⁰Leander Keck, "The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament," Zeitschrift fuer die Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft, 56 (1965), 100-129. After examination of Quam Ran and patristic literature Keck also concludes that the *πτωχοί* are not the precursors of the Ebionites of later times, in "The Poor among the Saints in Jewish Christianity," Zeitschrift fuer die Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft, 57 (1966), 54-78.

4. Paul's other designations and descriptions of the recipients do not favor this special definition of *πτωχοί*.
5. The proposal that the poor are the economically deprived rests almost exclusively on 2 Corinthians 8 and 9.

We conclude that one of Paul's great purposes for his offering was to relieve the chronic poverty in the Jerusalem church. In this instance no special recognition is given by Paul to the Jerusalem church, since he encourages concern for the poor in general on other occasions (Romans 12:8; 12:13; Ephesians 4:28; 1 Timothy 6:18). Holl's interpretation of *πτωχοί* as an honorable epithet for the Jerusalem church goes beyond the evidence connected with Paul's collection.

Reciprocal

Paul's project contains the motif of reciprocity. Paul said in Romans 15:27 that the Gentiles received spiritual gifts from Jerusalem, and that therefore they ought to help the Jerusalem church with material assistance. The spiritual gifts from Jerusalem should provide the Gentiles with motivation to contribute to the Jewish brethren in Jerusalem in return for material gifts.

Lucien Cerfaux believes the reciprocal motif to be one of the strongest features of the collection.¹¹ He calls the project a "do et des contract."¹²

¹¹Lucien Cerfaux, The Church in the Theology of St. Paul (New York: Herder and Herder, 1959), p. 136.

¹²Ibid.

Even though the project was spoken of as a reciprocal action, Paul presented the offering as a voluntary undertaking. Immediately preceding his remark on the do et des feature of the project in Romans 15:26,27, Paul mentioned twice that the Macedonians and Achaians have been pleased ($\eta\omega\delta\acute{o}\kappa\eta\tau\alpha\nu$) to make a contribution. In 2 Corinthians 16:2 no compulsion is suggested; each is to give "as he prospers." Throughout 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 the voluntary nature of the offering is evident. The gift is not to be $\omega\varsigma$ $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$, but rather $\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$ (2 Corinthians 9:5). The gift is not to be made $\xi\kappa$ $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\varsigma$ or $\xi\{\iota\upsilon\gamma\eta\eta\varsigma$ (9:7). The giver is to be cheerful (9:7).

Certainly the collection constituted a reciprocal action. The Jerusalem church gave spiritual gifts to the Gentiles, and they were to return the favor with material assistance. Jerusalem was highly esteemed by Paul as the locale of Jesus' ministry, death and resurrection, as we propose to show in the next chapter. And it was the place from which the Gospel of Jesus originated. However, the response of Paul and the Gentiles to Jerusalem was not a legal or contractual one; it was a spiritual obligation.

Ecumenical

We apply this comparatively modern term to the collection in the sense of unity, solidarity and oneness. The ecumenical dimension of Paul's collection is one of its outstanding features.¹³

¹³This feature of the collection has led Oscar Cullmann to propose a similar venture by Roman Catholics and Protestants in Message to Catholics and Protestants (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Erdmans, 1959).

Paul's Gentile churches were to be edified by an experience of unity with the Jerusalem church for the following reasons:

1. There was a geographic separation, and thus a lack of personal contact.
2. We may infer from 1 Corinthians 1:26 that Christians constituted only a small part of the population of which they were a part and exercised very little real influence where they lived.
3. Both in the dispersion and in Palestine little love and understanding was practiced among Jews and Gentiles.
4. The Gentiles were new to the faith of Israel--"grafted on" to the live tree, according to Paul in Romans 11:17-26.
5. Paul often spoke of the spiritual unity of those in Christ (*κοινωνία*, 1 Corinthians 1:9; 13:13); the collection would be a practical expression of that unity.
6. Antioch was interested in the mission to the Gentiles (Acts 11:20; 13:1-3). The gift would go to the poor in Jerusalem because the church there was for a time somewhat reluctant to support mission work among the Gentiles (Acts 8:14; 11:1,2,22; 15:1). The collection would be considered a proof that the Gentiles had received the Gospel in good faith. The Jerusalem Church

was looking for such evidence from the Gentiles (Acts 8:14; 11:1,2,18,22). Paul asked for such proof in 2 Corinthians 9:24.¹⁴

The motif of unity and solidarity is demonstrated in these ways:

1. Paul called the collection a *κοινωνία*,¹⁵ that is, a communal gift.
2. Seven individuals accompanied Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:3,4). Although the author of Acts does not designate them as representatives of the Gentile churches, that is the most acceptable interpretation.¹⁶

All of the delegates bore Latin or Greek names. They came from the following areas:

- a. Sopater from Berea. Some manuscripts¹⁷ give his name as Sosipater, who then might be the same as the Sosipater in Romans 16:21. However, the addition of "son of Pyrrhus" at Acts 20:4 in all

¹⁴We agree with Birger Gerhardsson in Memory and Manuscript (Lund: Gleerup, c.1961), p. 280, that "The collection for 'the saints in Jerusalem,' though it scarcely provides a parallel to the Temple tax, must be understood as being a tangible expression of the unity of the church. . . ." When, however, he says that this expression of unity was performed under the leadership of the Jerusalem congregation we cannot concur. It was Paul who gave the collection the function of *κοινωνία*.

¹⁵See supra, p. 15.

¹⁶Martin Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, edited by Heinrich Greeven (New York: Charles Scribners, 1956), pp. 176 and 211.

¹⁷₄* al, gig aeg.

other manuscripts except the Textus Receptus distinguishes him from the Sosipater of Romans.

- b. Aristarchus and Secundus from Thessalonica. Acts 27:2 is specific in saying that Aristarchus came from Thessalonica.
- c. Gaius from Derbe. Manuscript D calls Gaius a $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Albert C. Clark has shown that there was a city in Macedonia named $\Delta\acute{\omicron}\beta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$.¹⁸ In Acts 19:29 Gaius is a companion of Aristarchus. Both are identified as Macedonians.¹⁹
- d. No locality is given for Timothy in Acts 20:4. His home was Lystra in Galatia (Acts 16:1). Although Keith Nickle identifies him as a representative of the Galatian churches, we take him to be a general representative of all of Paul's churches.²⁰ Paul had long since moved his missionary work from Galatia to the Corinth-Ephesus axis; Timothy was with him.²¹

¹⁸Albert C. Clark, editor, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. xlix and 374.

¹⁹There is also a Gaius in Romans 16:23 and in 1 Corinthians 1:14, but it is impossible to say if he is the same as the one in Acts 20:4. We know from 2 Corinthians 16:1 that Galatia also contributed. Since there are no representatives from Galatia, it is impossible to determine if their gifts were carried with Paul on his last trip to Jerusalem, or if they were brought at an earlier time.

²⁰Keith Nickle, The Collection: A Study of Paul's Strategy in Studies in Biblical Theology (Naperville, Illinois: Alex Allenson, c.1966), 68.

²¹Timothy is a constant companion of Paul (Acts 17:14; 18:5f.), and is with him in Rome (Romans 16:2).

e. Tychicus and Trophimus from Asia. Manuscript D designates them as Ephesians, and it is likely that they represented the Ephesian church. Tychicus is sent to Ephesus by Paul in 2 Timothy 4:12. Trophimus is identified as a Ephesian in Acts 21:29.

There may be other representatives as well. Keith Nickle conjectures that Titus was the representative of the Corinthian churches because he organized the work in Corinth.²² Nickle surmises that additional representatives were picked up on the trip to Jerusalem from Troas, Philippi, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, and Cyprus.²³

Because the "we-source" ceases in Acts 16:16 and resumes in Acts 20:6, Luke may be the representative from Philippi.²⁴

3. In bringing his gift from the Gentiles to the Jerusalem church, Paul took the offensive in a great cultural and religious battle. Racially and religiously the Jews considered themselves as standing apart from the Gentiles. Paul believed that in Christ the two are brought together for there is no longer "Jew or Greek" (1 Corinthians 12:13; Galatians 3:28; Colossians 3:11; Romans 3:29). In fact, this coming together with its attendant common concern,

²²Nickle, p. 69.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., p. 68, n. 82.

is the mystery hidden for ages, as Ephesians 3:6 says, "how the Gentiles are fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel." Paul's collection is a practical step in bringing the two parts of the whole together. Moreover, precisely in the Corinthian correspondence, where the collection is designated as *κοινωνία*, Paul spoke of the church as the "body of Christ," and described the body as functioning like a physical body, with each member cooperating and helping one another.

The fact that Paul organized all his Gentile churches for one great effort on behalf of Jerusalem indicates his high regard for that city. However, there is no indication that Paul thereby submitted himself to a superior authority. If that were the case, the motives for giving, namely, the need of the recipients, the moral obligation, and the communal nature of the offering, would be false. Therefore, Paul would be guilty of misrepresentation. In point of fact, *κοινωνία* implies a common bond among people. Just as Christ, according to Paul, brought the Jews and Gentiles together in his work of salvation,²⁵ so also did Paul want to bring them together in this practical experience. Paul's project demonstrated his "good will" (2 Corinthians 8:19), and just as his work and life as a whole was for "the glory of the Lord"

²⁵In the words of Paul (Ephesians 2:14) Christ "has broken down the wall of hostility" between circumcised and uncircumcised.

(2 Corinthians 1:20; 4:16,18; Ephesians 3:21; 1 Thessalonians 2:6), so also was the collection (2 Corinthians 8:19).

Agreement

Agreement refers particularly to the action of the apostolic council in Acts 15.²⁶ The nature of an agreement ranges from a simple understanding to a mutual contract, or even to a demand forced upon by one and conceded to by another. Thus this feature of Paul project differs from the moral reciprocity previously noted.

In his account of the apostolic conference in Galatians 2:1-10, Paul argued that his apostleship is legitimate and that the gospel he preached was neither dependent upon nor received through human agency. He concluded his account with a reference to the collection: "only they would have us remember the poor, which very thing I was eager to do" (v. 10).

Our position is that at the apostolic council Paul agreed to arrange for a collection of funds. Cephas, James and John suggested this relief, and therefore it is on their initiative that Paul undertook it.

²⁶ Keith Nickle summarizes the possible explanations for reconciling Acts 15 and Galatians 2, and cites the appropriate literature of the topic. He concludes that Acts 11:27-30 is a doublet of Acts 15 and both refer to Galatians 2. Ibid., pp. 51-59, passim. Kirsopp Lake believes Acts 15 and Galatians 2 are accounts of the same event, but arrives at his conclusion differently. Kirsopp Lake, "The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem," The Beginnings of Christianity, edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: The Macmillan Co., 1933), V, 195-212. Alfred Wikenhauser is of the same opinion as Nickle and Lake. Alfred Wikenhauser, New Testament Introduction (New York: Herder and Herder, c.1958), p. 334.

The collection is not a concession made by Paul to the Jerusalem church in return for its approval of his mission to the Gentiles. Paul stated that those in Jerusalem "of repute added nothing to me" (Galatians 2:6). Any restriction, correction, or additional requirement on Paul is thereby excluded. Cephas, James and John gave to Paul "the right hand of fellowship" (Galatians 2:9). Of Galatians 2:10 Keith Nickle says, "Verse 10 . . . is grammatically, but not intrinsically, a condition to verses 6f., 9."²⁷ Moreover, the account in Acts presents a harmonious conclusion to the apostolic meeting.

The collection for the poor was the result of an agreement between Paul and the Jerusalem church. It was not a demand made upon Paul, as a superior might make a demand upon an inferior. The agreement concerning the collection is a mutual understanding between Paul and the Jerusalem church, and particularly between Paul, Cephas, James and John. Later Paul developed the collection project into the large proportions it had assumed by the time of his last trip to Jerusalem. By then he attached a significance to it far above the casual mention of it in the epistle to the Galatians.

Tax

The Jewish temple tax provided Paul with a precedent and a procedure for his undertaking. The tax was a half-shekel, given annually by Jews in Palestine and by the dispersion for the temple in Jerusalem.

²⁷Nickle, p. 43, n. 10.

Because of Paul's background in Judaism,²⁸ we can be sure that Paul was acquainted with the operation of this tax. Paul's collection is not, however, a tax or levy. Not once does Paul allude even indirectly to the offering in this light, although he surely knew the story of the origins of the temple tax.

The first mention of the shekel tax²⁹ in the Old Testament is Exodus 30:11-16, where the levy was a poll tax for the redemption of a male at the time of a census. Before the captivity, Josiah re-introduced the tax of Moses to restore the desecrated Temple (2 Chronicles 24:4-6). Only after the captivity was the tax established as an annual payment, used for the cultic services of the temple (Nehemiah 10:32-34).³⁰ Jesus and his disciples paid the tax while in Capernaum (Matthew 17:24-27). Philo designated the tax as "firstfruits," and referred to the practice of redeeming first-born male sons according to Exodus 30:11-16.³¹

The collection of the shekel in the days of Jesus was a systematic procedure. Announcement of the levy was made in Jerusalem on the first day of Adar. Fifteen days later money changers were placed in the

²⁸Gamaliel was his teacher (Acts 22:3); see also Acts 5:34-42.

²⁹For the monetary value of the half-shekel and the third-shekel, the difference between the two, and the systems of Babylonian and Phoenician coinage, see exegesis on Exodus 30:11 in Interpreters Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1952), I, 1054.

³⁰The Mishnah (Shekalim 2.4) says that the regularity of the practice extended only as far back as "when the Israelites came up out of captivity."

³¹Philo, De spec. leg., I, xiv, 78.

provinces.³² On the twenty-fifth day of Adar money changers were set up in the temple.³³ Every male adult Jew was expected to pay the tax, including proselytes.³⁴ Women, slaves, minors, and priests were excluded.³⁵ In addition to the cultic services of the temple, the funds were also used for its repair and maintenance.³⁶ There is evidence that contributions were sent from Egypt, Cyrenaica in Africa, Asia Minor, Europe, Italy, Mesopotamia, and Babylon.³⁷

Paul's collection project has these similarities with the Jewish temple tax:

1. In both cases appointed representatives carried it to Jerusalem.³⁸
2. Contributions were given systematically.³⁹
3. Great care was exercised over the funds.⁴⁰

³²Shek. 1.1.

³³Shek. 1.3.

³⁴Proselytes were included, Josephus, Ant., XIV, vii, 2.

³⁵The various projects are summarized from the Mishnah by Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1944), p. 16.

³⁶Shek. 1.3.

³⁷The evidence, mostly from Josephus, is cited by Nickle, p. 82, nn. 57-62.

³⁸Acts 20:4 (cfr. 1 Corinthians 16:3); Shek. 2.1.

³⁹1 Corinthians 16:1; Shekalim, passim, and Philo, De spec. leg., I, XIV, 76-78.

⁴⁰2 Corinthians 8:20; Philo, De spec. leg., I, xiv, 78. The latter reads, "At stated times there are appointed to carry the sacred tribute envoys selected on their merits, from every city those of the highest repute, under whose conduct the hope of each and all will travel safely." The English translation is from the Loeb Classical Library, edited by T. E. Page, et al. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1937), VII, 145.

4. Both were destined for Jerusalem.

For Judaism the temple was the center of cultic worship, and for Christians Jerusalem was the place where the redemptive acts of Jesus had taken place. Thus the tax and the collection helped to create a sense of unity among the people living in outlying areas with those dwelling nearer the central locality of their faith.

5. Both were delivered at the time of a festival. According to Acts 20:16 Paul brought his gift at Pentecost. The shekel dues were delivered at one of the major festivals.⁴¹

Paul's project has these noteworthy differences from the temple payment:

1. The temple tax was of definite value, no more, no less (Exodus 30:15), while gifts for the poor were given according to ability of the donor (1 Corinthians 16:2).
2. The shekel was "exacted," (Shekalim 1.3), while the collection for Jerusalem was voluntary (2 Corinthians 8 and 9, passim).
3. Paul's work was one of charity; the temple tax supported an institution.
4. Paul's collection had no redemptive significance.
5. The shekel was given primarily by adult males; Paul set no limits on who might or might not contribute. Paul assumed everyone would do so.

⁴¹The dues of Jerusalem and of near-by areas were delivered at Passover or Pentecost, Shek. 3.1; the dues from the provinces at the Feast of Tabernacles, Shek. 3.4.

6. The tax was levied from Jews while Paul's contributions were made by Gentiles (Romans 15:26,27).
7. The collection was a one-time undertaking, culminating in its delivery to Jerusalem. The temple tax was given annually.

Karl Holl made Paul's collection a definite tax.⁴² Of the Jerusalem church he says, "Diese Urgemeinde ist befuegt und verpflichtet, ein Aufsichts- und selbst ein gewisses Besteuerungsrecht ueber die ganze Kirche auszuueben."⁴³ One of the reasons for this viewpoint is that Holl postulated that *ἁγιος* was an honorable epithet for the entire Jerusalem church.⁴⁴

We adopt no such interpretation. Paul's use of *ἁγιος* is so widespread in his letters that it renders impossible the thought that he would single out the saints of Jerusalem as superior to all other saints. He addressed his readers in various localities as *ἁγιος* (Ephesians 1:1; Philippians 1:1; Colossians 1:2; 1 Corinthians 1:2; 2 Corinthians 1:1; Romans 1:7). In each case holiness derives from Christ.⁴⁵

⁴²Holl, p. 62.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Lucien Cerfaux presents all the evidence available in favor of Holl's viewpoint. But the argument still is weak. Cerfaux, pp. 130-140.

⁴⁵"Basically there is no distinction in Paul between the *ἁγιος* of the mother community and those of the missionary church, for in each case the holiness derives from Christ. . . ." is the conclusion of Otto Procksch in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel, translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids; Michigan: Eerdmans, c.1964), *ἁγιος* I, 107.

It does seem strange that Paul wrote (1 Corinthians 16:1):
περὶ δὲ τῆς δωρεῆς τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, without
 indicating a destination. Yet three verses later Paul did specify
 that the gift was for Jerusalem. Furthermore, in Paul's letter to the
 Romans, where it cannot be assumed that his readers would know the
 recipients of the gift, he said it was for Jerusalem (Romans 15:26).
 Because of the personal contact and communication between Paul and the
 Corinthian church, in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, he can speak of relief
 for the saints and not identify Jerusalem. He had already written one
 letter in which he had named Jerusalem as the destination for the gift
 (1 Corinthians 16:3). Paul also made several journeys there.⁴⁶ Titus
 and Timothy kept Paul informed of events in Corinth,⁴⁷ and vice versa.
 Moreover, in Romans 12:13 Paul exhorted the Romans *τὰς χρείας τῶν*
ἁγίων κοινωνοῦμεν. *ἁγία* cannot mean the superior saints of Jerusalem,
 for the church in Rome was not included in the collection plans.

Finally, in Romans 15:31 Paul spoke of the recipients as *ἁγιοι*
 as follows: "that my service for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the
 saints." Because of the deference with which Paul spoke here it seems
 that the saints in Jerusalem are superior to all others. Our previous
 examination has shown no such thing, and such a proposal that the

⁴⁶Acts 18:1,27.

⁴⁷For Timothy see 1 Corinthians 4:17; 16:10; for Titus see 2
 Corinthians 7:14; 8:6,16,23; 12:18. Timothy may be one of the brothers,
 who in 2 Corinthians 8:18-22, assisted Titus with the organization of
 the collection in Corinth.

Jerusalem church supervised the entire missionary effort in the first century B. C. and therefore expected financial support, must stand on stronger evidence than one passage in Romans.

Our investigation of the functional significance of Paul's great project reveals that he was on good terms with the Jerusalem church. Because Paul had been a frequent visitor to Jerusalem, he knew first-hand the poverty of the Jerusalem church, and he sought to relieve it. Paul asked the Gentiles to reciprocate with gifts to Jerusalem for having given them the Gospel. He presented the collection as a *κοινωνία* which was a project among fellow Christians who enjoyed equal standing in Christ. The Jewish shekel tax gave Paul a precedent and a pattern for his undertaking. The collection for the poor was mutually agreed upon by Paul and the leaders of the Jerusalem church. Paul then developed it for his own purposes, as we have seen, and as we hope to point out more fully.

Paul did have a revered place for Jerusalem in his heart. The gathering of funds gave him the opportunity to express this regard. We shall give our attention to Paul's esteem of the holy city in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COLLECTION

The burden of our thesis is contained in this chapter. We have previously mentioned Paul's commitment to the collection. He sponsored the project practically alone, and he carried it out with the help of subordinates appointed by himself. Paul attached a significance to the gift far above the casual mention of it by the leaders of the Jerusalem church in Galatians 2:9.

Two of the five reasons Paul hinted at as the practical significance of the gift stand out: the collection was to relieve the poverty in the Jerusalem church; and the project was intended to knit together two separate parts of the new Christian church. However, it is impossible for us to determine which of these two thoughts was the dominating one for Paul.

What we are searching for is that one motif which would not only combine the two major aspects of the project but would encompass as well the variety of other functions Paul assigned to the collection. This theme would have to be of such significance that it would justify the expense in time and money Paul devoted to the project.

The overriding purpose is eschatology. It cannot be said that Paul specified eschatology as a theme for the collection. It is only after an analysis of Paul's thought and of the milieu of the first century that the eschatological significance becomes evident.

To place Paul's collection project into an eschatological framework we shall first see how Paul interprets his work and ministry among the Gentiles. Then we turn to a discussion of the city of Jerusalem as the center of eschatological hopes. Thirdly, we present the universalism which existed in post-exilic times. Fourthly, we shall compare Paul's gift to the "wealth of nations," which, in the latter days, according to the prophets, would flow to that city. Lastly, we take note of several motifs of the collection which express its eschatological purpose.

Paul and Eschatology

Paul took his position in the eschatological tradition, rather than in the apocalyptic one. Paul by-passed the spirit of apocalyptic, with its exclusiveness and its fear and aversion to the world, in favor of an all-inclusive world salvation. In his New Testament writings Paul quoted from the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the prophets. There are few quotations from and allusions to apocalyptic literature. Characteristically, Paul argued for the truth of Christianity from the "law and the prophets" (Acts 28:23). When we compare Paul with apocalyptic writers, we find that Daniel hoped for the demise of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that John "the divine" hoped for the fall of Rome. The end of the Roman empire is also the desire of the Psalms of Solomon and of apocalypses like those of Ezra and Baruch. Paul took no such negative attitude. Frank C. Porter sums up as follows: "Paul has his eye on the Roman empire, but his apostolic calling, his passionate

desire and his confident expectation, is not for its destruction, but its conversion."¹

Paul placed himself in line with the Old Testament prophets. He did this when he referred to his calling in Galatians 1:15 with the words *ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου κληθείς*. These are the exact words the prophet Isaiah used in Isaiah 49:1 to describe his own calling. Paul and Isaiah justify their work among Gentiles by appealing to the fact that God had set them apart from birth for this work. In Jeremiah 1:15 the identical thought is expressed: "Before I [God] formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you." Furthermore, Samson designated himself as a "Nazarite to God from my mother's womb" (Judges 16:17). The phrase "from my mother's womb" is repeated in Psalms 21:9 and 71:6, where again it indicates the special position a person has in God's economy. Paul felt himself to be called in the succession of Old Testament prophets who were assigned a distinctive role in carrying out God's program of salvation.

The account of Paul before Agrippa in Acts 26 demonstrates how the apostle conceived of himself as standing in succession to the Old Testament prophets. He makes his defense in the knowledge that Agrippa was familiar with "the customs and controversies of the Jews (Acts 26:27). Paul told Agrippa that the directive to preach among the Gentiles was part of his conversion experience (Acts 26:17,18). Paul declared that he preached "nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to

¹Frank C. Porter, "The Place of Apocalyptic Conceptions in the Thought of Paul," Journal of Biblical Literature, XLI (1922), 199.

pass" (Acts 26:22). Furthermore, when Paul spoke to the Jews in Rome he tried to "convince them about Jesus both from the law and the prophets" (Acts 28:23). And it was precisely for the "hope of Israel" that Paul was arrested and imprisoned (Acts 26:20). Only in one respect was Paul different from Isaiah and Jeremiah. When Paul received his call to be apostle, he was an opponent of Christianity, whereas the two prophets were adherents of the religion of Israel from the beginning.

Paul and Jeremiah compare favorably in additional ways. Each saw his suffering as being willed by God (Jeremiah 11:18; 15:10,15; 20:1,14; 26:1; 37:1; 38:1; compare 2 Corinthians 4:6; 11:16; 12:10; Philippians 3:10; Galatians 6:17); and each performed his ministry with a strong attachment to the Word (Jeremiah 1:19; 15:16; compare 1 Corinthians 1:14; 2:1) and shied away from ecstatic experiences (Jeremiah 23:25-32; compare 1 Corinthians 14:1-19).²

Oscar Cullman's interpretation that ^ε Κατέχων in 2 Thessalonians 2:7 is Paul himself, and not the Roman state or God, substantiates our view of Paul as a prophet in the Old Testament mold.³ According to this viewpoint Paul is the last and final prophet. His work is so substantial

²Such are the comparisons made by Karl H. Rengsdorf, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans c.1964), Ἐπιτομή I, 439-441.

³Oscar Cullmann, "Eschatology and Missions in the New Testament," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology (London: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 418-421. Cullmann's interpretation of 2 Thess. 2:7 is followed by Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind (Philadelphia: John Knox Press, c.1959), pp. 36-42.

that it can be said that the end of the world depends on him. Paul is the great actor in the eschatological drama of salvation.⁴

The scope of Paul's ministry included especially the Gentiles. A sure sign of the significance of this aspect of his calling is the fact that in all four accounts of Paul's conversion this work is spelled out. For instance, in Acts 9:5 God said of Paul, "Go, for he [Paul] is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings." Similarly, in Galatians 1:16 Paul said, "in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles." In other passages also Paul designated himself as the apostle to the Gentiles: Romans 1:1; Galatians 2:7,9; Romans 15:15,16; Ephesians 3:1,2. Paul felt a necessity for preaching among Gentiles, as he said in 1 Corinthians 9:16, *ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι ἐπιτίθεται*. The hearers of Paul's preaching were Gentiles. The Gentiles are the same people to whom Isaiah and Jeremiah preached (Isaiah 49:6; Jeremiah 1:5). Isaiah addressed the Gentiles with these words, "Listen to me, O Coastlands, and hearken, you peoples from afar" (Isaiah 49:1). Accordingly, Paul performed his ministry primarily in the coastal areas of the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

⁴Cullmann's view is adopted and expanded upon by Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, translated from Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, c.1959), pp. 36-42. Munck especially makes clear how preaching was regarded in the Old Testament as an eschatological call. Munck bases his eschatological orientation of Paul on what he considers to be noncontroversial texts (2 Thess. 2:6-7, Romans 9-11, and Romans 15:14-33), besides the usual texts (2 Corinthians 3:7-18 and Galatians 2:1-10).

The picture we have of Paul is that he is a prophet of God, set apart for work among the Gentiles. He thought of himself as the apostle of the end-time, and the work that he would do, while not forcing the end to come, would at least hasten it. Our position is summarized by Oscar Cullmann in the words: "Paul's sense of vocation is clearly influenced by eschatological ideas."⁵

Paul did not hit upon the mission to the nations as a substitute when his preaching in Jewish synagogues was of no effect. Hans Schoeps makes this clear when he writes,

The opinion current in liberal Jewish circles, that Paul conceived the idea of the mission to the Gentiles only after the failure of his synagogue teaching, only after the great majority of his people had proved themselves unsuitable for Christian evangelization, completely misunderstands the real motives in the apostle's mind. With him it is not a question of sour grapes, but of the necessary consequences of his eschatological convictions.⁶

Jerusalem and Eschatology

With an eschatological view of himself Paul traveled to Jerusalem with the collection. Jerusalem was the city in which Paul had received instructions from Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), and from which he began his trip to persecute Christians in Damascus (Acts 9:12). According to Acts, Paul made four previous journeys there (Acts 9:26; 11:30; 15:12; 18:22). By Paul's own reckoning he visited Jerusalem three times (two

⁵Cullmann, p. 417.

⁶Hans Schoeps, Paul (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, c.1961), p. 230.

occasions in Galatians 1:18 and 2:1; and the final trip in Romans 15:25).⁷ We now turn to see the city of Jerusalem in eschatological perspective.

The destiny of the Jewish people was inseparably linked with the fortunes of the city of Jerusalem. To Paul Jerusalem was not just another metropolis. He saw that Jerusalem had played, and would continue to hold, a certain role in the unfolding drama of salvation.

The origins of Jerusalem are shrouded in obscurity. Since the time of King David, Jerusalem is linked with Mount Zion. The same identification is made by the writer of Hebrews when he spoke of Mount Zion as the "heavenly Jerusalem" (Hebrews 12:12). Jerusalem is also associated with the mystical city of Salem (Genesis 14:18; Hebrews 7:1), and is so identified in Psalms 76:2 and by Josephus.⁸

The ark of the covenant was brought to Jerusalem as its permanent home (2 Samuel 6:1-23). In Jerusalem Solomon built the temple (1 Kings 5). A temple is not so much a place of worship as it is the residence of the deity. The dwelling place of Yahweh in the temple is definite geographic locality. Sverre Aalen remarks: "In the

⁷How to reconcile the five visits of Paul to Jerusalem in Acts with Paul's own reckoning of three is difficult. John Knox has given extensive consideration to the Pauline chronology, as have others. John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1960); John Knox, "Fourteen Years Later: A Note on the Pauline Chronology," Journal of Religion, 16 (1936), 341-358; and John Knox, "The Pauline Chronology," Journal of Biblical Literature, 58 (1939), 15-29.

⁸Josephus, Ant., I. 10. 2: VII. 3.2.

idea of the kavod lies . . . the conception of a geographical center."⁹
 Jeremias adds, "Or, as we may put it, the idea of kabhodh is connected with the conception of one holy community that has its centre in Jerusalem."¹⁰

In Jerusalem God caused his name to rest (2 Kings 21:4; 2 Chronicles 33:4; compare Psalm 132:13; Isaiah 31:9; Joel 3:17). Jerusalem was chosen by God (1 Kings 11:13; 2 Kings 23:27). It was a holy city (Isaiah 52:10), and the place of God's throne (Jeremiah 3:17). It was the center of the world (Ezekiel 5:5). To the Psalmist Jerusalem was unsurpassed in religious significance (Psalm 87, 122, 125, 128, 137).

Essential ministries were performed there. The Davidic kings lived and died there (2 Chronicles 9:31; 16:14; 21:1). Priests performed their duties in the temple there. All the prophets performed part of their ministry in Jerusalem, except Amos and Hosea.

Because Jerusalem was supremely the place where the history of salvation had been enacted, the final assembly of mankind will occur in her (Jeremiah 50:5; Joel 3:1), and all nations shall come to her (Isaiah 52:1; 62:1; 65:17; 66:10). The eschatological Jerusalem is

⁹As quoted by Joachim Jeremias in "The Gentile World in the Thought of Jesus," Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 3 (1952), 26, from Sverre Aalen, Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum, und ins Rabbinismus.

¹⁰Jeremias, "The Gentile World in the Thought of Jesus," Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 3 (1952), 26.

taken up in the New Testament when it speaks of the "heavenly Jerusalem" (Hebrews 12:18-24; Revelation 3:12; 21:1-22:5).

In the Gospels, Jerusalem preserves its right to be the theatre where the glory of the people of God, and accordingly the fortunes of the world, are enacted. The city which killed the prophets (Matthew 23:27; Luke 13:23) was like a lover which attracted Jesus in order to murder him there (Luke 9:51; 20:17). The great acts of Jesus' redemption were performed in her: death, resurrection, ascension, and the giving of the Spirit. In the interpretation of 2 Thessalonians 2:3-12 by Oscar Cullmann the anti-Christ is to be revealed there.¹¹

Paul also had an attraction for Jerusalem. In his letters Paul made seven direct references to the city. Three instances are given in his statement of independence from superior apostles (Galatians 1:17,18; 2:1). Five instances (Romans 15:19,25,26,31; 1 Corinthians 16:3) appear in contexts where the collection is described. Lastly, Paul had an eschatological view of Jerusalem. In Galatians 4:26,27, he spoke of the "heavenly Jerusalem." Because Paul was willing to visit Jerusalem before traveling to Rome, in spite of advice to the contrary, we may conclude that Paul's high regard for the city was similar to that of the Old Testament prophets, the Psalmist, and to Jesus himself.

¹¹Cullmann, "Eschatology and Missions in the New Testament," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology (London: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 418-421.

Paul's view of Jerusalem is summarized by Johannes Munck in these words

Jerusalem and Israel are the central part of the history of salvation; therefore Jerusalem is the center of Paul's world, and the conversion of Israel the most important goal to be achieved before the end of the world. It is because Jerusalem is the center of the world that Paul is so zealous of keeping contact with the church there, and is sending gifts.¹²

Paul's relationship with the Jerusalem church was good. We have seen in the previous chapter that the two great purposes of the collection were to provide relief for the poor and to establish a visible and tangible bond of unity. Indeed, in Acts 9:29 Paul had preached in Jerusalem. According to Acts 21:17 the brethren welcomed Paul to the city, and rejoiced at his success among the Gentiles. It was the Jews who plotted his death (Acts 26:21), and Paul specified to the Jewish elders in Rome that the Jews in Jerusalem objected to him (Acts 28:19). In Romans 15:30 he prayed that he would be delivered from the Jerusalem unbelievers. These unbelievers must have been Jewish, for it would be difficult to imagine Gentile unbelievers so violent against Paul. In addition Paul said to Felix in Acts 24:16, "I always take pains to have a clear conscience toward God and toward men." Paul identified his opponents, those of Jesus, and those of the Jerusalem Christians, as Jews in 1 Thessalonians 2:14-16.

Paul also had respect for the temple and for Jewish customs. He cut his hair according to the Nazarite vow (Acts 18:18). He purified

¹²Johannes Munch, "Israel and the Gentiles in the New Testament," Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, I (1950), 29.

himself with four other men (Acts 21:26; 24:18). Before Festus Paul stated his innocence of any offense against "the law and the temple" (Acts 25:8).

The Eschatological Gift

Paul brought a gift for Jerusalem. The giving of gifts to a person in a superior position is a practice that dates from ancient times. There is evidence that this was done in the ancient world¹³ as well as in the Old Testament proper.

Giving gifts was a common practice in the Old Testament. In hopes of appeasing his unseated brother Jacob gave gifts to Esau

¹³S. A. Cook gives the background for the giving of gifts in the ancient world. He dates the letters as being from the fourteenth century B. C. He says, "The letters from Amarna and Boghaz Keui reveal an internationalism, even a certain cosmopolitanism, the extent of which is still only imperfectly known. The great powers were in constant communication; they wrote to one another as brothers, they mourned deaths, and they announced or congratulated new accessions. They made elaborate defensive alliances, and sealed them by inter-marriages, taking care, where necessary, to safeguard the position of their married daughters. . . . Rich presents were given, and boldly demanded--Egypt was notoriously rich in gold--and a letter without a present could be almost a diplomatic incident. They closely scrutinized the quality of the gifts and took notice of the treatment of the messengers--some of whom were veritable ambassadors. They kept a jealous eye, too, upon the frequency of the visits, and saw that they were made with proper state. Thus the Babylonian king Burnaburiash (Burraburiash) found it disgraceful that Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) sent only five chariots to conduct his daughter to Egypt. S. A. Cook, "Syria and Palestine in the Light of External Evidence," in The Cambridge Ancient History, J. B. Bury, et al., eds. (Second edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), II, 291.

(Genesis 32:13-21).¹⁴ Jacob gave gifts to Joseph in Egypt so that Simeon might be released and so that his family might obtain food (Genesis 43:11). Jesse sent David to Saul with wine and a kid (1 Samuel 16:20). David brought cheese to the commander of the army in which his brothers served (1 Samuel 17:17). In the above instances the gifts were presented as an act of appeasement or harmony.

David was perhaps the first Jewish king who received gifts much as a non-Jewish king came to expect. David was presented with gifts as a way of acclaiming his ascendancy. Nabal, a commander who would not rally behind David's drive to establish himself king and who would not give gifts, was struck dead. Abigail, Nabal's wife, gave gifts to David because "God has appointed you prince over Israel." (1 Samuel 25:30). Because David had been anointed king he took spoils from neighboring nations (1 Samuel 27:91; 30:20; 2 Samuel 8:7,8). At the conclusion of one of his forays he sent part of the spoils to the elders of Judah (1 Samuel 30:26).

¹⁴Esau, the father of the Edomites, is not cast in a good light in the Midrash in Psalm 68:29, which reads, "When shall kings bring presents unto Thee? When the kingdom of Edom is destroyed," as found in The Midrash on the Psalms, translated by William Braude (2 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, c.1959), I, p. 548.

The gifts given to Jacob are compared to the ones which will be given to the Messiah, which, in turn, are compared with the ones given to Solomon. The Midrash on Genesis 33:10 reads: One of the common people said to R. Hoshaya: "If I tell you a good thing will you repeat it in my name?" "What is it?" asked he. "All the gifts which the patriarch Jacob made to Esau," replied he, "the heathens will return them to the Messiah in the Messianic era." "What is the proof?" "The Kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall return tribute (Psalm 72:10)," as found in The Midrash Rabbah, translated under the editorship of H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (10 vols.; 3rd edition; London: Soncino Press, 1961), II, 724.

But it was only when David established Israel as a strong military nation that gifts came to Israel from beyond its borders. When David took the stronghold of Zion, Hiram, king of Tyre, sent messengers, and presented David with a house in Jerusalem, built with his own laborers and materials (2 Samuel 5:12). When the king of Hamath heard that David had defeated a common enemy Hadadezer, he sent to David articles of silver and gold and bronze (2 Samuel 8:9,10). As a sign of special esteem Hamath sent these gifts by the hand of his son Joram. These items together with more spoil from other nations David "dedicated to the Lord" (2 Samuel 8:11). Later when Hezekiah was sick, the king of Babylon sent envoys with letters and presents (2 Kings 20:12-19; Isaiah 39).

The greatest occasion for giving gifts in the Old Testament is the account of the queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon (1 Kings 10 and 2 Chronicles 9).¹⁵ Previously Hiram, king of Tyre, had presented Solomon with 120 talents of silver (1 Kings 9:11-14). The reign of

¹⁵R. B. Y. Scott has discovered a number of linguistic usages in Kings 10:1-10,13, which date the narrative as post-exilic. R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in the Ancient Near East," in Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East, Martin Noth and D. W. Thomas, eds. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, c.1955), pp. 268-269. John Gray, 1 and 2 Kings in The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, c.1963), p. 241, comments that the account is enhanced with items beyond fact, but he acknowledges that the historical basis for the queen's visit is likely a trade mission. James Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, The Book of Kings in The International Critical Commentary (New York: Scribners, c.1951), p. 225, agree with Gray, but add that there is "superabundant exaggeration." Jacob M. Myers, 2 Chronicles in The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, c.1965), p. 56, agrees that the underlying notion is trade and commerce.

Solomon was one of the most glorious moments in Israelite history. The fact that the story of the queen's visit is embellished in Jewish folklore testifies to the wide acceptance and popularity of the narrative.

The Scriptures do not tell us the riddles and questions put to Solomon by the queen, but late Jewish tradition has filled the void. For instance, the queen asked, "Seven there are that issue and nine that enter; two yield the draught and one drinks." To which Solomon replied, "Seven are the days of a woman's defilement, and nine the months of pregnancy, two are the breasts that yield the draught, and one the child that drinks it." The queen asked further, saying, "A woman said to her son, 'Thy father is my father, and thy grandfather my husband; thou are my son, and I am thy sister.'" Solomon was quick to reply that it was the daughter of Lot speaking to her son.¹⁶

The story of the queen's visits and Solomon's prosperity is also reported in The Koran.¹⁷ According to the Koran Satan had hid from the queen and her country the glories of Solomon's reign, but Solomon soon invited the queen to come to Israel and to test him. There is also the legend that just as Solomon accepted gifts for his temple from Gentile nations so also did Moses accept gifts from Gentile

¹⁶These and other folk tales of the queen's visit and of Solomon's wisdom are reported by James George Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament (London: The Macmillan Co., 1919), II, 564-570.

¹⁷The Koran, translated by N. J. Dawood (Revised edition; Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1959), pp. 81-87.

nations for the tabernacle, and so also will the Messiah.¹⁸

An exact parallel may be drawn between the relationship of the queen of Sheba to Solomon and that of the Gentiles to Israel as pictured in the prophets. At the dedication of the temple, Solomon prayed that the glory of the temple would turn the mind of the visitors "to know thy name and fear thee" (1 Kings 8:43). The queen of Sheba came, saw the splendor and beauty of the temple, and admitted that Solomon surpassed all that she had expected in his wisdom and wealth. But there is no indication that she accepted Solomon's faith. She acknowledged and praised Solomon's god, and was impressed with what he had done in Israel. That was the extent of her regard.

The same picture of the Gentiles and Israel is given in the book of the prophet Isaiah. The Gentiles will acknowledge Israel's God, they will heed the Law, and they will recognize Israel's greatness. But the fact is that they will be Israel's servants. They do not become part of the community of Israel. They are not on equal ground with the chosen people. The Gentiles, as in the case of the queen of Sheba, stand in a subordinate position.

The giving of gifts to Jerusalem is a theme that is continued in inter-testamental literature. At the time of Onias, the high priest,

¹⁸Louis Ginsberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942), III, 166. The folktale describes the gifts from Babylonia, Media, Greece, and Ethiopia, but iron from Rome will not be accepted in spite of Rome's descendency from Esau, because Rome destroyed the temple with greater fury and delight than others. Innumerable legends of Solomon are detailed in IV, 125-176.

when the country was at peace, "even kings themselves did honor the place and glorify the temple with noblest of presents; so much so that Seleucus the king of Asia actually defrayed, out of his own revenues, all the expenses connected with the ritual of sacrifices" (2 Maccabees 3:1-3). Josephus relates how Euergetes, one of the Ptolemies of Egypt, offered his thank-offering for defeating Syria, not in Egypt, but in Jerusalem.¹⁹ Josephus reports that "all the kings of Asia had honored that temple with their donations and with the most splendid of gifts dedicated thereto."²⁰ Moreover, the temple was highly esteemed by all mankind, for "Greeks and barbarians" came "with zeal to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place."²¹ "Worshippers of God" sent contributions to the temple, which enabled the temple to be elaborately constructed.²²

It was for the prophets to take the actual occurrences of giving gifts to Israel and to develop them into a dream of the future glory of the nation. That "the wealth of nations" would flow to Jerusalem is repeated elaborately in Isaiah 60-66, but the thought is found in prior sections of Isaiah, in Jeremiah, in Zechariah and in the Psalms as well.

Psalm 68:29 says that after the tribes of Israel bless and praise

¹⁹Josephus, Contra Ap., II. 5.

²⁰Josephus, Ant., XIII. 3. 4.

²¹Ibid., V. 1. 3.

²²Ibid., XIV. 7. 2.

God in procession, then "because of the temple at Jerusalem kings shall bear gifts to thee." According to Psalm 96:8 the Gentiles are to "ascribe to the Lord the glory due his name; bring an offering, and come into his courts." Psalm 72:10 says, "May the ships of Tarshish and the isles render him tribute." The gifts of the queen of Sheba are not forgotten for the verse goes on, "May the kings of Sheba and Seba bring gifts." In Isaiah 45:14 the Lord says, "The wealth of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over to you and be yours." That the temple was to be "a house of prayer for all people" (Isaiah 56:7) is quoted by Jesus in Mark 11:17 to justify his cleansing of the temple for the coming in of the foreigners. Zechariah 14:14 reads, "And the wealth of all the nations round about shall be collected, gold, silver, and garments in great abundance."

The greatest chapter to picture the wealth of nations flowing to Israel as the grand dream of the Jewish people is Isaiah chapter 60. On this chapter Joachim Jeremias comments that it "exercised the greatest influence upon the expectation of the future in later Judaism and in Rabbinism."²³ Several observations may be made about the chapter.

1. It is post-exilic.²⁴

²³Jeremias, "The Gentile World in the Thought of Jesus," Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 3 (1952), 26.

²⁴James Muilenburg dates the chapter "shortly after 538 B. C." Exegesis on Isaiah 60, Interpreters Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1956), V, 698.

2. The theme of the chapter is "glory."
3. Nothing is said of the Messiah. Jerusalem, as the center of the Jewish commonwealth, receives the gifts.
4. The sea is cast in a good light in verses 6 and 9. The common Jewish attitude of fearing the sea is reversed because of the great changes in the eschatological age.
5. Verse 6 recalls the visit of the queen of Sheba.
6. The apostate Jew will return to his ancient faith (verse 4).
7. For the Jews of that day the gifts and pilgrimage of the Gentiles are real and actual. James Muilenburg comments that "it is a mistake to divorce the literal and material from the symbolic and spiritual."²⁵
8. It has been noted that "glory" is the theme of the chapter. $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$, besides meaning "splendor, brightness and radiance" can also mean "wealth."²⁶ Thus in Genesis 31:1, where the Hebrew is $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ and the Septuagine has $\rho \sigma \lambda$, the correct translation is "wealth." This duality of meaning is reflected in Isaiah 60, where $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$ seems to be "splendor, brightness" in verses 1,

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, Francis Brown, et al., eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 458-459.

2 and 13a, and "wealth" in verses 5, 11 and 13b.

It is in the context of a great universalistic hope that we must understand the wealth of nations coming to Israel. The post-exilic age expects the Lord to be king over the whole world.²⁷ At the same time the "Word of the Lord" will proceed from Jerusalem to all the world, as Isaiah 2:2-4 puts it,

It shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; and all the nations shall flow to it, and many peoples shall come, and say: "Come let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths. For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

"In the latter day" at Isaiah 2:2 is the only phrase of its kind in Isaiah. In Daniel 10:14 it is a technical term for the Messianic age, and so it is in Isaiah 2:2.²⁸

That the Gentiles will come and offer their gifts is an indication of their subordinate position to Israel. Post-exilic Jewish universalism is qualified. There is no equality of Jew and Gentile. The queen of Sheba acknowledged and praised Solomon's God, but there is no conversion, and no equal status. The same situation holds in post-exilic times. The following phrases demonstrate the subordinate

²⁷The thought is found in Isaiah 40-66, but also especially in the Psalms. Ps. 22:27-29; 65:2; 66:4; 67:7; 68:18; 86:9; 96:4,8,10-13.

²⁸James Mullenburg, exegesis on Isaiah 2:2, p. 180.

position of the Gentiles over against the Israelites: "they shall come over in chains and bow down to you" (Isaiah 45:14); "foreigners will build your walls and their kings shall minister to you" (Isaiah 60:10); if a nation does not go up to Jerusalem at the feast of booths, "there will be no rain upon them" (Zechariah 14:17); "you shall suck the milk of nations" (Isaiah 60:15).

These dreams seem to have reached a peak in the second century B. C. The Maccabean military success fostered the hope of complete freedom from foreign domination and perhaps even the hope of nationalistic expansion.²⁹ The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs is strongly tinged with this kind of universalism; and the salvation of the Gentiles is openly taught.³⁰

The following quotations testify to the extensiveness in post-exilic times of the eschatological hope that Gentiles would offer gifts. The Sibylline Oracles (III, 657) reads as follows: "And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, with gold and silver and purple adornments. The land shall bear her increase, and the sea shall be full of good things." These gifts come from the Gentiles for "all the kings of the Persians shall succor it [the royal

²⁹So Robert H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (First edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), II, 358.

³⁰Testament of Levi 2:11; 4:4; 8:14; Testament of Naphtali 8:3; Testament of Asher 7:3; Testament of Dan 6:7; Testament of Judah 25:5; Testament of Benjamin 9:2; 10:5; the same attitude is found in the Psalms of Solomon 17.

tribe] with gold and brass and well-wrought iron" (III, 292). The Psalms of Solomon (17:34) tell of the nations that shall come from the ends of the earth to see God's glory "bringing as gifts her [Israel's] sons who had fainted."

The writer of the book of 1 Enoch envisions the great day with these words:

There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him [the Elect One] gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full (1 Enoch 53:1).

Tobit characterizes the future in this way:

A bright light shall shine unto all the ends of the earth; Many nations shall come from afar, and the inhabitants of the utmost ends of the earth unto thy holy name; With their gifts also in their hands unto the King of heaven, generations shall utter rejoicing in thee (Tobit 13:11).

The Midrash explains Song of Solomon 7:2 by quoting a rabbi who said that just as wheat sucks in water, so Israel shall suck in the wealth of nations.³¹

There are minor variations on the theme of the wealth of nations coming to Jerusalem. These differences occur in the quotations from Scripture and from the inter-testamental literature: sometimes the gifts are material possessions, sometimes they are the Gentile people themselves, sometimes the gift consists of the errant sons of Israel; the gift may be for the temple, for the city, for the kingdom of Israel, or for the Lord himself. There is no pattern of circumstances

³¹As found in The Midrash Rabbah, IX, 283.

for the actual giving. What may be said is that the gift is an honoring of the place Israel has in the whole economy of God's salvation.

The literature of inter-testamental times adds one new element. Whereas in the prophets and the Psalms the gift is for Israel, or for Israel's God as king, in the inter-testamental literature the gift is presented to the Messiah. In the folklore and traditions of these times, which embellished the visit of the queen of Sheba, gifts are now also given to the Messiah.

For instance, the Midrash on Psalm 87:6 reads, "The nations of the earth will bring gifts to the King Messiah."³² The Midrash on Numbers 7:13, commenting on the word "full" says, "the nations brought gifts to Solomon, and will in time to come bring similarly to the King Messiah."³³

In singular fashion the Messiah received gifts when the Magi came from the East and presented him with their treasures (Matthew 2:1-11). Strack-Billerbeck recognizes the Old Testament precedent for this event when it says, "Dass die Heiden dem Messias Geschenke darbringen werden, ist eine alte juedische Erwartung."³⁴

³²As found in The Midrash on the Psalms, II, 77.

³³As found in The Midrash Rabbah, VI, 529.

³⁴Herman L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash (Muenchen: Beck, 1922-1928), I, 83.

There is only slight mention of our topic in the literature of the Qumran community. Because of their isolationism, their strict adherence to Jewish law, and their disregard for wealth, we would expect a lack of attention to the Gentiles. However, the Gentiles are included in God's salvation according to the words of the Manual of Discipline concerning the president of the community: "For God hath appointed thee and make obeisance unto thee, and all peoples shall serve thee."³⁵

The thought that the wealth of nations would come to Jerusalem must have been widely accepted among the Jewish people generally, and of long standing, for the idea appears in Qumran literature at least once.

The War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness says:

Be a multitude of possession in Thy fields, silver and gold and precious stones in thy palaces. Zion rejoices exceedingly, and shine forth, O Jerusalem, with songs of joy, and let all the cities of Judah exult! Let thy gates be continually open, that the wealth of nations may be brought unto thee; and let their kings minister unto thee, and all that oppressed thee make obedience to thee, and lick the dust of thy feet.³⁶

These passages of the wealth of nations flowing to Jerusalem, the Word of God going out from Jerusalem, and the pilgrimage of the Gentiles represent the attitude that Gentiles are included in God's purposes. But these expectations do not imply that the Jews engaged in missionary work among the Gentiles. On this point Ferdinand Hahn says,

³⁵Theodor H. Gaster, editor and translator, The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, c.1956), p. 92.

³⁶Ibid., p. 296.

Even though it [universalism] may have been an extremely vital movement, often borne along by genuine enthusiasm, yet it can hardly be spoken of as a "mission." For there is no question of a real mission--nowhere is their laid claim to a special divine commission--nor does the Old Testament eschatological basis of the conversion of Gentiles play a decisive part.³⁷

As we shall see, it is likely that Jesus adopted the Old Testament order of salvation that the apostate Jews would be converted first and that all Israel would be at one with her God, as taught in Jeremiah 3:11-18 and 4:12. According to Isaiah 60:4 and 5 it is only after "your sons shall come from far, and your daughters shall be carried in the arms" that Israel shall be radiant, and then shall come the wealth of the nations. Jeremias remarks that "When Jesus began his ministry, Israel had a missionary age she had never had before and never has had since."³⁸ But the missionary thrust is qualified because efforts must first be made to convert all Israel. In his examination of Matthew 8:11, Joachim Jeremias distinguishes three views Jesus held regarding the Gentiles. Jesus had a harsh word for the Gentiles in Matthew 23:15, Jesus did no missionary work among them, and Jesus forbade his disciples to go out among them in Matthew 10:15.³⁹ His conclusion is: "The calling of Israel by Jesus is preparatory work, it is the presupposition

³⁷Ferdinand Hahn, Mission in the New Testament in Studies in Biblical Theology, 48; (Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, c.1965), XLVIII, 23.

³⁸Jeremias, "The Gentile World in the Thought of Jesus," Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, 3 (1952), 18.

³⁹Ibid., p. 18-22.

for the coming of the Gentiles. The gathering of the Gentiles is God's powerful eschatological action."⁴⁰

Paul was an heir to these universalistic hopes. We have already seen that he identified himself in continuity with the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. One factor, however, made all the difference for Paul. For him the Messiah had come, and although he is gone for a while, his return was imminent. Paul was sure his generation represented the last one. "The end of the ages has come," he asserted (1 Corinthians 10:11). He went on to say: "The form of this world is passing away" (1 Corinthians 7:31); "The Lord is at hand" (Philippians 4:4,5); "The time is short" (1 Corinthians 7:29); "The whole creation is longing for the revelation of the sons of God" (Romans 8:19); "Salvation is nearer now than when we first believed" (Romans 13:11,12).

However, Paul did not adopt the prevailing notion that the conversion of the Gentiles was dependent on the righteousness of all Israel.⁴¹

⁴⁰Ibid, p. 28.

⁴¹The position which the "nations" stood over against Israel was twofold. If Gentiles were particularly hostile to God's People, Israel hoped for their destruction. The Hauptmotive, however, especially found in the prophets, was that since God was the God of the whole creation his salvation was ultimately intended for all. A. Jepsen, "Eschatologie im Alten Testament," in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, edited by Kurt Galling. (Dritte Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1957--), II, cols. 655-662. A notion among the rabbis was that the Gentiles will not come to accept Israel's God until the time that all Israel was pure and had been restored. See George Foot Moore, Judaism (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), II, 357-361, 362 and 366. Moore makes clear how Elijah was to call Israel to repentance. Such a scheme that all Israel had to be converted first is adopted by Johannes Munch, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, translated from Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte by Frank Clarke (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1959), p. 37, and by Keith Nickle, The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy in Studies in Biblical Theology (Naperville, Illinois: Alex R. Allenson, c.1966), XLVIII, 131.

In spite of the fact that the Jews had rejected Jesus, the message of salvation was to go to the Gentiles. This missionary work was part of Paul's call. In point of fact, to Paul had been revealed the mystery that had been hidden for ages, and which was now made manifest to him and to the saints (Colossians 1:26). The content of the mystery is that Gentiles are "fellow heirs, members of the same body" (Ephesians 3:10). This new message of Paul is "now disclosed through the prophetic writings" and is being made known to the Gentiles (Romans 16:26). The revelation of this mystery is directly associated with the work of Christ, for Ephesians 3:11 says, "This was according to the eternal purposes which he has realized in Christ Jesus our Lord." The revelation of this mystery is inseparably connected with Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles (Ephesians 3:1-4; 1 Corinthians 4:1).

We have shown that Paul's self-awareness of having been directly called by God to the specific task of proclaiming salvation through Christ to the Gentiles is inseparably linked to his conversion. Through his conversion he saw his work in a new light, and he determined to hasten the coming of the parousia. The promises of the prophets must be fulfilled.⁴² The Word must proceed from Jerusalem, and the Gentiles must return to the sacred city with gifts. All this must be done in a relatively short time; for the reason that the end is near.

Although Paul was commissioned in Antioch, and Antioch was the point of departure for his missionary journeys, Paul did not turn his

⁴²Such is the conclusion of Hans Schoeps, p. 219.

back on Jerusalem. In Romans 15:18-21 he gave a rapid survey of his work as apostle, saying that (v. 19), "from Jerusalem and as far around as Illyricum I have fully preached the Gospel."⁴³ Birger Gerhardsson comments that, "We see from this formulation how self-evident it was for Paul to place Jerusalem at the centre of the word of God, that word which in the latter days was to go out even to the Gentiles."⁴⁴

The acceptance by the Gentiles of God's salvation presented Paul with a problem. What now of the Jews, especially considering the fact that they had rejected the Christ? This hardening of Israel is also a mystery (Romans 11:25).

In Romans 9-11 Paul developed his understanding of the situation of the Gentiles over against Israel. Here the complete reversal of the dominant order of salvation by the rabbis is evident. Because Israel was so stubborn and so self-reliant, God would take from them the ability to hear his Word (Romans 9:33; compare Isaiah 28:16; Romans 10:21, cfr. Isaiah 65:2; Romans 11:8, cfr. Isaiah 29:10). Only after the Word had found a response among the Gentiles (Romans 9:25, compare Hosea 2:23; 1:10, 10:20, Isaiah 65:1) would it again be received in Israel.

⁴³Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind translated from the German Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte by Frank Clark (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1959), p. 31, calls this "representative universalism."

⁴⁴Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, c.1961), p. 274. We do not agree with Gerhardsson when he says that the Gentiles were obligated to support the Jerusalem church, and that Galatians 6:6 is an application of this principal.

Paul could not and did not accept the apparent exclusion of Israel from the salvation of God as being final. The method that Paul adopted to make Israel come around, even after their rejection of Christ already, was to make Israel jealous of the Gentiles who received what in the past had been exclusively theirs (Romans 11:11).

Paul's attempt to make the Jews jealous is developed by Johannes Munck.⁴⁵ In the Old Testament God had used Gentiles previously to arouse the Jews to faithfulness. When Israel was in the wilderness, God said, "I will stir them to jealousy with those who are no people; I will provoke them with a foolish nation" (Deuteronomy 32:21). The pseudepigraphic Testament of Benjamin adds that, "And he shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as he reproved Esau through the Midianites."⁴⁶

The collection project was part of Paul's plan to make Israel jealous. The moneys were carried to Jerusalem by Gentile delegates. Paul's final trip to Jerusalem with the collection was part of the eschatological scheme of things which he propounded so clearly in

⁴⁵Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind translated from the German Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte by Frank Clarke (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1959), pp. 44-47. Hans Schoeps, p. 244, disparages Munck's analysis and says of Paul's views of the Heilsgeschichte in Romans 9-11 that "there is much fantasy in all this." Leander Keck, "The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament," Zeitschrift fuer die Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft, 56 (1965), 126, also rejects Munck's presentation of Paul's motives.

⁴⁶Testament of Benjamin 10:10. The reference is how the Midianites avenges Israel for their sins at the direction of God himself, in Judges 6:1-6.

Romans 9:11. Paul's eschatology was not orientated to some distant future, but to the end of days which, he was sure, had already dawned. Paul saw himself as the instrument of God to bring the wealth of nations from the Gentiles to the holy city.

The Eschatological Motifs

Seven motifs are found in the Scriptures which demonstrate that Paul's collection project had eschatological significance. Each motif could be quite inconsequential by itself, but taken together, and combined with the theme of the wealth of nations flowing to Jerusalem in the prophets, they round out the picture and establish the collection as the gift from the nations which was to come to Jerusalem "in the latter days." We shall discuss the eschatological motifs according to the following order.

Spirit

Paul's decision to make a final journey to Jerusalem before going to Rome was not just a resolve of his own, but the trip was undertaken according to the direction of the Holy Spirit. He went to Jerusalem "bound by the Spirit" (Acts 20:22), and having "resolved in the Spirit" to do so (Acts 19:21). There were signs from the Spirit not to go (Acts 21:4,10-12). But the difference for Paul seemed to be that these opposite urgings came to him indirectly from the Spirit through others, whereas the message to make the journey was given to him directly.

The appearance and operation of the Spirit was thought of as a sign of the end. According to Acts 1:8 Jesus promised the Spirit to be

present with the disciples between the time of his first and second coming. The appearance of the Spirit meant that salvation will go to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8; 2:29), that is, salvation would go to the Gentiles. The consummation of all things would soon follow. Alan Richardson concludes that "the Spirit was projected into the future," while the more ordinary affairs of the present were often to have been said to be revealed through the mediation of angels.⁴⁷ As Jesus had promised, the Spirit had come. The Spirit had been given to the disciples at Pentecost, thus fulfilling the Old Testament prophecies (Joel 2:28-32). The presence of the Spirit indicated that the end was not far away.

All of Paul's work and life was performed at the Spirit's bidding. The Holy Spirit in Acts 13:2 said, "set apart for me Paul and Barnabas, for the work to which I have called them." The Spirit prevented Paul from preaching in Asia and Bithynia (Acts 16:6,7). The Spirit revealed to Paul that "in every city imprisonment and afflictions" awaited him (Acts 20:23). In Paul's own words his entire ministry was according to the Spirit, for he said, in Romans 15:18,19,

For I will not venture to speak of anything except what Christ has wrought through me to win obedience from the Gentiles, by word and deed, but the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.

⁴⁷Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, c.1958), p. 106.

"By the love of the Spirit" (Romans 15:30) Paul prayed that his gift for Jerusalem would be well received by them. Having the Holy Spirit himself, Paul gave it to the Ephesians (Acts 19:1-7). The Jews in Rome, to whom Paul spoke during his imprisonment, were like their fathers, because they failed to heed the prophet's warnings, so that the Spirit testified against them (Acts 28:17-29).

Feast

The second eschatological motif is "feast." In order to be present in Jerusalem for Pentecost, Paul had to hasten his journey and by-pass Ephesus (Acts 20:16). Because of the great number of pilgrims from all over the Mediterranean world it would be appropriate for Paul to present his gift at such a world significant event as Pentecost. To the widest possible audience the collection would thus demonstrate that the Gentiles had received God's salvation and had responded according to God's purposes. In addition, by presenting it at such a time, Paul could vindicate his loyalty to the Jewish people. His attendance at the temple would further that intention. It seemed that Paul did arrive for the feast since there was "spare time" for a visit of seven days in Tyre (Acts 21:4), and of a few days at Caesarea (Acts 21:10).

Of the three major Jewish religious observances it seems that the Feast of Tabernacles had the greatest significance for the Jews of the diaspora. Strack-Billerbeck comments that, "Dies (Laubhuettenfest) war das Fest zu welchem die meisten Festpilger aus der Diaspora nach

Jerusalem zu wallfahrten pflegten."⁴⁸ A tradition going back at least to the third century has it that seventy bullocks were offered during Tabernacles for the seventy Gentile nations.⁴⁹ The thought of Yahweh's enthronement as king of the whole world was one of the leading ideas associated with the feast.⁵⁰

In Isaiah 2:3 and 56:6,7 there are hints that the presentation of the wealth of nations was associated with the temple cult. However, the prophet Zechariah explicitly suggested that the offering of the Gentiles would be made at Tabernacles. Zechariah 14:16 says, "Then every one that survives of all the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of booths."

From our point of view it might have been more significant for Paul to make his offering at the Feast of Tabernacles. However, there are several similarities between Pentecost and Tabernacles. At both feasts a great number of Jews were present from the diaspora. The season for the presentation of firstfruits, which began at Pentecost, concluded with the Feast of Tabernacles. On both occasions the temple tax from areas beyond Jerusalem were presented;⁵¹ Philo called these

⁴⁸Strack-Billerbeck, I, 765.

⁴⁹As cited from the Mishnah (Suk. 55B) by Joseph Bonsirven, Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Christ (New York: Holt, Rinehardt, and Winston, c.1964), p. 69.

⁵⁰So Robert C. Denton, exegesis on Zechariah 14:9, Interpreter's Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, c.1956), VI, 1113.

⁵¹Mishnah, Bik. 1:10.

offerings *ἑπιρροή*.⁵² At both festivals a Jew was not to appear before the Lord empty-handed, but he was to make an offering "as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he has given you" (Deuteronomy 16:17). This corresponds to the advice of Paul in 1 Corinthians 16:2, that one was to give to the collection "as he prospers."

Even if Paul did not arrive in time for Pentecost, as he intended, we can be sure that he was present in Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles some time later. Either festival might be appropriate for him to present the eschatological gift.

Harvest

We now turn our attention to the topic of harvest. At both the Feast of Weeks and the Feast of Tabernacles harvest offerings were made. Harvest is also a theme that is associated with the last days. Jesus said (Matthew 13:39), "The harvest is the close of the age."⁵³ According to Isaiah 9:3 when the Gentiles come to Israel it will be "as with joy at the harvest." And in a negative way "a harvest is appointed" as a time for punishment for Israel.⁵⁴ Paul did not use the usual word for harvest, *θερισμός*, but spoke instead of a *γέννημα* (2 Corinthians 9:10). On other occasions Paul used the word *καρπός* (Romans 1:13; Ephesians 5:9; Philippians 1:11,22; 4:17).

⁵²Philo, De spec. leg., I, xiv, 78.

⁵³See also Matthew 9:37,38; 13:30; John 4:35; Rev. 14:15.

⁵⁴See also Isaiah 18:4,5; Jeremiah 8:20; Joel 3:13.

Paul quoted Exodus 16:18 in 2 Corinthians 8:15. The Exodus passage reads, "He who gathered much had nothing over, and he who gathered little had no lack." Paul used the practice of equal manna for all Israelites in the Old Testament as warrant for this collection which would equalize the abundance of the Corinthians with the poverty of the Jerusalem Christians.⁵⁵

In 2 Corinthians 9:6 Paul spoke of the collection in terms of sowing, as follows: "He who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully." In these same terms Paul stated that a person shall reap either corruption or eternal life according to what he has sowed (Galatians 5:6).

According to 2 Corinthians 9:10 Paul said that the presentation of a gift to the collection would ἀὐξήσει τὰ γενηθήματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὑμῶν. These words are reminiscent of Hosea 10:12 and Isaiah 55:10. The context of these passages are noteworthy. The Isaiah passage is from a pericope concerned with the participation of all nations in the salvation of God. In the Hosea passage (10:12) the prophet addressed these words to his fellow Jews: "For it is time to seek the Lord, that he may come and rain salvation upon you." Paul, however, made a complete change in the meaning of the text by applying it to the Gentiles.

In addition, for Paul the fruits of the Spirit were a sign of the

⁵⁵Keith Nickle, The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy in Studies in Biblical Theology (Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Alenson, c.1966), XLVIII, 121, n. 179, cites P. Bachmann who pointed out the phrase "in the present time" in the first part of 2 Cor. 8:14 requires a counterpart in the second half, namely, "in the latter time," as is the case in Romans 8:18.

last days (Galatians 5:22; Ephesians 5:9; Philippians 1:11). John the Baptist had also asked for fruits of repentance (Matthew 3:8). According to Philippians 4:17 Paul spoke of the Philippian's gift to him as a *κάρπος*, just as he called his collection the same in Romans 15:28.⁵⁶ There are Old Testament passages which use *κάρπος* in an eschatological setting: Isaiah 27:6; 65:21; Ezekial 36:8; compare Isaiah 3:10; Amos 6:12.

Famine

Related to the theme of harvest is the fact that famine will precede the end time. Famine was a common disaster in the Old Testament world. Abraham went to Egypt because of a famine in Palestine (Genesis 12:10). Jacob and his sons sojourned to Egypt for the same reason (Genesis 42:1). A famine at the time of the judges forced Ruth to live in Moab (The Book of Ruth). During David's reign there was a shortage of food (2 Samuel 21). The prophet Elijah was fed by the widow of Zarephath during a particularly severe famine in the northern kingdom (1 Kings 17,18). Elisha prophesied a famine among the ten tribes (2 Kings 7,8). In the parable of the prodigal son a famine forced the wayward son to return home (Luke 15:14).

A famine can be a sign of God's displeasure, and was often an

⁵⁶Dieter Georgi, Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus fuer Jerusalem (Hamburg: Herbert Reich, 1965), p. 49, concludes that Paul's account of the personal gift to him from the Philippians (Phil. 4:14-20) is a model (Grund und Ziel) of Paul's large collection project.

instrument of punishment.⁵⁷ Ezekiel 14:13 says, "Son of Man, when a land sins against me by acting faithlessly, and I stretch out my hand against it and break its staff of bread and send famine upon it, and cut off from it man and beast." Jeremiah often combined famine with war as a punishment.⁵⁸ Paul listed famine as one of the adversities (Romans 8:35) which cannot separate a man from the love of God in Christ Jesus.

The Old Testament presents famine as part of the events prior to the end. Shortage of food is a public embarrassment to Israel of international significance. When God gives to Israel a new heart and spirit then he "will make the fruit of the tree and the increase of the field abundant, that you never again suffer the disgrace of famine among the nations," (Ezekiel 35:30). According to Jesus, famine is an indication of the time prior to the end.⁵⁹

Paul was embarrassed that poverty existed in the holy city of Jerusalem. The abundance and plenty which would come to Jerusalem through his gift would take away the "disgrace among nations." The relief of this situation would be at a time just prior to the end, and thus the end would be hastened through Paul's work. Paul could also see the poverty in Jerusalem as punishment on the city for not accepting Christ. His famine-relief project would encourage the Jews to accept

⁵⁷ 2 Samuel 21:1,2; Jeremiah 44:18,27; 42:16,17,22; Ezekiel 5:16,17; 6:11; 7:15; 14:13,21; Isaiah 51:19.

⁵⁸ Jeremiah 14:15; 24:10; 27:13.

⁵⁹ Matthew 24:7; Mark 13:8; Luke 21:11.

the Messiah. A previous famine in Judea, which was relieved with gifts sent from Antioch by the hands of Saul and Barnabas, is also put in an eschatological framework, for it was foretold by the prophet Agabus "by the Spirit" (Acts 11:27-30).

Temple

"Temple" is another eschatological motif. Paul was going to Jerusalem with money. The trip was not unlike the journey Jewish officials from the diaspora made with the shekel tax for the temple. However, the temple of God was no longer a building for Paul but human beings themselves.

The temple in Jerusalem was the place where God resided (1 Kings 8:13; 2 Chronicles 3:14; Ezekiel 40-43). The temple building was the "house of the Lord" (2 Kings 11:10). Solomon built a "house for the name of the Lord, the God of Israel" (2 Chronicles 6:10).

For Paul the dwelling place of God is in the community of believers in Christ. In 1 Corinthians 3:16,17 Paul said, "Do you know that you are God's temple, and that God's Spirit dwells in you? If any one destroys God's temple, God will destroy him. For God's temple is holy, and that temple you are." In 2 Corinthians 6:16 Paul argued that the community of believers in Christ can have no partnership with unbelievers because the temple of God can have no union with an idol.

The book of Ephesians uses the simile of a building structure to describe the assembly of believers (Ephesians 2:18-22). The community grows into the one holy temple of God, in which the Spirit dwells (v. 22). Moreover, according to First Peter Christians are being built into a

spiritual house (1 Peter 2:5). And in Revelation the dwelling place of God is not in a building, but it is with his people (Revelation 21).

In the Gospel Jesus took upon himself the role of temple and Jerusalem, for he designated himself as the light of the nations, thus replacing the role the temple and the city had in prophecy (Matthew 12:21; Luke 2:32; John 8:12; 9:15; 12:46; Revelation 21:23). In Jesus "something greater than the temple" was present (Matthew 12:6). Jesus showed his superiority to the temple when he says that he is free from the rule and regulations of the temple, for it was only "not to give offense" that he paid the temple tax (Matthew 17:26). Jesus called his body the temple directly (Matthew 13:2; 14:58; 15:29; John 2:19,21).

Paul thought of the church as a continuation of Jesus' presence in the world. The church is the "body of Christ" (Ephesians 4:12). As the body of Christ all the members of it function together in unity and harmony (Romans 12:4,5; 1 Corinthians 12:12,13; Galatians 3:28).

The transference made by Paul from God residing in the temple to his dwelling in the community of believers has led Wilfred Knox to say that for Paul "the old obligation to support the temple has now become the obligation to support the church."⁶⁰

The church, therefore, replaced all the various recipients in the Old Testament, Jerusalem, temple, Messiah, king to whom Gentiles offered gifts. Israel was formerly the sole possessor of God's mercy, but "not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel" (Romans 9:15). This

⁶⁰ Wilfred Knox, St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem (Cambridge: The University Press, 1925), p. 290, n. 4.

means that "it is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of promise are reckoned as descendants" (verse 8). The new community in Christ is the "Israel of God" (Galatians 6:6). The believers in Christ are the "descendants of Abraham" (Romans 4:16), the "sons of Abraham" (Galatians 3:7), and "Abraham's offspring" (Galatians 3:29). With such an expression as the "Israel of God," Paul was cutting across ethnic social and cultic distinctions. He identified the new community of believers with Israel of old.

Joy

"Joy" is our next eschatological consideration. Paul stated that it was the abundance of joy among the Macedonians that overflowed "in a wealth of liberality" (2 Corinthians 8:2). Paul anticipated that when he had delivered his gift to Jerusalem he would journey to Rome "in the fulness of the blessing of Christ" (Romans 15:29). When Paul had seen his two goals realized--the preaching of salvation to the Gentiles near to Jerusalem, and the return to the Lord of his own people--then he could leave Jerusalem, the center of salvation, behind, travel to Rome, and onward to Spain. "Joy" in Romans 15:32 corresponds to the Old Testament expectation of joy at the fulness of salvation in the end times (Psalm 126:2; Isaiah 12:3,6; 51:3; 61:7,10; 65:18).⁶¹ Paul listed $\chi\lambda\acute{\rho}\alpha$ as one of the eschatological gifts of the Spirit (Galatians 5:22; compare 1 Thessalonians 1:6, Philippians 4:45; also Acts 15:32; Hebrews 10:34).

⁶¹Nickle, p. 142, n. 305.

The Representatives

The last eschatological motif to be considered is the role of Paul's companions on his journey to Jerusalem. It was important that delegates from Gentile Christianity make contact with Jerusalem believers. Many of the believers in Jerusalem were eyewitnesses of the ministry of Christ, and eyewitnesses of him after his resurrection. Besides making contact with the Jerusalem Christians, the many traveling companions of Paul were a pledge of the careful handling of the money and thus for the integrity of Paul's project.

The religious nature of Paul's offering demonstrates the religious role of Paul's companions accompanying him to Jerusalem.⁶² Previously, Paul had designated his two associates to carry out the plans in Corinth as ἀπόστολοι (2 Corinthians 8:23). Moreover, Paul called these two co-workers "the glory of Christ" (2 Corinthians 8:23). A similar religious function was assigned to the Jewish officers who carried the shekel tax to the temple. They "were appointed to carry the sacred tribute; [and] selected on their own merits, from every city those of the highest repute, under whose conduct the hopes of each and all will travel to safety."⁶³

⁶²Of the role of the delegates Karl H. Rengsdorf says, "In these instances (2 Cor. 8:23; Phil. 2:25) the nature of the task, i.e., the conveyance of proofs of love, gives to ἀπόστολος a religious rather than legal significance." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and translated by Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, c.1964), ἀπόστολος, I, 422.

⁶³Philo, De spec. leg., I, xiv, 78.

The representatives⁶⁴ Paul took with him were Gentiles. They represented the Gentile nations of Isaiah 2:2; 60-66. However, they were not seekers or petitioners of Israel, which was the normal situation pictured in the prophets. They came as those who had received God's salvation and who already participate in all the Lord's blessings. They were on an equal standing with the Jews themselves. We can say that these delegates represent the eschatological pilgrimage of nations because of Paul's declarations in his subsequent trial in Caesarea. Before the court of King Agrippa Paul said, "And now I stand here on trial for hope in the promise made by God to our fathers, to which our twelve tribes hope to attain" (Acts 26:6,7). It was for the "hope of Israel" that Paul was in chains (Acts 28:20).

⁶⁴Keith Nickle, p. 68, n. 83, cites Otto Dibelius, Der Werdende Kircke, who suggested that the author of Acts listed seven representatives to correspond to the seven gifts of the Spirit.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We began the investigation into our subject by noting the high priority Paul put on the collection project. He sponsored the undertaking alone, and he carried out the plans and arrangements with the help of subordinates appointed by himself. Since the collection is reported almost exclusively in four Pauline letters, whatever significance the gathering of funds for Jerusalem would have it would have to be a meaning that Paul attached to it.

It seems that previous investigations have used Paul's collection chiefly as a past event by which to reconstruct a chronology of Paul's life. As such, it was an interesting occurrence in the history of the church, but it had no significant bearing on Pauline thought and theology.

The Tuebingen school made the collection an act of submission on the part of Paul to the apostles of the Jerusalem church. Paul, it was asserted, avoided speaking of his inferior discipleship, but the collection betrays the real situation and shows that he was very much in debt to Jerusalem. The literary viewpoint of the Tuebingen school has long since been discarded, but the historical assumption that Paul was dependent on Jerusalem remains. Johannes Munck dealt a devastating blow to these various accents of the Tuebingen school.

Johannes Munck also demonstrated that Paul's project was not simply an interesting historical event. The undertaking had theological

dimensions as well. It had an eschatological dimension especially. The eschatology of the collection has been the subject of our special consideration.

To approach our subject we studied the eight terms Paul used in connection with the collection. There is no fixed term to express the significance Paul had in mind. The word studies brought out three meanings Paul attached to the collection. The offering was to relieve the poverty in the Jerusalem church (διακονία, ἡγορία). Paul's gift was to bind together two separate parts of the Christian church (κοινωνία). Paul interpreted the project in the light of man's relationship with God (χάρις, εὐλογία, λειτουργία, προσ^{φορά}).

These functional purposes demonstrate that Paul had a good relationship with the Jerusalem disciples. Paul saw the poverty in the Jerusalem church; and he sought to relieve it. Moreover, just as the Jerusalem church had given spiritual gifts to the Gentiles, so ought they reciprocate with material assistance.

One of the strongest features of the collection was its ecumenical flavor. Paul was trying to bind together Jews and Gentiles. This was no mean task, for the Jews saw themselves as God's special people, and the Gentiles were considered inferior to them. But in Christ, as Paul knew, there is no longer Jew and Gentile. The collection served as a practical demonstration of their fellowship in Christ.

The collection was undertaken by Paul at the suggestion of Peter, James and John. Therefore, the project can be called an agreement. However, the nature of the agreement concerning the collection was one

made by equals, and not an obligation forced upon Paul by superiors in the Jerusalem church.

In Paul's arrangements there are similarities with the tax which was collected from all Jews for the temple. These similarities are hardly surprising, for we may assume that Paul was acquainted with the tax procedures. The collection is not a tax, for not once does Paul refer to this enterprise in that way.

The deep commitment Paul had to his undertaking makes one wonder if the variety of functions discovered so far is a sufficient explanation for the time and effort Paul expended on it. Paul's eschatology is a way of explaining Paul's interest in this matter.

Paul saw himself in succession to Isaiah and Jeremiah who had been appointed by God before birth to bring salvation to the Gentiles. Paul's expectation for the world was not for its destruction and annihilation, but for its conversion. Paul's generation was the last generation of mankind, and the prophecies of the Old Testament must literally be fulfilled. In addition, Jerusalem would play a definite role in the drama of salvation at the end time. Not only would it be a point of departure for the Word of God to all nations, but it would be the center to which all nations would congregate in final pilgrimage.

The Gentiles would bring gifts to Jerusalem as Isaiah chapter 60 describes. Just as the queen of Sheba gave gifts to Solomon, the Gentiles bring gifts in the last days. Giving gifts to Jerusalem is a theme that occurs in inter-testamental literature, as well as in the folklore of the Jewish people. The giving of the gifts by Gentiles was a sign of their subordinate position to Israel.

The fact that the Gentiles would come to Jerusalem and give gifts was part of the universalism of the post-exilic times. Notwithstanding the words of Jesus to his disciples, "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matthew 10:6), the first century of our era excelled in universalistic hopes. Paul was heir to the visions of the prophets that the Gentiles were somehow included in God's purposes.

However, Paul reinterpreted the order of salvation. The Gentiles do not come as subordinates and suppliants to Jerusalem but as those who had received full salvation. For him Christ made the difference. Because Israel had rejected Christ, the Gentiles and their gifts would come to Jerusalem to make Israel jealous, and thus to convert them. Because Paul's project fulfilled Old Testament prophecy, it was intended and expected to hasten the coming of the end.

Several motifs associated with the collection substantiate our contention that the overriding purpose is eschatology. The Spirit, as a phenomenon of the last days, directed Paul to make the journey to Jerusalem. Paul wanted to make the presentation of his gift at the feast of Pentecost, which had world-wide significance. Paul spoke of the gifts as a "harvest of righteousness." Harvest was a word often used to connote the end of history.

In addition, the prophet Ezekiel had said that famine in Israel would precede the end. Paul's collection would relieve the poverty of Jerusalem, and take from the Jews their "disgrace among the nations." Paul's gift was for the "temple," just as was the temple tax. But for Paul the dwelling place of God was no longer in a building but in the Christian community. The gift was for the poor Christians of Jerusalem.

Paul came to Jerusalem with "joy." Joy in this instance corresponds to the joy of the day when the fulness of salvation would come to the Gentiles. The delegates who accompanied Paul to Jerusalem are Gentiles. They represent, therefore, the pilgrimage of the Gentiles who come to Jerusalem with gifts according to Isaiah chapter 60. Although Paul does not explicitly state the eschatological impact of his project, our investigation has shown that, quite probably, it was in the back of his mind.

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