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A table of contents for *The Expository Times* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_expository-times_01.php

pdfs are named: [Volume]_[Issue]_[1st page of article].pdf

It would be a long but not unfruitful task to follow this psalm through the imaginative meditations of ancient and mediæval interpretation. Not content with historical and literary exegesis, piety turned to mystical allegory. The tabernacles and the courts were contrasted by a refinement of distinction: the one stood for heaven, the other for earth; or the one for the tents of the militant orders, and the other for the houses of the contemplative orders of the religious life. Natural history and spiritual experience were ransacked to illustrate the respective meanings of the swallow and the sparrow as types of Christian souls. The altar was interpreted as the Cross, the Eucharist, the humanity of our Lord, the Church, the throne of heaven beneath which wait the souls of martyred saints. The 'goings-up' of the LXX and the Vulgate were transferred from the Temple steps to the stages of Christian progress in general, or the three ways of salvation—the purgative (repentance), the illuminative (faith), the unitive (love)—by which man climbs upward to God. A variant rendering of 'from strength to strength' as 'from troop to troop' suggested the idea of new pilgrims hastening onward and overtaking and passing band after band of earlier starters, just as the harlot and the publican went into the kingdom of heaven before the priest and the lawyer: 'the first shall be last, and the last first.' 'From fortress to fortress' suggested the idea of timid souls hurrying from one spiritual tower of refuge to the next across the perilous zone of temptation—from their last communion to their next, through days of ordinary life fraught with spiritual danger. There is much here and there that seems artificial and even absurd in

the mysticisms and allegorisms collected in Neale and Littledale's commentary on the psalms from primitive and mediæval writers, but there is also much that came from the very heart of old-world piety, and still comes home to pious minds with the touch of reality. A large part of the appeal which this psalm, like many another, makes to the deepest religious instincts is drawn not from the primary meaning of the psalmist's words, but from the thoughts that have flowed through or gathered round those words in other minds. Even to-day we carry one of its prayers into the sanctuary of Christian worship in the eucharistic hymn of Dr. Bright:

Look, Father, look on His anointed face,
And only look on us as found in Him.

Yet while meditation may fearlessly wander along the paths that open to right and left, and feed on all that offers, we are wisest to study the psalm as it came first from the heart of the faithful Israelite dwelling far away from the sanctuary, or making his toilsome way to the Holy City. So studied, the psalm speaks simply and directly again to all who live in like circumstances. City folk, almost gospel-hardened by continual opportunity of worship, need the reminder of this psalm to make better and deeper use of the wealth of religious privilege at their doors. To country folk in bush and backblock it brings a message of comfort, the blessing of 'spiritual communion,' to those who toil at a distance from the altar, and who must cherish the very hunger itself lest their souls cease to hunger and settle down to live on the lower levels of contented indifference.

The Development of Paul's Doctrine of Dying and Rising again with Christ.

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IN his illuminating Kerr Lectures, *The Gospel and its Tributaries*, Professor E. F. Scott, while denying that Paul was to any large extent influenced by the Mystery Religions, holds that in one or two instances his teaching is most easily explained by assuming that they had supplied him with some of his categories of thought.

'There can,' he says, 'be little doubt, in view of

modern enquiry, that Paul availed himself of various suggestions from the mythologies of his time. Christ is in some measure assimilated to those "Lords" of the Oriental cults who died and were restored to life, and with whom their votaries sought to identify themselves by ecstatic worship. It is hard to say how far Paul intended that all the details of his mystical drama should be taken literally' (*op. cit.*, p. 148).

With such a cautious and tentative suggestion of the influence upon Paul of the Mystery Religions few will have any quarrel. It is, in fact, wholly probable that ideas current in his day *to some extent* shaped his own thinking, and in what follows there is no intention of denying this, yet it would be a mistake, I think, to give this element of analogy any large place in shaping Paul's thought in respect of his remarkable doctrine of dying and rising again with Christ, for, I believe, it is possible to prove that this doctrine is firmly rooted in his own experience: and that not merely in the wide sense of general experience, but in the narrower sense of one specific experience.

The most emphatic statements of the doctrine are, of course, in Ro 6 and Col 2, 3. The first of these, if it stood alone, or if it and the Col. passages were all that we had from the Apostle's pen on the subject, would certainly go far to justify the assumption that his knowledge of the myths of the dying and rising God, current in his day, had been a chief, if not *the* chief, influence at work in the development of this particular moment in his whole conception of the meaning of the Christian salvation. For in these passages the doctrine is applied to all Christians and is definitely associated with the rite of Baptism, which thereby seems to be set in parallel with the initiation ceremonies of the Mystery Cults. Here, however, we must, following Drs. H. A. A. Kennedy¹ and C. A. Anderson Scott,² enter a protest against the easy assumption that Paul regarded baptism as working *ex opere operato*. Whatever he may have taken over from Mystery Religions in the way of hints, suggestions, and similes, two facts are obvious to any careful reader of his Epistles: (a) That salvation was to him a present experience, including liberation from the power of sin, and the imparting of Divine strength, not only, as in the case of the Mystery Religions, a promise of future immortality. (b) That this salvation was appropriated by faith, not by works of any sort. (And I think we must agree with Dr. Anderson Scott that baptism, regarded as effective *ex opere operato*, could not but have been classed by the Apostle as a 'work.')

These two positions are fundamental to Paul's thought.

The object of this article is to give grounds for thinking that Paul's own experience gave him the conception of dying with Christ and rising again with Him in a much more direct and concrete way than seems generally to be assumed. The

conception as it appears in Ro. and Col. has taken on the definite form of a piece of teaching thoroughly familiar to the Apostle himself, and possibly also to his readers. It is something that his mind has worked upon, which now, therefore, has attained to a recognized mode of expression. The Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth (or Cenchreæ), just before the Apostle set out for Jerusalem at the end of the third Missionary Journey. The First Epistle to the Corinthians, although written not very many months earlier, contains no reference to this doctrine, though there are places in it where it might have been appropriately mentioned, notably the two places in which the resurrection of our Lord and the *future* resurrection of the believer are placed in parallel: 'God both raised the Lord, and will raise up us through his power' (1 Co 6¹⁴), and 'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive' (1 Co 15²²). In neither of these is there any suggestion of a present experience. The reference is entirely to the Resurrection at the end. Nor, of course, is there any hint of it in 1 and 2 Th. It seems, then, not impossible that it first formed itself in Paul's mind between the time when he wrote 1 Co., perhaps about the middle of his stay in Ephesus (see Ac 19), and the time when he wrote Ro. just before setting out for Jerusalem. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the conception appears in 2 Co. in what seems to me a more undeveloped form. Chapters 4 and 5 of this Epistle are filled with the Apostle's personal experience, for there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that Moffatt has given the true meaning of the first person plural by rendering throughout with the first person singular. Paul wrote 'we,' but whether or no others may in part have been associated with him in the experience, there can be little doubt that he chiefly meant 'I.' Two verses stand out in 2 Co 4, viz.: v. 10, 'always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body,' and v. 14, 'knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus, and shall present us with you.' When these are read in their context, in which Paul lays stress upon the troubles through which he is passing, and sees opening out before him a higher, more spiritual life than he has hitherto known, the conclusion is strongly suggested that the true source of this doctrine is not the Mystery Religions (though, of course, he may have known something about them, and that knowledge may almost unconsciously have influenced him), but a definite, concrete experience of mortal distress and vital

¹ *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, esp. pp. 244-255.

² *Christianity according to St. Paul*, pp. 122-133.

succour, throughout which he had known the presence of Christ in peculiar strength and vividness.

We are in the unfortunate position of having no definite information as to what terrible experience the Apostle had recently been through, but the first chapter of the same Epistle strongly suggests that not long before leaving Ephesus to journey *via* Macedonia to Corinth (on which journey 2 Co.—or at least the greater part of chs. 1-9—must have been written—the Epistle is probably not a unity), he had been arrested and condemned to death, and then, by some marvellous dispensation of Providence, released. In this terrible experience the presence of Christ had been so strongly with him that he felt himself to be going through the very Passion itself, and then, as despair was turned into joy through release, his experience of return to life seemed like being raised with Christ. Vv. 8-10 are immensely important and must be quoted in full. 'For we would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning our affliction which befell us in Asia, that we were weighed down exceedingly, beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life: yea, we ourselves have had the answer of death within ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God, which raiseth the dead: who delivereth us out of so great a death, and will deliver: on whom we have set our hope that he will also still deliver us.'

It would then seem that the experience of imprisonment and expectation of death hinted at in these verses, because of the overwhelmingly vivid sense of the Divine Succour which went with it, led to a deepening of the Apostle's experience of Christ which finds expression in the fourth and fifth chapters. Paul, we gather, from his conversion onwards had experienced union with Christ. He could refer to that event as God's revelation of 'His Son in me' (Gal 1¹⁶). Now by means of this new experience of affliction he discovers that his sufferings are in some sense the sufferings of Christ. So that in Col 1²⁴ he can make the amazing statement, 'I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church.' As I have elsewhere pointed out,¹ 'Paul . . . realizes that the Christian missionary actually incurs his sufferings in doing the very work that Christ was doing when he suffered on the cross. His sufferings are then the sufferings of Christ. No doubt here Deissmann² is right. Paul regarded the bearing of the sufferings entailed in his apostolic office, as

Christ bearing them, for he was in Christ and Christ was in him, and to him to live was Christ. Nevertheless the mystical experience has its concrete, practical, physical side; it did not come by contemplation of Christ's passion alone, it was an actual suffering in actual circumstances of pain and labour which actually came upon him as he carried out his gospel ministry.' He confesses here, in fact, that he now actually experiences what in Philippians he refers to rather as an aim, 'that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, becoming conformed unto his death, if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead' (Ph 3^{10, 11}). [The difference in his attitude in this matter in Col. and Ph., combined with the view I am trying to express, that a recent experience accounts for what we read in 2 Co., is an interesting confirmation of Professor Duncan's carefully worked out hypothesis of three Asian imprisonments and the early dating of the Imprisonment Epistles.³ For it suggests that Ph. was written before 2 Co. According to Professor Duncan, Ph. is before, and Col. after 1 Co.] If I am right in my hypothesis, we gain from it a clear light on the meaning of a verse in 2 Co. which has often received a mistaken interpretation. In 2 Co 5¹⁴, Paul says, 'For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that one died for all, therefore all died.' This has often been understood to mean that Christ's death was counted [by God] instead of the death of the redeemed, though even apart from our hypothesis that is an inadequate interpretation. But in view of what we have seen, a much more literal interpretation is obvious. The words 'because we thus judge' (*κρίναρτας τοῦτο*) are a natural way of stating the conclusion of an argument. We might translate, 'We have reached this conviction, that one died for all, therefore all died.' The argument is Paul's own recent experience of the presence of Christ in his sufferings, so strongly manifested that he feels himself to be sharing in the death and resurrection of our Lord. The conclusion is the application of this to all believers. What I have known is meant for all. For, however outstanding, or even unique, the Apostle actually may have been, he always regards his own experience as normal and normative for others. Here, then, we have the link between his own unusual and intense experience of tribulation and Divine help, and the calm assumption of Ro 6 and Col 2, that every Christian is united with Christ in death

¹ *The Problem of the Cross*, p. 144.

² The reference is to *The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul*, p. 236.

³ *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry*, by George S. Duncan, B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton).

and resurrection. From this point onwards, Dying with Christ and Rising again with Him is an essential element in Paul's doctrine of salvation. His conversion leading to the experience, 'I am in Christ,' 'Christ is in me' (phrases, no doubt, rightly explained by Deissmann as assertions of the new atmosphere in which the Christian lives¹), was congruent with and led up to this deeper experience. But neither of them is founded upon theory or the analogy of other Religions. Both come out of actual first-hand experience. Both start from an initial *Erlebnis*, both become a continuous *Erfahrung*. [I regret that English does not seem to have such a good distinction as these two German words give.] Both, because he has had, and has, them, are by the Apostle regarded as normal to the Christian life. What he knows *must* be open to all.

One further consequence of this new experience is of the greatest moment in the development of the Apostle's thought. Of late the view that any great development of doctrine can be traced in Paul's Epistles has fallen into abeyance except on one point—eschatology. The Thessalonian Epistles and 1 Co. present an eschatological expectation not dissimilar in essentials from that of Jewish Apocalypses. The transference of the individual from the earthly to the heavenly sphere is by an outward miracle at the end of all things. The spiritual body of 1 Co 15 is perhaps the one element that suggests independent thought on the part of Paul. And that is very significant, for it is a hint of the spiritualizing of the whole conception, which takes place in 2 Co. The comparatively primitive eschatology of 1 Co 15, which even the conception of 'spiritual body' does not redeem from crudity, gives way in the second Epistle to the thought of a spiritual life, developing in the individual in such a way that the spiritual body is ready for the spirit at the moment of death, without the interval of waiting till the general resurrection. There are three points in the great passage 2 Co 4¹⁶–5¹⁰ very important for our study. From it we learn: (1) That Paul had dreaded the interval in the disembodied state, which was implied by the current eschatology. This is clear in 5²⁻⁴. 'Verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with an habitation which is from heaven: if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon that what is mortal may be swallowed up in life.'

¹ *The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul*, pp. 162–180; *Paul*, 2nd ed., pp. 135–142, 296 ff. *et al.*

(2) That Paul was now absolutely certain of his new view of spiritual eschatology and immediate transfer at death to the full life beyond. 'For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens' (5¹). The opening words 'for we know' (*οἶδαμεν γάρ*) imply the conclusion of an argument, and may be taken to mean, 'What we have already said about our experience has now brought to us with absolute certainty a new conception of what lies beyond death. There is no sad interval. We know that all is ready for us in heaven, a spiritual body already awaits us there.'

(3) That the ground for this certainty is the experience summed up in 4¹⁶. 'Though our outward man is decaying, our inward man is renewed day by day.' The great experience of passing through affliction with Christ, so that in it the death and resurrection of the Lord are experienced with Him, is now generalized and applied to the whole course of life. The dying with Him becomes a gradual decay of the outward man. (Does not this, perhaps, mean a progressive separation from sin, rather than an actual decay of the body?) The Resurrection becomes a process of renewal and building up of a 'spiritual body.' If we are right, then, in thus tracing Paul's doctrine of dying and rising with Christ to its source in concrete experience of Divine help in face of death, it seems as if we had also thereby received the key to the one definite development in his thought that can with any certainty be discovered in his Epistles. Both come from the same experience at or near Ephesus during that momentous Ephesian Ministry of which we get such a very brief and incomplete account in Acts.

One further small result of our hypothesis is that it gives an additional argument for the late date of Gal., for which its similarity to Ro. supplies the chief ground. Gal 2²⁰, 'I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live: and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave himself up for me,' gives in different words the same thought of dying and rising again with Christ, and in a form which, like the references in Ro. and Col., suggests a formulated thought definitely accepted, rather than a sudden insight. It would then seem almost certain that this must have been written after 2 Co., and, therefore, presumably about the same time as Ro., just before starting out on the last journey to Jerusalem.