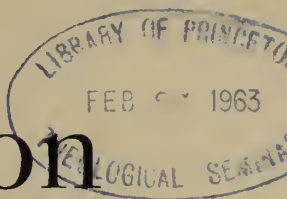


The Princeton Theological Review



CONTENTS

The Ethics of the Old Testament	153
WM. BRENTON GREENE, JR.	
Alleged Development in Paul's Teaching on the Resurrection	193
GEERHARDUS VOS	
Modern Views about Inspiration—And the Truth of Scriptures	227
P. E. KRETZMANN	
Primary Requisites for the Speedy Evangelization of China	245
ALBERT B. DODD	
Is Conscience a Safe Guide?	264
NEWTON WRAY	
Reviews of Recent Literature	275
Survey of Periodical Literature	304

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1929

The Princeton Theological Review

EDITED FOR
THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BY
OSWALD T. ALLIS

Each author is solely responsible for the views expressed in his article
Notice of discontinuance must be sent to the Publishers; otherwise subscriptions will be continued
Subscription rate, Two Dollars a year, single copies Sixty Cents
Entered as Second Class Mail Matter at Princeton, N.J.

BOOKS REVIEWED

ANTHONY, H. D., <i>Relativity and Religion</i>	280
FERM, V., <i>The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology</i>	290
FIFE, R. H., <i>Young Luther. The Intellectual and Religious Development of Martin Luther to 1518</i>	289
GRANT, F. C., <i>New Horizons of the Christian Faith</i>	296
HARRIS, C., <i>First Steps in the Philosophy of Religion</i>	280
HEYBERGER, A., <i>Jean Amos Comenius (Komensky). Sa vie et son oeuvre d'éducateur</i>	288
INGE, W. R., <i>The Church in the World</i>	299
KITTEL, R., <i>Great Men and Movements in Israel</i>	281
KNUDSON, A. C., <i>The Philosophy of Personalism. A Study in the Metaphysics of Religion</i>	277
LATOURETTE, K. L., <i>A History of Christian Missions in China</i>	300
LEETE, F. D., <i>Christianity in Science</i>	275
LINEBERGER, L. O., <i>Towering Figures Among the Prophets</i>	284
ODEBERG, H., <i>3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch</i>	285
RULMANN, J. C., <i>Abraham Kuyper, een Levensschets</i>	286
SHERMAN, C. L., <i>The Moral Self</i>	279
TENNANT, F. R., <i>Philosophical Theology, Vol. I</i>	292

The Princeton Theological Review

APRIL, 1929

THE ETHICS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT*

Any just exposition of Christian Ethics must begin with the ethics of the Old Testament. For this there are two chief reasons: its preparatory character and its permanent value.

I. Old Testament Ethics is in order to Christian Ethics. "The law," we are told, "was a schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ" (Gal. iii. 24). We cannot, therefore, appreciate the perfection that is in Him, unless we master the course appointed by Him as the preparation for it. This is as true of His ethical teaching as it is of His doctrine of grace. Even if the two were essentially different, instead of being different aspects of the same thing, this would be so. The law of Christ would be too spiritual for one who had not entered into the deep spiritual meaning of the law of Moses; and at the same time it is by contrast with the latter that the greater spirituality of the former best appears. The relation in this case is not unlike that between the text-books of the child and the scientific treatises of the man. The concrete illustrations of the former prepare for the abstract statements of the latter, and the naked truthfulness of the latter comes out most clearly when we put them alongside of the former's explanations and illustrations. These, though they make very plain certain

* In the course on "Christian Ethics" which Dr. Greene for many years gave to the students of Princeton Seminary, Old Testament Ethics as the basis of New Testament Ethics naturally received careful consideration. Since there is no subject which is to-day of more interest and even concern to the earnest student of the Old Testament than its ethics, it has been felt that a real service would be rendered by the publication of these lectures. For the privilege of doing this the Editor is indebted to Mrs. Greene.—[Ed.]

ALLEGED DEVELOPMENT IN PAUL'S TEACHING ON THE RESURRECTION

The recent intense occupation with the significance of the Spirit for the structure of the Pauline eschatology has in many respects enriched our knowledge of the subject. At the same time, and offsetting as it were this benefit, it has given rise to certain efforts from the critical side to work out a scheme of development for the Apostle's convictions and expectations as to the resurrection. The resulting views are so radical and deep-cutting, as to have modified in the mind of their supporters not only this one important point but the entire organism of the Pauline teaching. Into these theories and their supposed basis this article proceeds briefly to look.

As just intimated, the idea of the Spirit is made the starting-point and the propelling power of this evolution both in its particular and in its general aspect. Once adopted it is then turned into a search-light throwing its luminous beams on all the high mountain tops of the Apostle's world-view. It de-Judaizes and to not a small extent Hellenizes his Christian thought. The development thus assumed is not, however, like the normal progress that might have been expected in one who once testified concerning himself: "When I was a child I spake as a child . . . now that I have become a man, I have put away childish things" (1 Cor. xiii. 11). It is rather welcomed as a development consisting in the elimination of error, each successive stage of belief contradicting the preceding stage, and in turn being superseded by the following one. The stages in this evolutionary construction and the forces back of them are counted as follows:

The *first* stage of this development is found by these critics in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.¹ It contains an as yet purely-Jewish form of eschatological belief, differing from the Jewish only in being centered around the Person of Jesus. Like *Apoc. Bar. l. 2* it assumes that God will raise the dead,

¹ 2 Thess. is not taken account of in this theory on account of its assumed unauthenticity.

nihil immutans in figura eorum. Paul, we are told, at the time of writing this Epistle, and during his previous preaching, believed that the bodies would be brought up from the grave in the same condition they had when laid therein. The main purpose of his preaching this doctrine to the Thessalonians was to reassure them that those who had recently died would be on the same footing with themselves at the moment of the parousia. Hence nothing is said about the change in the living at that point. The fact of the decomposition of the body in the grave did not trouble Paul, because he took for granted that the time until the parousia would be very short!

The *second* form of the development is represented by the First Epistle to the Corinthians. If the Thessalonians-stage can be called pre-pneumatic, this next one is characterized by the influence exerted by the pneuma-idea. Here the pneumatic eschatology begins. Paul now expects the resurrection to bring about a vast change in the rising body, and expects its occurrence at the very moment of rising. The pneumatic-transformation-idea virtually becomes a part of the resurrection-idea itself. Nor was this conception made possible only by the introduction of the *pneuma*-factor; it became inevitable so soon as the *Pneuma*, whose very function consists in transformation, was closely joined to the event of the resurrection. The Spirit would have denied his own nature, as in very essence a transforming agent, had He been contented with the purely objective task of bringing forth the dead, without effecting a creative change in the somatic substance, which in the resurrection He operates upon. Further, the new man consisting as to his essence in spirit, and the *sarx*, the very opposite of spirit, having its seat in the body, the prime necessity for such a fundamental act as the resurrection can from the nature of the case consist in nothing else than the elimination of the "sarkic" body. This, of course, means the cutting off in reality of all connection between the present body and the body of the resurrection, although it is admitted that this last consequence of the modified view is not in so many words drawn by Paul. Although on such a view the

real continuity lies in the *pneuma*, and no longer in the body, the Apostle nevertheless continues to assign the resurrection to the moment of the parousia. This, we are told, was an instance of inconsistency. It fitted only into the mechanical system of Judaism as exhibited in his own previous position of 1 Thessalonians. The inconsistency necessarily led on to the development of the third position.

This *third* position is based on the observation on the part of Paul, that the Spirit being present in the believer from the beginning of his Christian life, there existed in reality no ground, why his crowning work should be postponed till the moment of the parousia, which, no matter whether Paul thought it distant or near, involved an element of objectionable retardation. The moment of resurrection was now placed at the believer's death. Be it noted, however, that the resurrection placed at that moment savored in no respect of the diluted modern spiritualisation so largely favored in certain circles. It was not to his mind the mere entrance upon a superior incorporeal state, but the entrance upon a better *embodied* state, as refined and spiritualized as that expected during his second period, only no longer postponed till a later point, but immediately accorded in *articulo mortis*. There is, then, no discarding of the resurrection-idea here, but only the remodelling of it on a new basis. This third conviction is found reflected in the remarkable passage, 2 Cor. v. 1-8. It also finds recognition in certain statements of Romans and Colossians. Apart from the logical motivation above stated the impulse towards embracing it arose from the Apostle's experience of the danger of death he had repeatedly incurred in his missionary labors. Hitherto he had believed in such an acute nearness of the Lord's coming as to afford reasonable hope for a life prolonged to that point. Now reckoning seriously with a previous death, he had to reconsider his resurrection-belief in adjustment to it. And it was under the emotion aroused by the thought of the pre-parousia-death, and particularly the inevitably ensuing interval of "nakedness," i.e., the existence of the soul without a covering body, that he found refuge within

this new construction of things. Nakedness could be prevented, if at the very moment wherein the old body slipped off a new somatic garment were produced and put on in order to take its place. It seemed even possible to add to this view the belief in the preëxistence of the new body, as held ready antecedently in heaven, and put to its predestined use at the very moment of the believer's death. In accordance with this new construction he speaks, we are told, in Rom. viii. 19, not of the glorification of the sons of God, but of the *revelation* of the sons of God, an expression adapted to suggest that the glory of God's children already exists and waits only to be manifested. Similarly in Col. iii. 4 the statement occurs that when Christ, who is our life, shall be manifested, the Colossians also shall be *manifested in glory*.

Still a *fourth* standpoint is attributed to Paul, according to which he in certain connections implies the genesis and development of a somatic organism *within the believer* during the course of the *present* life, whilst the earthly body is still upon him. This, however, differs from the preceding stages enumerated in that it does not follow them as something attained in chronological sequence replacing a belief held before. It occurs in Epistles which at the same time reflect one or the other of the previous standpoints. According to 2 Cor. iv. 17 the "weight of glory" is wrought for the believer while he is still in the present state, and according to iii. 18 in the same context, the "transformation into the image of the Lord from glory to glory" takes place gradually here and now as the words themselves suggest. Consistently carried out this would, of course, have led to a considerable modification of what the new exegesis finds in v. 1ff., as above formulated. Not even at death would the draping with a new body have, on such a theory, been rendered necessary. The new body having been already formed within the old body previously to death, all that remained to happen was the slipping off of the old which had hitherto hid the new from view, so that it might be manifested from within.

It will not be necessary to review this scheme of develop-

ment in each of its steps. Only in so far as it involves a deviation from the traditionally accepted doctrine of the resurrection, so largely received from Paul, need we enter into the questions involved. The alleged second stage, that found in 1 Cor. xv, agrees in its broad outlines with the common Christian faith. It is different with the remaining three phases. To these we therefore append some critical remarks.

As regards the first stage the point in question is the absence of the pneumatic factor. It is true that the Spirit is not here explicitly named either as the author of the resurrection-act or as the substratum of the resurrection-life. Does this reveal non-acquaintance on Paul's part with such a circle of ideas? We must not overlook that the absent features did not bear directly upon the purpose of Paul's exhortation. Not the nature, but the fact of the resurrection required stressing. The point that the living should not anticipate the previously dead on this joyful occasion was the point in need of emphatic affirmation. Such Paul affords explicitly. It were, however, foolish to infer from this, that he could not have told his readers much more about the nature of the event, had it been expedient. Indirectly the Epistle shows clearly enough that the idea of the pneumatic character of the resurrection was not unknown to the author, whatever might be the case with his hearers. In iv. 14 the certainty of the readers' resurrection is based on the fact that Jesus "died and rose again." The ground of the certainty can not lie in this, that Christ is now alive, and therefore able to serve as the instrument of resurrection for the others. For in that case there would have been no reason to emphasize that Christ not only rose but "*died* and rose again." The real nerve of the argument is that because in his life their experience had been prefigured, the phase in question must be likewise reproduced in them. Now everywhere in the Pauline teaching the Spirit is the mediating factor, whereby the reproduction of the experience of Christ in believers takes place, and there is no reason to assume that the idea has any other than this same pneumatic background here. We meet even with the phrase "dead in Christ." This

does not apply to any particular class of "dead," e.g. to such alone as had died for Christ's sake; the words do not suggest this, and there is no evidence of early cases of martyrdom in Thessalonica. The phrase "in Christ" can have no other meaning than belongs to it elsewhere. It describes the fundamental, mystical union between the dead and Christ. The phrase "in the Spirit" undoubtedly lies back of it.

In regard to the *second* stage a few brief words may suffice. The main point to take issue with here relates to the assertion that on the view developed by Paul, and taken over from him into the Church's creed, the real continuity between the original body and the resurrection-body is broken off. To be sure, this is more in the nature of a dogmatic contention than of an exegetical finding; it means that to Paul's modified standpoint and for his un-spiritual followers the trend of belief in this direction was leading to that. They were on the point of losing something that had always been precious to their imagination, to wit the recovery of the identical body here possessed. Not now enquiring into the metaphysical or physical or biological elements of the issue but confining ourselves to the purely-exegetical question what Paul's words about the subject may mean, the answer need not be over-difficult nor dubious. To be sure, the figure of "sowing" (*σπείρειν*), which plays so large a rôle in the argument, does not suffice of itself to vouch for Paul's belief in a real continuity (which is still different from complete identity) between what is deposited in the ground and what is raised. Nevertheless by way of implication this idea seems to underlie the word and figures used. Only a mistake has often been made through over-estimating the purport of the representation. Paul did not adopt or frame the figure to the *sole* or even *main* end of stressing the continuity between the two bodies. The argument, in which it lies enclosed, is an argument for the truth of the resurrection in general, and not for this one special point. The idea of "sowing" forms, within the argument as a whole, a means to an end; it is not the end in itself. Hence it gives no information as to the *modus quo* of the

intermediate process between the figurative "sowing" and "harvesting." Its meaning is confined to the twin poles of the mysterious process, its beginning and end. We are sure Paul could and would have felt like the man in the parable, who *knew not* how the growth was brought about. What the actual purpose of the use of the figure was we can only ascertain by carefully considering the course of Paul's argument. It is necessary to go back to vs. 35. Here Paul formulates the two principal objections raised in Corinth, probably first by pagans, but later likewise by Christians, on whom the cavillings of the others had not failed to make some impression. The formulation is as follows: "But somebody will say: how are the dead raised, and with what kind of body do they come?" This, be it observed, is not one question presented in two forms for the sake of emphasis or clearness. Two *distinct* grounds for scepticism are plainly distinguished. The first, "How are the dead raised," ridicules the phantastic folly of believing in the return to life of a dead body. The whole thing was considered as lying beyond the sphere of arguable possibilities. The second objection is contained in the second part of the verse: "With what kind of body do they come?" This second question relates to the indeterminableness or unimaginableness of the form. The Apostle proceeds to deal with these two questions in due order of sequence.² The answer to the former is given in vs. 36; to think that what is "dead" (νεκρόν) cannot be raised is in flagrant contradiction to the facts of experience: "what thou sowest is not made alive except it have died." Death, so far from being an obstacle to quickening, is its very prerequisite. Here the figure of "sowing" is already present; it serves the purpose of pointing to a common law of nature. Quite different is the use to which Paul turns it from vs. 37 onwards. Here the second (or

² The two questions, while logically distinct and recognized as such by Paul in the order of treatment, are not entirely independent, and therefore merged somewhat in the double interrogative sentence: the unimaginableness was in reality a part of the more largely conceived impossibility.

secondary) objection, "With what kind of body do they come?" is met. The objectors found it impossible to frame a concrete conception of the nature of the resurrection-body, that is of its form and appearance. It is important to note that the question of *substance* does not seem to enter into either of the two stages of the argument. What the doubters felt perplexed about, concerned the *quality* of the new bodies, viz. their *external* quality. Perhaps it is not irrelevant here to remember the peculiar mentality of the average Greek (not now including the philosophers). The Greek would want above all in such things the convincing force of vision and imagination. To be unable to form a concrete image of something was of itself an invitation to doubt. In accordance with this Paul speaks throughout the sequel of the discourse (up to vs. 50) of the present and future bodies in terms of quality and appearance. The way of introduction of the substance-question in vs. 50 indicates of itself, that there a new aspect of the mystery is for the first time touched upon.³ Previously to that point the figure of "sowing" served merely to answer the second objection raised, viz. that no concrete visualisation of the body to come could be formed. Paul meets this with an appeal to the richness of God's resources in the bestowal of form, and to his sovereignty in choosing from the available forms in each individual case what seems fitting to Him: "And that which thou sowest thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or some other kind; but God gives it a body even as it has pleased Him, and to every seed a body of its own."⁴ The form, the appearance, that characterizes what comes out of the ground, is not to be limited to a replica of what was put into the soil. The grain, the seed-kernel, is "naked," that is unclothed with foliage or flowers. The dress, the envelope, are given by

³ "Now this I say, brethren, that *flesh and blood* can not inherit the kingdom of God."

⁴ The Past Tense in the Greek "as it pleased Him," might seem to suggest a reference to the creative appointment of the "bodies" of things. But in connection with the Present Tense "gives" this is little likely.

God. No observation of a seed-grain could have taught, without previous experience, what the appearance of the sprout or plant issuing would be like. What right then has a man to argue from the impossibility of pre-vision and pre-imagination, to the presumptuous conclusion that the forthcoming of a new differently-shaped and differently-appareled body is *a priori* an absurdity?

It is evident that this feature, the intent of bringing out the non-resemblance between seed and plant governs Paul's entire treatment of the comparison. That in this explanation we have correctly diagnosed the Apostle's intent, is borne out likewise by the subjoined argument of vss. 39-41. Here Paul elucidates the principle at stake from two other spheres, passing over from vegetable to animal and astral existence. This, of course, excludes the possibility of every attempt at genetic explanation, which in the foregoing, where sowing and reaping came under review, might still have seemed to be possible. What here remains of the argument is solely the variety of somatic condition in the groups named as a *static* fact. Naturally the group of animal creatures as standing nearest to man is first drawn upon for illustration. After that the astral world comes under review. The point at issue, however, remains the identical one dwelt upon before. The variety, existing *de facto* as a constant phenomenon, though differentiated in its multiplicity, removes the right of doubting the possibility of the resurrection on the sole ground of a differently complexioned body being inconceivable. Let us briefly follow the progress in the reasoning. Its structure is carefully and skilfully framed through the alternate employment of the two adjectives ἄλλω and ἕτερος. Unfortunately the precise difference between these two, and, in consequence, the full force of the argumentation, are lost to the English reader. The clearness of difference could have been retained only through a pedantic alternation between the philosophic phrases "generically different" and "specifically different." Paul calls attention to the differences appearing both in the sub-human and in the superhuman realms between single species. He likewise calls attention to

the generic, fundamental difference between the realms taken comprehensively. ἄλλος marks the difference among the species included in one and the same genus, whilst ἕτερος marks the difference between the genera. Between the flesh of mankind and beasts and birds there is specific difference only; as to genus they belong in common to the same animal world; hence in vs. 39 ἄλλος is used: "there is one flesh of men, *another* of beasts" (κτηνῶν), etc. When, however, all these are taken together, and the heavenly bodies placed over against them a heterogeneity results: "the glory of the celestial and the glory of the terrestrial are *ἕτεροι*." But among the heavenly there is again a specific difference: "another (ἄλλη) is the glory of the sun and another is the glory of the moon, and another is the glory of the stars, for star differs from star in glory." Here again it is at once seen that the reasoning revolves not about the substantial make-up of these bodies, but about their kind, their quality, their appearance. This follows further from the fact that the close of vs. 38 links on closely to vss. 39-41, and there, as shown above, the reference to plant-clothing in foliage and flowerage is unmistakable. The same observation can be made by noting carefully the word here chosen by the Apostle to express the aspect in regard to which the variety exists. It is a variegation in "glory" (δόξα), and "glory" is primarily a term of outward manifestation. Again, the same conclusion may be drawn from the manner in which Paul, returning to the figure of sowing, immediately resumes the terminology of the qualitative. He contrasts the two bodies ("sown" and "rising") as possessed of corruption (*vs.* incorruption), dishonor (*vs.* glory), weakness (*vs.* power). In keeping with all this we shall have to understand the word *sarx* in vs. 39 not of "flesh" as so much animal matter, but of the ordinary somatic instrument for revealing certain traits or a complex of appearances. *Sarx* is simply in this connection a synecdochical designation of *soma* from this qualitative point of view (cp. vss. 38, 40). When Paul says: "another is the *sarx* of men, another is the *sarx* of beasts, another the *sarx* of birds, another the *sarx* of fishes," he

means nothing else than that a cognate somatic organization in each case defines the limits of the species. Earthly bodies can be thus differentiated by the term *sarx*, because *sarx* is in them the most conspicuous feature, one of these elements after which the language is wont to give names to things. But, coming to "celestial things," the difficulty arises that such celestial entities possess no *sarx*, after which they could be synecdochically denominated. Yet, although *sarx* was excluded, the word *soma* in the sense of medium of appearance, above defined, continued to admit of use. It is somewhat difficult to determine, when Paul speaks of *σώματα ἐπουράνια*, whether the word "body" is used in the sense of physics or of biology. That sun, moon and stars are named as instances of heavenly bodies would seem to favor the former. This is held by others to be non-decisive, because, following a prevailing belief, both Jewish and pagan, Paul might have looked upon these celestial balls as inhabited by angels. In that case their glorious outward appearances might have been considered as a radiance of angelic inhabitants. Whatever one's exegetical choice between these two opinions may be, the conclusion to be drawn is, in this instance as before, that the resurrection-body will differ greatly from the kind of body we now possess in its irradiation of glory. It will be a case of *heteros* and not merely of *allos*. What will be the attributes from which this difference in manifestation results is stated in vss. 42, 43. Four contrasts are distinguished. These four, however, are not simply coördinated. On either side the three first named are thought of as the product of the last and fourth. That the earthly body consists in corruption, dishonor, weakness is in some way connected with its being a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*. In the same manner the heavenly body is characterized by incorruptibleness, glory, power, all three of which result from its being a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. The only difficulty thus remaining unsolved is how Paul could connect as inevitable consequences with the psychical body, which is according to the following context the body of creation, the unfallen body, these three ugly predicates of corruption, dishonor, weakness. One might

suggest that what he connects with creation is not the actual existence of these qualities, but the possibility of their emergence: the "psychical body" would then be a body, not infected by, but nevertheless not immune from either corruption, dishonor, weakness, whereas the pneumatic body is lifted above all invasion of these. It must be admitted, however, that this is dogmatic construction, so far as our passage is concerned. Taking into account Paul's teaching as a whole, we believe it to be a quite justifiable construction; only the principle is not here expressed in so many words. Still there is even here one phenomenon lending favor to the view suggested: Paul seems intentionally, in characterizing the body of the First Man, to avoid the adjective *sarkic* and the noun *sarx* to which it belongs. From both words in the ordinary Pauline vocabulary the notion of sinfulness, moral corruption, is inseparable. The introduction of such words as *ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός*, *χοϊκός*, vss. 47-49, where on the ordinary terminology *sarx*, *sarkic* would have been indicated, proves to our minds that the avoidance was intentional, and not for the sake of stylistic variation only. In vs. 50, on the other hand, where the body of man's sinful estate is indisputably spoken of, the term *sarx* immediately emerges.⁵

We now have the facts with sufficient completeness before us. The question is in order, whether in this context, so full of mysteries, there is actually present, as the evolutionary pneumatology would have it, such a powerful influx of the pneuma-principle as would overbear everything else, and even exclude the factor of the erstwhile earthly body from the process described. The answer must be in the negative. Let it be observed that so far as the act of raising is concerned, the Spirit does not receive the prominence we should expect Him on the new theory to acquire or possess. It is God, as elsewhere, who raises. No doubt He does it through the Spirit, but pointedly stressed this is not. Where it does come to expression the form is Christological, that of the Lord having become a *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* (vs. 45). This concerns the *act*

⁵ "Flesh and blood can not inherit the kingdom of God."

of the resurrection, strictly so taken. It does only through inference teach that in the subsequent resurrection-*state* we shall bear the Spirit-image, or live in the Spirit-atmosphere (vs. 49). As to the presence and operation of the Spirit in the intermediate state, preparing the dead for the issue of the resurrection, nothing whatever is stated; we are here thrown back on the scanty phrase "dead in Christ" from 1 Thessalonians. If the last-mentioned idea could be legitimately drawn from the passage, then, the importance of the Spirit would be greatly enhanced; but even then, with the mystery thus increased, it would contribute nothing to the problem of how the body buried can retain continuity with the body raised. The Spirit were in that case no more than the gradual preparatory agent for bringing about the event of the resurrection. On one view only could a measure of light seem to fall on this mystery of all mysteries, viz. if in any way the Spirit could be conceived as so identified with the body sown as no longer to form the Actor but the object acted upon, no longer the Sower, but in some sense the seed sown. For in that case the continuity and identity of what is sown and what rises at the end would be absolutely assured, since the Spirit is according to the judgment of Paul the absolutely Unchangeable One. This suggested solution brings us face to face with the unsolved, and perhaps unsolvable problem of the relation between the Holy Spirit *ad extra* and the Holy Spirit *immanently* considered as part in the make-up of the believer's person. Whether solvable or not, the problem, even if it promised elucidation in general, would from the terms employed in the context here be plainly eliminated as a true solvent. This will appear straightway, if once more the several elements entering into the figuratively formulated transaction be recalled. The term "naked grain" is assumed as the starting-point for this construction. This "naked grain" is explained as carrying in itself a germ, a nucleus of life, and on the same principle the body buried would have within itself the Holy Spirit as the principle or potentiality of a requickenened life. Unfortunately Paul in working out the figure makes no distinction between *germ*

and *seed* in such a way that the presence of the former could serve as a guarantee of the identity of the rising with the buried body. On the contrary he affirms that that which is *sown* is quickened, and precisely what is *sown* dies. The subject is the same in both propositions. And moreover, in vs. 37, instead of picturing the connection between seed and plant in terms suggested by the interpretation offered, he passes over to a totally-different train of thought. After stressing the necessity of dying previously to the possibility of quickening, the argument turns to the variegated exhibition of external clothing in the plant-world. On the theory advocated attention ought to have been immediately called to the fact that the dying is but a partial one in which the Spirit-kernel is not actually involved. Nothing of the kind is done. Neither do the terms subsequently employed fit into the theory under discussion. If the Spirit is sown as residing within the seed, then it can no longer be affirmed that what is sown is naked, for on such a view the Spirit-kernel is precisely clothed upon with the seed. Of what is sown it is emphatically affirmed that it undergoes this process in corruption, dishonor, weakness. All these and such-like things are utterly unpredicable of the Spirit, no matter, whether He be taken objectively as a divine entity, or subjectively as immanent in man. Thus, whichever way one turns, the proposed explanation proves impossible and futile. It is better to leave the matter where it is and to commit the working out of the mystery to God, who can bring about things unsearchable to the mind of man. The resurrection belongs with many other objects of eschatological faith to the region "which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man."

We proceed to the discussion of the alleged third stage in the evolution of Paul's resurrection-belief. This is the stage in which the Apostle is supposed to have moved forward the endowment with a new body to the moment of *death* in case the death of his earthly body occurred before the parousia. This view is not ascribed to Paul as a firmly established conviction, but as a more or less contingent eventuality, which

none the less he seriously reckoned with. The passage on which it is chiefly based is 2 Cor. v. 1-8, a context extremely difficult of interpretation, partly as a result of some uncertainties in the text, which, however, may themselves have arisen from a desire through emendation to remove exegetical or doctrinal obstacles. The best method of dealing with the passage seems to be to give first a cursory exegesis of the successive clauses, paying particular heed to their syntactical coherence, and then to sum up the results obtained in a brief paraphrase. In order that the exegesis may be conducted with the greatest degree of discriminateness, it will be desirable to place clearly before our minds the traditional understanding of the words, which was common up to the time when the modern exegesis took hold of them. This old view interpreted as follows:—Paul felt himself in uncertainty as to whether he was destined to survive till the parousia or die previously to that point. If the former happened the eagerly desired heavenly body would become his immediately, and that without any strange, fear-some process of first stripping off the earthly body now clothing him. In both respects this mode of transformation appeared to him the more desirable. There would be no delay, and there would be nothing of the dread ordinarily associated with death. But in case the other alternative happened through his dying before the coming of the Lord, both of these advantages would not only be lost, there would in addition ensue the far more serious detriment of having to spend the interval between his death and the parousia in a disembodied state, a state of “nakedness” as he calls it. Confronted with these two possibilities and their differing implications, he gives voice to a strong desire for obtaining the former and escaping the latter. With the idea of a *tertium quid*, viz. that the new body could possibly become his immediately upon death, he did according to the old exegesis in no wise reckon. That which on the modern exegesis formed the very pivot of the movement of his hope, did according to the ancient exegesis never enter his mind. He had before him a maximum and a minimum; the former he preferred, but with true Christian resig-

nation expressed himself contented with the latter, should the Lord have that in store for his servant. He could be thus contented with fulfilment of the lesser hope, because after all it had in common with the higher desire the assurance of being with Christ immediately after death, even if the supreme satisfaction of entering upon that blessedness *in the body* were denied him.

Proceeding now to our cursory exegesis of the complex of thought, we observe that the opening statement in vs. 1, when read in the A.V. has perhaps more than aught else in the passage given rise and encouragement to the modern interpretation: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle *were dissolved* (καταλυθῇ), we have a building from God," etc. This subjunctive "were" injects into the statement the thought of the improbability of its happening after the manner the sentence describes: *Even* if it *were*,—but it is *not likely* to happen. This rendering at the outset pre-judges the Apostle's state of mind as to the outcome, and is in no wise required by the Greek text. The conjunction "if" (ἐάν) with the Aorist Subjunctive not infrequently has the force of a Future Perfect. The correct rendering accordingly would be: "We know that *in case* our earthly tent-house *shall have been* dissolved, we have a building from God," etc. The inaccuracy has been corrected by the R.V., which reads: "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle *be* dissolved" ("be" instead of "were"), etc. Through this correction of the rendering the impression is made less obtrusive, as if Paul in these words reflected upon the availableness of a new body for himself in the very moment that the less desirable event of his pre-parousia death should occur. All that the words, strictly taken, mean is that the loss of the earthly body will be made up for (sooner or later) by the supervening of a wholly-differently complexioned body pertaining to another sphere, but of the time-point when this certainty shall enter into actuality, nothing is said. Nor do the words, taken by themselves, contain an intimation as to whether the "dissolution" is near or not. But, it will be asked, does not the

Present Tense "we have" (ἔχομεν), when joined to the foregoing, imply that the new body must be in possession of the Apostle, *when* he dies; how otherwise could he declare that at the extreme moment of his earthly life he *has* it? There is more than one way to meet this difficulty. The verb "we have" can be given the sense of *assured possession*, carrying a title *de jure* to something that may or may not as yet be in existence. Or "we have" might be a case of imaginative projection into the world to come. The closing words of the verse (ἐν οὐρανοῖς) favor the latter, for they do not, of course, describe where the body now is or has been from the first. That would be a formal avowal of the preëxistence of souls, and could hardly in the Apostle's view have been confined to souls, when once embraced with regard to them. What the phrase really means is that heaven is the place in which the body, when received, will be permanently possessed, in which it will exist and move and live; that such is the correct interpretation can be verified from the corresponding phrase "earthly" (ἐπίγειος), applied by way of contrast to "tent-house" (οἰκία τοῦ σκήνου). Further, that the term "house" (οἰκία) which is the object of "we have" is used from the standpoint of the actual and permanent possession in the heavenly life, appears from the difference between it and the term "building" (οἰκοδομή) used just before. In the latter the emphasis rests on the origin of the body: it is a *building*, something constructed, hence the added words ἐκ θεοῦ; it is a building provided by God, of his own making. In the former the emphasis rests on the existence of the body as a finished product, a "house." Vs. 1, therefore, leaves it undecided when this body will be received, and in no way implies its preëxistence. The characterization of the new body as "eternal" only intends to set it off against the frail and collapsible "tent-house," serving as a figure for the earthly body. A contact for the idea of preëxistence has further been sought in the closing words of vs. 2, "our habitation from heaven." But this "from heaven" is simply another form of statement for what is called in vs. 1 "from God." The resurrection-body is from

heaven because it is in a special supernatural sense from God. Heaven is the seat and source of the Pneuma by which the resurrection-body is formed.⁶ On the other hand the word *ἐπενδύσασθαι* in this second verse is distinctly unfavorable to the view that Paul looked forward to or weighed the possibility of receiving the new body at or immediately after death. *Ἐνδύσασθαι* means "to put on," and *ἐπενδύσασθαι* signifies "to put on one garment over another garment"; it is the preposition *ἐπί*, that effects this plus in the meaning. The latter word expresses the same thing which in 1 Cor. xv. 53 Paul calls *ἐνδύσασθαι*, because there the subject of the act is the present earthly body: "this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." Here in 2 Cor. v, on the other hand, the subject is the *self*, the incorporeal part of the believer, conceived as already clothed upon with its present body-garment, and desiring to put on over this, as some over-garment, the eschatological body. Now, how did or could Paul conceive of the realization of this desire? The answer seems plain. He could hardly conceive of it as taking place at death, for death is precisely the putting off of the first garment hitherto worn. On such a supposition room would remain for an *ἐνδύσασθαι* only, no longer for an *ἐπενδύσασθαι*. It yields an utterly fantastic thought to assume that the Apostle expected at death to carry over, were it only for a moment, the earthly body, and then to slip on over it the new body. In such a case there would have been no real death, nothing would have remained for burial. The only way in which we can intelligibly construe for ourselves this *ἐπενδύσασθαι* is that it takes place at the parousia, and then, in those to whom the parousia takes place before death. Under these circumstances alone Paul would still be wearing the old body, and therefore able to put on over it the habitation from heaven. Vs. 2, therefore, is utterly irreconcilable with the modern exegesis of a reception of the new body at death.

⁶ Cp. 1 Cor. xv. 47: "the second man is (by virtue of the resurrection) from heaven." Notice also the difference between *ἐκ οὐρανοῦ* (*singular*) relating to origin and *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* (*plural*) of locality in vs. 1.

Vs. 3 we wish to pass by without comment for the moment, because it is exceedingly obscure, owing in part to the uncertain reading of two words, and thereby incapable of yielding any definite conclusions on the question before us. We shall revert to it presently, when endeavoring to paraphrase the passage as a whole.

Coming to vs. 4, we notice several points entirely inconsistent with the idea that Paul is thinking of something to happen at death. He declares: "We that are in the tent do groan being burdened, because we would not be unclothed, but be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life." Here an alternative is formulated by Paul and a preference expressed. The alternative is between the two experiences, *first* of being unclothed, and *then* being clothed anew, and *second* of being clothed upon *immediately*. And he prefers the latter. The preference is a strong one. Under the influence of the uncertainty of its decision Paul groans. Now the question arises: Does this situation fit the case of the bestowal of a new body at the moment of death or the case of the bestowal of it at the parousia? In answer let us make clear to ourselves that the groaning and the strong preference become entirely unintelligible, if we conceive Paul thinking of both members of this alternative as attached to the moment of death. For, how could the resolution of such an alternative *in articulo mortis* become to him a matter of burdensome uncertainty? It would have certainly been regarded by him as pertaining to the formalities of getting into the proper apparel for a solemn occasion; in both cases the outcome would have been precisely the same. If once it were fixed that the new body comes immediately, it certainly, in comparison with that tremendous fact, must have appeared a matter of slight importance, whether it immediately (with the smallest of intervals between) shall succeed the old body, or shall, casting a veil over all that goes on beneath, swallow up the old body, absorbing it, as it were, into itself. For one who was assured that death without fail would bring with itself the new body, it would seem pusillanimous to groan on account of the trifling

question whether the instantaneous occurrence should take place one way or the other. Paul was, with his entire perilous and painful life-experience behind him, hardly the man to let his thoughts be distracted to the point of groaning fear over such matters. All this vexing uncertainty and painful weighing of a small issue must have lacked real importance for a man of his temperament. The fear of death *per se*, as a momentary experience we have no reason to ascribe to him. It follows, therefore, that the strong sense of uneasiness and the strong preference expressed must have revolved around another, far more serious and solemn question, viz. would there be or would there not be awaiting him in the near future a *protracted* state of being unclothed, that is "naked" between his possible death and the arrival of the parousia? The uncertainty, therefore, arising from this can not stand in direct contradiction to the "we know" in vs. 1; in other words "we know" can not, consistently with what follows, carry the meaning: we know that we receive a new body *at the time of death*. Such a conviction would from the outset have rendered all subsequent burdensomeness and groaning out of place. The simple sense of the verse is, as above intimated: in a general way Paul affirms that instead of the tent dissolved a new structure will be received, but he does not indicate here when or how it will be given.

It is said that vs. 5 proves the "being clothed upon" to be in Paul's view the common lot of all believers, because of the statement "He that wrought us for this very thing is God." The plural "us" is on this view understood of all Christians. Likewise the further words "who gave us the earnest of the Spirit" are taken to bear out this exegesis, since all Christians are recipients of the Spirit and must consequently share in what this gift is the pledge of. He could not have affirmed these things, had he confined the "being clothed upon" to those found alive at the parousia. To this our answer is that from the "us" and the statement concerning the gift of the Spirit as an earnest, no such conclusion can be legitimately drawn. Even if Paul does not use "us" here as a rhetorical

plural, but actually includes all believers, this simply shows how he lived in the expectation, that the parousia might still find the great majority of the Christians of his day alive, and looked upon the cases of those who died in the interval as exceptions. After all, he could just as well say of believers in general, that they had been prepared by God to be "clothed upon," at the last day, as he could on the hypothesis under review affirm of his readers collectively, using the word "us," that they had been prepared of God for investment with a new body *at death*, for on every view he must have been aware that some would be found alive at the parousia, whom God could not have prepared for that peculiar experience, and to whom He could not have given the Spirit as an earnest for such experience. We have answered this argument on the assumption, that "this very thing" (*αὐτὸ τοῦτο*) in vs. 5 actually refers to the "being clothed upon," as excluding the "being clothed" of vs. 4. Of course, the affirmative answer brings us face to face with the difficult question, how Paul could so positively affirm that God had prepared the majority of the then living believers to survive till the parousia, then to be changed in the way indicated by "being clothed upon." For this reason we feel inclined to give the "this very thing" another reference. For the present, however, it suffices to have shown, that the usual interpretation of vs. 5 does not compel us to place the "clothing upon" at death.

Finally, vss. 6-8 are said to demand the modern exegesis. Here Paul declares himself of good courage, because immediately after death he will be with the Lord: to be at home in the body is to be absent from the Lord, whilst to be absent from the body is to be at home with the Lord. And this goal of his desire which he expects to reach at death is taken as identical with what is described in vss. 2 and 4 as the "being clothed upon," because by means of "therefore" it is connected with the foregoing: "Being *therefore* always of good courage," etc. Hence the conclusion drawn runs as follows: the being at home with the Lord is effected through the "being clothed upon" at death. To this we reply as follows: Paul's

good courage in view of the fact that to die means to be at home with the Lord attaches itself to the preceding context in the *general import* of the latter, a general import that found clearest expression in iv. 17, 18 and v. 1. The *general* proposition, in regard to which Paul felt absolute assurance, was that after the present affliction, or in reward for it, there is eternal glory in store for the believer, and more specifically that, after this earthly tent-body shall have been dissolved, the believer will be put in possession of an eternal heavenly body. As to the *secondary* question, whether this consummate state of glory would be reached with or without an intervening period of nakedness of death, as to this Paul felt no conviction, either one way or the other, but only a desire and a preference. Hence he contents himself with expressing this preferential desire as growing out of a strong dislike of the state of nakedness. Now, inasmuch as his assurance on the general question far outweighed the uncertainty on that one particular point, Paul could, notwithstanding the unresolved doubt of vss. 2, 4, proceed in vs. 6 with the declaration, that he was always of good courage. Of course, he had to put the ground of his good courage under the circumstances in the form of the *minimum* of what he felt sure about; he could not say: we are always of good courage, because to be absent from the earthly body means to being put immediately in possession of the heavenly body. His uncertainty as to whether he would survive till the parousia forbade him that. Therefore he says only as much as he could with full certainty profess: to be absent from the body is to be at home with the Lord. Even in case that happened which appeared to him the less desirable, he would still be contented, because in this being with the Lord everything else was potentially given. Looking at it closely, the words of vss. 6-8 even seem to disparage the idea of the new body being given at death. He speaks here of death as meaning absence from the body. Of course, he means *the earthly body*; yet he would scarcely have expressed himself thus indefinitely, had he meant that immediately another body would be substituted, for the state in

such a new body would hardly be describable as the state of one absent from the body. And likewise the phrase "to be present with the Lord" is so general that Paul, had he had in mind the presence with Christ in the new glorified body, would in all probability have chosen a more definite mode of expression in contrast to that of "being absent from the body." Our conclusion, therefore, is that vs. 6-8 do not favor the exegesis under review.

We must now look for a moment at the passage as a whole, and in connection with this at the difficult vs. 3, in order to grasp the import of the entire section, and thus to gather in the fruit of our somewhat laborious exegesis. The passage connects with iv. 17, 18 by means of "for" (*γάρ*): "*For* we know that in case our earthly tent-house shall have been dissolved, we have a building from God," etc. Chapter iv. 17, 18 affirm that the "affliction" in the body works out an eternal weight of glory, likewise to be enjoyed in the body, since there, in the body, the "affliction" was borne. The future body thus appears from the outset as the bearer of an eternal weight of glory. The knowledge that such a new body shall be ours is basic for the hope of possessing and enjoying the certainty of this eternal glory. Without such a center the glory could not exist. Especially the description of this new body as a "house" admirably fits into this train of thought, because a house is not a mere place of shelter, but has attached to it the aesthetic conception of a center of manifestation for the glory of its inhabitant. The next verse joins to this, by means of "*καὶ γάρ*," as a further basis of the conviction expressed in the "we know" of vs. 1, the circumstance that "we groan desiring to be clothed upon with our habitation from heaven."⁷ Such an ardent, groaning longing affords a particularly strong ground for the assurance that a heavenly body must be appointed for us. This would not follow, of course, if the longing were of the nature of a purely-subjective sentiment or aspiration. In the present case it *does* follow, because, being

⁷ *Καὶ γάρ* is stronger than the simple *γάρ*: "for verily."

worked in the believer by the Spirit, it becomes divinely prophetic of what is actually in store for him. The idea is that the Christian is so eagerly desirous of the succedence of the heavenly body, if possible, without the intervening of any period of bodiless existence, as to justify the conclusion that the Spirit's hand is discernible in this. The ardency and eagerness of the desire are guarantees of its divine origination. Paul continues, "in this we groan." Some render by "in this (tent)" referring back to vs. 1. This construction is somewhat favored by vs. 4 where the same thought is expressed as follows: "for we that are in this tent do groan." It is quite possible, however, to render: "*in this respect* we groan, that we long to be clothed upon."

The foregoing brings us to the difficult vs. 3. There are two points of uncertainty in the reading of this verse: (1) the conjunction introducing the sentence is in some MSS. *εἴ γε* (or *εἴ γε καί*), in others *εἴ περ*; (2) the participle following this conjunction is read in some authorities *ἐνδυσάμενοι*, in others *ἐκδυσάμενοι*. The evidence seems to be in favor of *εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα*. But it is extremely difficult, on any view taken of the passage as a whole, to fit these words into the context with an intelligible result. The modern exegesis above criticized would take it as follows: the verse assigns the reason for the longing to be clothed upon at death: having put the (new) body on we shall not then be found naked. For in that case there will be no interval of disembodied existence. So far as thought is concerned, and taken by itself, this would yield appropriate sense. The fatal objection to it is that it takes *ἐνδύσασθαι* in the same sense as belongs specifically to *ἐπενδύσασθαι*. Now the latter is used vss. 2 and 4 with pointed emphasis upon the *ἐπί*, so as to compel the express understanding that it is not identical with *ἐνδύσασθαι*, but rather its opposite, if not in result, yet surely in method of procedure. This being so, we may say that Paul, in order to express the thought attributed to him by this new exegesis, would in all likelihood have repeated the word *ἐπενδύσασθαι* in its participial form; he would have said "we

long to be clothed upon, since *having been clothed upon* we shall not be found naked." The verb which has but one prepositional prefix is distinguished from the doubly compound one in this very vital respect, that it does not imply the guarantee for the avoidance of "nakedness," inasmuch as it does not fix the point for the "putting on" as coinciding with the moment of death. We are bound, therefore, to take *ἐνδυσάμενοι* as different from *ἐπενδυσάμενοι*. But what the clause means, if the distinction be insisted upon, as we believe it must, appears difficult to tell. Under these circumstances we prefer, instead of wrestling with the text in order to extract from it some sort of meaning, such as will at best induce half-belief, to try how far the difficulty admits of relief by adopting the other reading with *ἐκδυσάμενοι* instead of *ἐνδυσάμενοι*.⁸ With this combined with either *εἰ γε καί* or *εἰ περ* ("although"), we can reach comparative clearness. The sole ground always for changing the text, either by pure emendation, or through adoption of some other, perhaps less-strongly attested, reading, is the discovery that the adopted modification suddenly lets in light where before darkness prevailed. Such is the case here. *Εἰ γε καὶ ἐκδυσάμενοι* yields "if so be that *also*, having put off this body (i.e., having died), we shall not *in the end* be found naked, our "being clothed upon"

⁸ Of course, it is not impossible for a skillful exegete, who finds himself in an impasse of this kind, to extort from the text some tolerable sense, sacrificing all naturalness of expression to the one desire of making the words say anything at all. As an example of this sort of exegesis the following might be offered: We long to be clothed upon through reaching the parousia alive, thus avoiding the interval of nakedness, since also, after having "put on" at that point, we shall not henceforth be found naked at our entrance upon the eternal state. In other words, since such is our ultimate destiny in any event, even though we may have to attain unto it through death, and subsequent nakedness and ultimate putting on of the body, rather than by instantaneous putting on of the new over the old, nevertheless we can not help continue longing for the *ante mortem* parousia-investment, because that reaches the eventual goal in the shortest and easiest manner. This exegesis, it will be perceived, separates the *καί* from the *εἰ γε* and joins *καί* closely to *ἐκδυσάμενοι*. It certainly is ingenious; but is it not too ingenious to invite confident acceptance?

taking place at the general resurrection. Taking the other conjunction *εἰ περ* we obtain the following rendering: "although even having put off this body (died) we shall not ultimately be found naked."⁹

Vs. 4 takes up vs. 2 again, elaborating further the same thought there expressed, whence in the same manner the verse is introduced by *καὶ γάρ*. The groaning, though it be a groaning caused by uncertainty as to the how or when, nevertheless conveys assurance so far as the simple fact of ultimate attainment is concerned. The "being burdened" here by no means excludes the "we know" of vs. 1, as it would do on the modern interpretation.

In connection with vs. 5 we encountered a difficulty, left for the time to one side. Here is the place to consider it. It consisted in the problem, how the "this very thing" could be referred to the immediately preceding "clothed upon"?¹⁰ How could Paul so objectively affirm that God had purposed and prepared him and his readers for "being clothed upon," if at the same time he continued in uncertainty, as to whether he was to attain it or not? That for which God prepares believers can scarcely be considered a matter of doubt, and conversely, if the point was subject to doubt, Paul could scarcely affirm that God had prepared him and the others for it. We suggested at the previous point a removal of the difficulty by making "this very thing" refer back not to the immediately preceding "clothed upon," but to the general thought dominating the whole preceding context, viz. that *in one way or another* the Christian is sure to obtain a new body. The question remained, however, whether "this very thing" is not too pointed and emphatic for reference to this general idea. For

⁹ The conjunctival combination *εἰ περ* has in older Greek (Homer) not infrequently the sense of "although." Occasionally it retains this force in later Greek also.

¹⁰ The difficulty here considered is, it will be observed, a difficulty which the old and the new exegesis equally encounter. Both must admit that in vs. 4 Paul expresses a *doubt*, and seek some reconciliation with the "we know" of vs. 1.

this reason we now offer for consideration the reference of these words not to the "being clothed upon," but to "we groan." The "groaning" is on this view to be taken as the very thing for which God has prepared the believer, which He causes to issue from his heart, whence also it has a prophetic significance, becomes a confirmation of the assurance that he shall obtain the heavenly body.

We have now at some length discussed the chief passage supposed to contain the proof that Paul had undergone a change in his eschatological outlook, and have found it inadequate, nay implausible at many a point. The other passages to which appeal is made for the same purpose are less involved and consequently more easily disposed of. In Rom. viii. 19 Paul declares: "the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing (*ἀποκάλυψις*) of the sons of God." What will happen at the end is here called a "revealing" of the sons of God, not because their somatic glory preëxisted, and hence needed no more than a momentary flashing forth into light. The reason is a quite different one. It is none other than that their status as sons of God with all privileges attached, such as freedom and heirship, existed before, but had not been openly demonstrated. Not their celestial body, but their supreme sonship was in hiding. It is this *status* that will be revealed, and this revelation will be accomplished, by laying upon them the glory, the medium for whose manifestation, to be sure, is the body of the resurrection. For doing this, however, the body needed no previous existence. Paul does not even say that the glorious body will be revealed, but that the sons of God will be revealed, or, what amounts to the same thing, that the glory will be revealed "to us" (vs. 18).¹¹ Because the resurrection is a revelation of sonship (not of a hitherto hidden body), it can be also called the "adoption of sons" (*υιοθεσία*). That not merely the bringing to light of an already existing body, but its real formation is referred to follows from the coincidence of the redemption of the body

¹¹ Notice the preposition *εἰς ἡμᾶς*, not *ἐν ἡμῖν*.

with the deliverance of the whole creation from the bondage of corruption. Still another passage appealed to (Col. iii. 3, 4) speaks of the life hid with Christ in God, and of the manifestation of believers with Christ in glory at the time of Christ's own manifestation. "Life" does not here necessarily imply somatic existence so that the hidden presence of a body for each believer in Christ would be affirmed. It is true the manifestation of believers together with the manifestation of Christ Himself in glory presupposes that they will, when manifested, possess a body to make them manifest *as Christ will be manifest through his body*. But it by no means follows from this that they possessed this body previously, simply because Christ possessed his previously to the joint-manifestation. The contrast between the hidden state and the manifested state has not the body for its subject, but the life of the believer. This life is first hid with Christ, because it is a disembodied life; at the last day it will become manifest through union with the eschatological body. For in the world to come all things are manifest and provided with the proper organs for being so.

In addition to the foregoing we note that the advocates of the modified resurrection-doctrine are compelled to admit an inconsistency on Paul's part even during the stage of development assumed for this third period. In this very chapter the Apostle speaks of the fact that all believers must be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ. The manner in which this is referred to shows that it contemplates a collective manifestation. We have already seen that in the preceding context the Apostle speaks of his conviction, that God, who raised up the Lord Jesus, will also raise him (Paul) up with Jesus, and present him together with the Corinthians. We may further compare Phil. iii. 20, 21: "For our commonwealth is in heaven; whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby He is able even to subject all things to Himself." This last passage also sug-

gests an answer to the question, why, if the new body is a product of the Pneuma, the believer should have to wait for it until the parousia, which the Pneuma is his already during the present life. The Spirit's work in the renewal of things proceeds according to a fixed, systematic method, in certain distinct stages. First it takes effect in the sphere of the inner man. Its laying hold on the outward man has to wait till the bodily appearance of Christ on earth. The "working whereby He is able to subject all things to Himself" will then draw within the sphere of its operation that whole visible external realm to which the body belongs. Consequently there is nothing arbitrary in the postponement of the transformation of the body till the parousia, nothing that could be called inconsistent with the Pauline doctrine of the present possession by believers of the Spirit.

There still remains to be looked into the fourth and most revolutionary extreme supposed to have been reached by Paul in his concept of the resurrection. This is the stage in which he is claimed to have reached the idea of an actual preformation of the new body within the believer during the course of the latter's earthly life. This lies so much on the line of the construction built on 2 Cor. v, that it must create wonder that the Apostle did not, once having reached this novel concept, consistently adhere to it, but fixed soon after upon the moment of death as the proper point for bringing the new body into existence. For it is chiefly in Chap. iii of the same Epistle that this extreme view is found. There is surely a *hysteron-proteron* here. The words which in Chap. iii are believed to speak of the mystical process in question are found in vss. 17-18: "Now the Lord is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty. But we all with unveiled face beholding as in a mirror (or reflecting as a mirror) the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit," with which are to be compared the words in vs. 16 of the next chapter: "Wherefore we faint not; but, though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day." In

judging of the exegesis imposed upon these statements, it should not be forgotten that the uniform testimony on the time-question runs squarely athwart such an opinion as is thus ascribed to Paul, for everywhere he excludes the earthly life-course from the resurrection-process, even there where according to some he places it at the moment of death. His tenses in speaking of the supreme event are throughout future; cp. Rom. viii. 11; Gal. vi. 8; 1 Cor. xv (*passim*); 2 Cor. v. 1-10; Phil. iii. 20, 21. If now in the context of 2 Cor. iii and iv a different conception of such a radically reversional type actually confronted us, the utmost we could say would be that the Apostle in these isolated moments, in a fit of rapture, as it were, had been raised to such a mystical height, as in this case to be swept entirely out of the consistency of a uniform doctrine. But even to assume this involves considerable difficulty. The assumption would lead us to expect that Paul would have from this point onwards at least made consistent progress along the line indicated. If between First and Second Corinthians he advanced sufficiently to move the point of the resurrection backwards from the parousia to the death of individuals, and then at certain moments by a flash of pneumatic illumination was given to believe that the formation of a new body is now already imperceptibly going on within the Christian, then we would surely expect that between the latter and Philippians he would have made still further progress, and attained the last result of this development as an assured possession. As a matter of fact we find the very opposite. Philippians would suffice to disillusion us in this respect for it proves that the Apostle did *ex hypothesi* not only halt in his development, but surrendered the newly-gained ground by most distinctly placing the transformation of the body at the parousia. For this reason it is unlikely that even as isolated extreme modes of statement the passages cited can bear the interpretation put upon them. 2 Cor. iii. 18 speaks of the glory into which believers are changed by beholding as in a mirror (or, according to another rendering, "reflecting as mirrors") the glory of the Lord. This

glory into which they are transfigured is meant to be set in contrast to the glory that shone upon the face of Moses, when descending from the mount of God. Now, inasmuch as with Moses this was a visible, bodily glory, it might be thought that with reference to believers it must be of the same nature, the more so, since "glory" (δόξα) has in most cases eschatological associations relating to the body. None the less the context shows that in the present case Paul attached a different meaning to the word, viz. the idea of an inward glory of illumination by the Spirit of God. It was not the body of Moses as a whole that shone but his face, the organ of vision. Christians likewise receive this glory through beholding it; it is the face which is the organ of its absorption. This takes place "with uncovered face" (ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ). To speak more literally, it is the *Gospel* by which this mysterious process is mediated, whence the Apostle calls it in iv. 4 "the gospel of the glory of Christ." The Gospel corresponds to the veiled countenance of Moses, so far as the perishing are concerned, in whom the god of this world (Satan) has blinded the minds of the unbelieving. At his conversion God shined into Paul's heart" in order that *the Apostle by his preaching might impart to others the illumination of the knowledge of the glory of God* πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ *in the face of Jesus Christ.*" This beholding of the glory through a mirror is something that belongs, dispensationally speaking, to the present state, for in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, Paul pointedly distinguishes between the vision "in a riddle" (ἐν αἰνίγματι) and the vision "face to face," which latter is reserved for the end, with which further agrees 2 Cor. v. 7, according to which believers walk through the land of faith, not as yet through the land of sight. All this points to the conclusion, that in the context of the passage under examination a peculiar turn is given to the concept of "glory," a turn by which it is placed in the sphere of "knowledge" (γνῶσις). This is confirmed by the fact that iii. 7 names as one of the concomitants of the state in which the transfiguration takes place "liberty," which "liberty" also in Rom. viii. 21

appears connected with the "glory." If the above interpretation be correct, we may conclude that the "glory" spoken of in our passage has nothing to do with the body, but is an inward state, specifically belonging to the sphere of supernatural knowledge.

Even less ground is there to find in the verses 2 Cor. iv. 16-18 the idea of a present transformation of the body within, while the old earthly body still continues to drape the inner man. Here the resurrection is in the context explicitly placed at the end, vs. 14: "knowing that He who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also, and shall present us with you." What has misled many here is that in the preceding context Paul speaks of the manifestation of the life of Jesus in his mortal flesh, i.e. his body. But his speaking in terms of *sarx* suffices to show that he can not have meant thereby the transformation of the body, since that could come about only through the putting aside of the mortal flesh, and could never be called a "manifestation of life in the flesh." What the Apostle hints at by these expressions is the preservation of his life in the midst of the deadly perils spoken of in vss. 8, 9. He describes these in vs. 10 as an "always bearing about in the body the dying (*νεκρωσις*) of Jesus." While it would be a mistake to identify this sustaining operation of divine power with the body-forming operation of the Spirit, there appears, nevertheless, and this is the element of truth in the fantastic view propounded, a real connection between the death-curtailling experiences of the Apostle's labors and the ultimate resurrection. In vs. 14, in the closest dependence on the register of persecution and affliction written in the foregoing, Paul declares: "Knowing that He that raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus." What is the mysterious connection here obviously implied? It must be sought on the negative, not on the positive side. The process of resurrection from its inherent nature has two sides, the stripping off of the flesh and the endowment of the believer with a pneumatic *soma*. From the negative point of view it could be truly affirmed that the resurrection-process

was in operation: room was being made for the new body through the gradual removal of the old. But this is something far different from the assumption of the development of a new body within the old. On its negative side the disintegration of the old structure could also be interpreted as a prophecy of the rearing of the new building appointed to take its place. From the actual erection of the latter, however, this remains different. In this negative sense only the Apostle could say to his readers: "So then *death* works in us but *life* in you." The bodily life God sustained in Paul was the same life that enable him to labor for the Corinthians. And he labored for them, certainly not by means of a mysterious invisible, embryonic corporeity built up within, but in no other way than by means of the present natural life of the body, in which he was undergoing hardships for their sake. Nor do the statements of vs. 16 and 17 compel us to think of a present bodily glory inwrought in Paul: the outward man, he declares, is decaying, the inward man is renewed day by day. For "the inward man" does not signify here a composite human person, consisting of the *pneuma* and the new body. It stands for the Spirit as distinguished from the present fleshly body. If the other view were correct, if *ὁ ἔσω* (or, *ἔσωθεν*) *ἄνθρωπος* meant spirit and body combined, then its opposite *ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος* ought likewise to signify the natural spirit and body combined, whereas the context shows that it does stand for the bodily life alone. In the other two passages where *ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* is spoken of (Rom. vii. 22; Eph. iii. 16), there can be no doubt about Paul's referring to the inner spiritual part of man by itself and not including a new body. But this renewal of the inner man mentioned in vs. 16 is the beginning of the eschatological glory in its future sense. That here the future glory must be meant follows from the manner in which the light affliction is spoken of as lasting but for a moment; its momentariness is contrasted with the eternal character of the glory, and this contrast involves the contrast between present and future. On the principle of gracious recompense the affliction here endured works out for

the eternal world, a superabundant weight of "glory." For the present, therefore, he speaks of the renewal of the inner man only. When speaking of the weight of glory comprehensively it is in contrast with the present, as of something that does not exist at the moment of speaking, but which is being laid up (not actually *in preparation*), something which the present tribulation creates the title for.¹²

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

¹² Along another line of approach the present preparation of the resurrection-body might be, and actually has been, postulated from what in two contexts the Apostle says concerning the "sowing" of the old body and the new body to be harvested from it (Gal. vi. 7, 8 and 1 Cor. xv. 36ff). It is plain that in Galatians the figure has nothing to do with internal bodily metamorphosis, but with ethico-religious conduct determining the eschatological issue on the principle of reward, not by physical nexus. As to 1 Cor. xv. 36ff., here the extreme end of earthly life (the burial) is spoken of, and for a previous extensive process of preparation there is no room. Only by making (like Calvin) the sowing cover the entire preceding life could the desired inference of an earlier fashioning of a new body within be drawn. The whole theory of present pre-eschatological formation of a body within a body savors of the fantastic. It reminds curiously of what was the primitive Greek conception of the soul, viz. not that of a spiritual entity within a material one, but that of a complete somatico-pneumatic interior entity within the exterior entity, a whole man within a whole man (cp. the description of primitive Greek psychology in Rhodé's *Psyche*). From that to Paul's refined psychology, there is, of course, a far cry. It must be admitted, however, that, considering the question from the standpoint of pure exegesis, Calvin may claim support from the representation in 1 Cor. xv. The sowing precedes the dying in the plant; vs. 36, "is not quickened, except it die." But it by no means follows from this that the inseparableness of the two involves in the corresponding spiritual process the same chronological sequence requiring a sowing on the part of man prior to his death. The correspondence, when put to such use, also halts in this point, that the requisite dying in the plant is not a momentary thing as the death of man is, but a gradual process of decomposition in the ground. Fixing the starting-point of before and after thus, it is no longer self-evident, that man must sow his resurrection-body before his death and burial. It must further be conceded that the qualities enumerated in vss. 42-44 favor somewhat a "sowing" during life. At least "dishonor" and "weakness" do. "Corruption" is more neutral because it can be said no less of the living body than of the dead body. What most favors Calvin's view is the phrase *σῶμα ψυχικόν* which can hardly apply to the dead body, but can be quite properly said of the living body before death.