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A leaf from the earliest known manuscript of S. Paul's epistles—the newly-discovered Beatty-Michigan papyrus codex (see p. 20). Probably written before A.D. 250.

(This leaf shows the end of ch. 15 and beginning of ch. 16 of Romans, with the doxology, 16²⁵⁻⁷, in a hitherto unknown position between chapters 15 and 16. For discussion of this new textual variant see pp. 20, 22.)

THE CLARENDON BIBLE

Under the general editorship of
BISHOP STRONG AND BISHOP WILD

THE EPISTLE TO THE
ROMANS

in the Revised Version

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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PREFACE

THE problem of the teaching of Holy Scripture at the present time presents many difficulties. There is a large and growing class of persons who feel bound to recognize that the progress of archaeological and critical studies has made it impossible for them to read, and still more to teach, it precisely in the old way. However strongly they may believe in inspiration, they cannot any longer set before their pupils, or take as the basis of their interpretation, the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of the Holy Scripture. It is with the object of meeting the requirements not only of the elder pupils in public schools, their teachers, students in training colleges, and others engaged in education, but also of the clergy, and the growing class of the general public which we believe takes an interest in Biblical studies, that the present series is projected.

The writers will be responsible each for his own contribution only, and their interpretation is based upon the belief that the books of the Bible require to be placed in their historical context, so that, as far as possible, we may recover the sense which they bore when written. Any application of them must rest upon this ground. It is not the writers' intention to set out the latest notions of radical scholars—English or foreign—nor even to describe the exact position at which the discussion of the various problems has arrived. The aim of the series is rather to put forward a constructive view of the books and their teaching, taking into consideration and welcoming results as to which there is a large measure of agreement among scholars.

In regard to form, subjects requiring comprehensive treatment are dealt with in Essays, whether forming part of the introduction or interspersed among the notes. The notes themselves are mainly concerned with the subject-matter of the books and the points of interest (historical, doctrinal, &c.) therein presented; they deal with the elucidation of words, allusions, and the like only so far as seems necessary to a proper comprehension of the author's meaning.

THOMAS STRONG. } *General*
HERBERT WILD. } *Editors.*

EDITOR'S NOTE

MY warmest thanks are due to the Rev. H. J. Carpenter, Fellow of Keble College, and to the Baroness de Ward, for the kindness shown by them in reading proofs, verifying references, and making suggestions and criticisms, to the great improvement both of the Introduction and of the Commentary.

K. E. K.

June, 1937.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	11
I. Date and Place of Writing	11
II. Destination and Integrity	12
III. The Church of Rome	22
IV. Purpose of the Epistle	24
V. Structure	27
VI. The Main Ideas of the Epistle	33
A. The Righteousness of God	33
B. The Universality of Sin	37
C. The Justification of Man	45
D. The Death of Christ: Atonement	57
E. Faith and Works: Grace and Law: Gentile and Jew	69
F. Grace and Freedom: Sanctification: the New Life	81
G. Ethical Psychology: Flesh and Spirit	94
H. The Redeemer: the Holy Spirit: 'in the Spirit': 'in Christ'	102
I. Baptism: The Church: Love of the Brethren	112
J. Predestination: Election: the Remnant: the Problem of Jewish Apostasy	119
K. God's ultimate purposes	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	135
R.V. TEXT	137
NOTES	172
INDEXES	243

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A leaf from the Beatty-Michigan papyrus codex. Courtesy of the University of Michigan, the University of Michigan Press, and Messrs. Emery Walker, Ltd.	<i>Frontispiece</i>
The site of ancient Corinth. Photograph, Marburg	13
St. Paul in Tradition. British Museum. Photograph by Rev. C. C. Dobson	14
The last leaf of Romans, from a bilingual manuscript of the ninth century. Courtesy of the Masters and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge	17
A reconstruction of the Forum of Trajan. After E. J. Banks in <i>Art and Archaeology</i>	21
A Christian fresco in one of the catacombs, depicting the Good Shepherd. From Wilpert, <i>Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms</i> (Herder & Co.)	23
Rembrandt's St. Paul. Photograph, Bruckmann	26
An Assyrian demon. British Museum	41
The ceremony of initiation into the cult of Bacchus. Photograph, Giraudon	53
An early representation of Christian baptism. From de Rossi, <i>Roma Sotteranea</i> , II	113
An early Christian preacher. Museo Civico, Milan	138
A Roman temple. Photograph, Anderson	141
A Renaissance representation of Abraham. Photograph, Anderson	145
Roman marriage. Photograph, Mansell	149
The ceremony of manumission	151
The painted sign over a potter's shop at Pompeii	157
A grove of olive-trees. Photograph by B. Ashmole	161
Roman magistrates accompanied by lictors carrying <i>fascēs</i> on their shoulders. Photograph, Anderson	163
The Bay of Cenchreae. Photograph by Mary Morton	169
The tomb mosaic of an early Christian, Victoria. Bardo Museum, Tunis	171
Roman portrait of a lady writing with stylus and tablets. Photograph, Anderson	174
The Law and the Gospel. Photograph, Archives Phot.	183

INTRODUCTION

I. Date and Place of Writing

IN Rom. 15²⁵⁻⁸ S. Paul speaks of himself as about to go (if not actually on the journey) to Jerusalem, to carry thither the contribution of 'Macedonia and Achaia' for the 'poor among the saints'. This collection is well known to us from other epistles (1 Cor. 16¹⁻⁴; 2 Cor. 8, 9); it took place during the so-called third missionary journey, and was the occasion of S. Paul's last recorded visit to Jerusalem (cp. Acts 24¹⁷). The present letter implies that the collection has now been completed. It cannot therefore have been written before the visit to Corinth promised in 2 Cor. 9¹ (at which the contributions of the Church in that city were to be received) and apparently intended by the mention of 'Greece' in Acts 20². It is usual to date this visit in the year A.D. 58 or 59.

S. Paul also speaks as though his missionary labours in the eastern provinces of the empire were now at an end (Rom. 15^{19, 23}), except for this special journey to Jerusalem. This tallies well with the remark attributed to him at the end of his stay at Ephesus early in the third missionary journey: 'After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the Spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome' (Acts 19²¹). It is true that in Rom. 15¹⁹ he mentions a missionary tour 'even unto Illyricum' (the north-west coast of the Adriatic, with its hinterland, extending perhaps even into the Roman province of Macedonia), as to which Acts is silent. But, even if this means that he actually preached in Illyricum (and not merely that he reached the border), there was time for such a tour either on the way to Corinth (cp. Acts 20²), or even during the three months (Acts 20³) in which his head-quarters were at Corinth.

Corinth is almost certainly the place of writing. So full a treatise could only be composed during a period of relatively undisturbed domicile in a single place, and Acts gives us no indication that S. Paul stopped anywhere else on the journey to Jerusalem for more than the briefest of periods. He was, in fact, in a hurry to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost (Acts 20¹⁶). The

hypothesis is supported by the reference to Phoebe of Cenchreae (the port of Corinth), in Rom. 16¹, and by the fact that the letter is written from the house of Gaius (16²³)—probably the same Gaius whom S. Paul had himself baptized (1 Cor. 1¹⁴).

II. *Destination and Integrity*¹

A. *Destination.*

The question of the destination of the epistle is raised by two considerations:

(i) One MS. omits the words 'in Rome' in 1⁷.¹⁵, reading instead 'to all who are in the love of God' in ver. 7. There is also a certain amount of indirect evidence for the currency of this version in primitive times.

(ii) Many critics think it unlikely that S. Paul should have had such a wide circle of personal acquaintances in Rome, a city which he had never visited, as is suggested by the names in chapter 16.

No serious difficulties are raised by these points. The Roman destination of chapters 1–15 is obvious from 1⁸⁻¹⁴, 15²²⁻⁹ (note especially the two references to Spain, vv. 24, 28); but it is quite possible that either S. Paul or some editor wished to have a version of the epistle for general circulation, and so omitted the specific addresses to Rome in one copy, overlooking the references just mentioned. Nor is it impossible that S. Paul should know personally (from previous acquaintance, as in the case of Prisca and Aquila) or by name some twenty-five leading Christians in Rome. But, if this is considered too unlikely to be accepted, no serious harm is done by the assumption that part or all of chapter 16 is a message added in a copy sent, say, to Ephesus, where S. Paul had many friends, and where we should naturally expect to find Prisca and Aquila (cp. Acts 18^{18, 19, 26}; 1 Cor. 16¹⁹ (written from Ephesus)) and Epaenetus (the 'firstfruits of Asia'² 16⁵). It may even be a fragment of a separate letter which has somehow got attached by accident to the Roman letter. (Almost all scholars agree that something very much of the same kind hap-

¹ Only the bare outlines of these problems are given here. For fuller treatment the larger commentaries should be consulted.

² The 'Achaia' of A.V. is not supported by the authority of the best MSS. See note on 16⁵.



THE SITE OF ANCIENT CORINTH

Destination and Integrity

pened in the case of the Corinthian correspondence.) But in that case it is strange that no single copy of the supposed original letter, without chapter 16, should have survived.¹

It is known that copies of the letter existed which ended with



ST. PAUL IN TRADITION

A portrait on a fragment of a glass communion-patera, found in the catacomb of S. Sebastian. (From a copy by Thomas Heaphy.)

14²³ (see below, p. 16), and it has been suggested that this version was written by S. Paul as a 'general' epistle, and lacked the references to Rome in 1⁷.¹⁵, as well, of course, as the Roman allusions in 15²²⁻⁹ and the greetings of 16. On this theory, S. Paul later prepared a special version for Rome, inserting the mention of the city in 1⁷.¹⁵, and adding chapter 15. Chapter 16 (if addressed to Rome) was added at the same time; or if part of an Ephesian letter, was added later still, perhaps by accident, as suggested above. This theory, however, breaks down on grounds

¹ But the new reading of the Beatty-Michigan papyrus points definitely towards the existence, at some stage, of such a copy; see below, p. 20.

of general improbability (see below, B. (iii), p. 18); and it is to be noticed in addition that 1⁸⁻¹⁴ can only have been addressed to Rome, and that there is no evidence that these verses were ever absent from the epistle; whilst the only MS. which omits the reference to Rome contains both chapters 15 and 16.¹

There is therefore no serious reason for doubting the Roman destination of the letter as a whole; though we must hold in suspense for a moment the question whether chapter 16 formed a part of it.

B. *Integrity.*

It is not certain that the letter as we have it is S. Paul's original version, though there is practically universal agreement that, apart perhaps from the doxology (see below (ii)), the whole epistle was written at one time or another by the apostle. Four questions have to be considered:

- (i) the order of paragraphs in the last three chapters;
- (ii) the authenticity of the doxology, 16²⁵⁻⁷;
- (iii) the problem of the shorter ending;
- (iv) the problem of the longer ending.

(i) *Order of paragraphs.* The Revised Version, following the best MSS., gives us an arrangement which, for our immediate purpose, may best be represented as follows:

- (a) 14¹⁻²³, sermon on scruples of weaker brethren;
- (b) 15¹⁻³², conclusion of sermon; notes on the Gentile mission; present and future plans; a request for prayer;
- (c) 15³³, blessing;
- (d) 16¹⁻¹⁶, commendation of Phoebe; greetings to friends;
- (e) 16^{17-20^a}, a concluding warning;
- (f) 16^{20^b}, the grace;
- (g) 16²¹⁻³, greetings from friends at Corinth;²
- (h) 16²⁵⁻⁷, the doxology.

¹ Sanday and Headlam (p. xcvi) also suggest that the words 'in Rome' were omitted in the short version, which they attribute to Marcion (see below, B (iii)). On this view, Marcion cut out the reference to Rome because 'local and personal allusions would have little interest for him'. K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of S. Paul*, p. 348, also holds that the shorter version omitted the reference to Rome, though he does not hold the Marcion hypothesis (*ibid.*, pp. 367, 368).

² 16²⁴ (A.V.), a repetition of the 'grace' of 20^b, is omitted in R.V. on the evidence of the best MSS.

Destination and Integrity

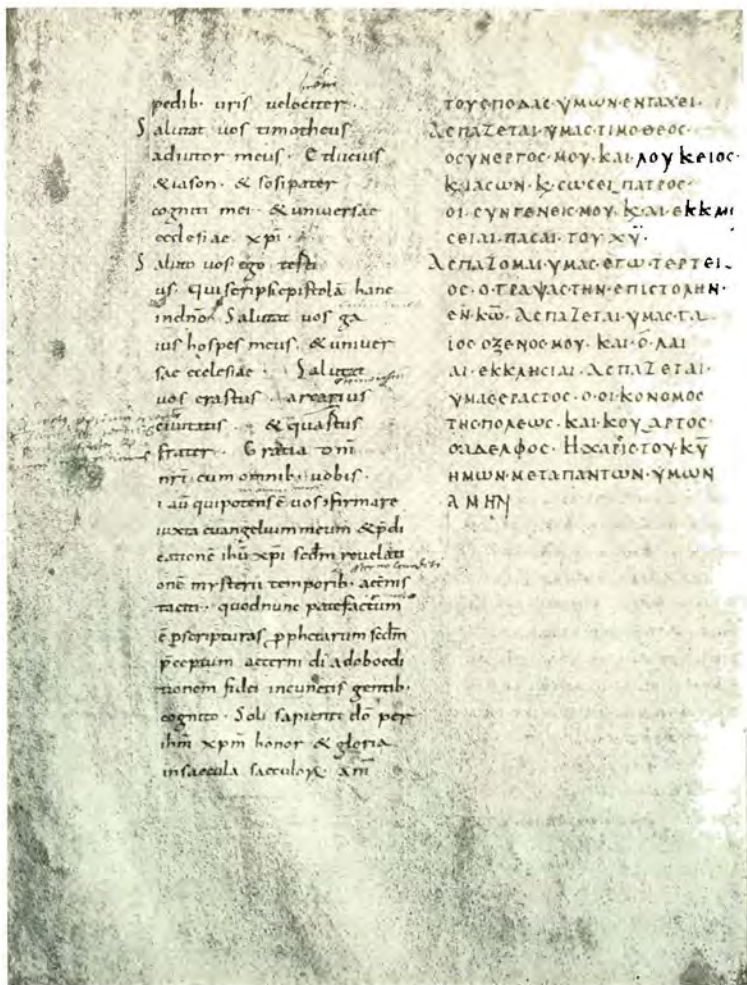
This order is not without its difficulties. In particular, (c) and (f) appear to be alternative endings to the epistle, and it is surprising that nothing of the kind appears at the end as we have it; whilst the separation of (g) from (d) is awkward.

Now, if the doxology is spurious (see (ii) below), and 16¹⁻²³ do not belong to the original letter (see A above), most of these difficulties disappear. If we reject this solution, however, we must assume that paragraphs (d) to (h) represent a series of small appendices, dictated almost at haphazard, and probably not all at one sitting. This would account for the want of sequence between them. It is not at all an unlikely solution, and therefore the problem is not one which need trouble us very much. But it has a certain bearing on the question of the original text (see (iv) below).

(ii) *The doxology*, though not obviously un-Pauline, may not be from the apostle's hand. It is loose and ungrammatical in construction, and reads more like a rough arrangement of Pauline phrases made by an editor than an original composition by the apostle. Further consideration of its authenticity depends, however, on the views we take of problems (iii) and (iv) below.

(iii) *Problem of the shorter ending*. There was current, at an early period, a version of the epistle which ended at 14²³, sometimes with, sometimes without, the addition of the doxology. No example of this version is to be found in any extant MS., but there is abundant evidence that it once existed; and an important tradition, dating from Origen, says that this short form, without the doxology, emanated from the heretic Marcion (see below). It is evident that this shorter version, in its earliest form, must have lacked the doxology, for it was in no one's interest to remove it if it stood there at the outset. But this in no way proves the doxology to be un-Pauline. It could easily have been added to the shorter version by an editor who knew both endings and, although in general he preferred the shorter, yet decided to round it off by adding the doxology from the longer.

Is, then, the shorter form the earlier? This seems highly improbable. Chapter 15 carries on the thought of chapter 14 without the slightest break, and has all the appearance of having been written at the same time. As we have seen, it has



The last leaf of Romans, from a bilingual manuscript of the ninth century (Codex Augiensis = F).

For the Latin version (left-hand side of page) the scribe followed a manuscript which contained the doxology (16²⁵⁻⁷). His Greek exemplar was without the doxology, so he left the corresponding space on the right-hand side blank. Both Greek and Latin have the 'grace' at 16²⁴, and not in its proper place at 16²⁰.

been suggested (K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of S. Paul*, pp. 362 ff.) that S. Paul wrote a 'general' epistle which ended at 14²³, but later decided to send a special copy to Rome,¹ and to that end added 'a few more paragraphs continuing the thought of his original writing' (i.e. ch. 15—for Dr. Lake is doubtful whether Rom. 16¹⁻²³ was addressed to Rome). But against this it may be urged *either* that the thought of chapter 14 is complete by itself, in which case there was no need for the additional paragraphs, *or* that it is incomplete by itself, in which case the additional paragraphs, which complete it, must have been part of the original letter. It may further be suggested that if the paragraphs were added (as Dr. Lake supposes) after some lapse of time, it is unlikely that they would carry on the thought of what precedes as unbrokenly as they do.

If, then, the longer version is the earlier, how did the shorter one arise? Various suggestions are possible. The epistle may have been abbreviated for some primitive Church lectionary, or a copy of the letter may have accidentally lost its ending. On the whole, however, the theory that, as the Origen tradition affirms, the phenomenon is due to a deliberate mutilation of the epistle by Marcion is probably the best.

Marcion was a heretic who flourished at Rome between A.D. 154 and 166. The distinguishing peculiarity of his thought was the extraordinary emphasis which he laid upon the uniqueness of Christianity. Under this influence, he exaggerated the Pauline contrast between law and gospel, until it took the shape of an absolute opposition between Judaism and Christianity. To secure firm scriptural support for his thesis, he freely re-edited the New Testament, cutting out such passages as suggested that Judaism was in any way a *praeparatio evangelica* for Christ.

It was not unnatural therefore that he should have truncated the epistle at 14²³. For, as Sanday and Headlam point out (p. xcvi), 'five of the first thirteen verses of chapter 15 contain quotations from the O.T.; ver. 8 contains an expression ("I say that Christ

¹ This implies that the references to Rome, 1^{7, 16}, were not contained in the short 'general' epistle. Dr. Lake argues for this (*Earlier Epistles*, p. 348), but, as has already been pointed out, the reference to Rome in 1⁹⁻¹⁴ is undoubted, and the only MS. which omits the words 'in Rome' contains chapters 15 and 16.

hath been made a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God") which Marcion could certainly not have used. Still more is this the case with regard to ver. 4, which directly contradicts the whole of his special teaching. The words at the end of chapter 14 might seem to make a more suitable ending than either of the next two verses, and at this place the division was drawn. The remainder of these two chapters (i.e. 15 and 16) could be omitted simply because they were useless for the definite dogmatic purpose Marcion had in view.'

(iv) *Problem of the longer ending.* We assume, then, that the shorter ending is not the original version prepared by S. Paul. His original letter went at least as far as the end of chapter 15, and (with the possible exception of the doxology) chapter 16 is also beyond question from his hand. But we have seen some reason for doubting the authenticity of the doxology, and some for supposing that chapter 16, though by S. Paul, was not part of the letter to Rome as originally sent. Can we reach more definite conclusions on these points?

Apart from the problem of the shorter ending, there are almost innumerable variations between the MSS. in the transmission of the text of chapters 14 and 15. Thus the 'grace' appears in different versions at 16²⁰, 16²⁴, and 16²⁷ (see note on 16²⁰); in some it occurs in both the first and second of these positions; in one group in the first and third. Similarly the doxology, as has already been mentioned, sometimes ends chapter 14; sometimes appears both there and at the end of chapter 16; sometimes is absent altogether; and in one very important MS. occurs at the end of chapter 15 (see (γ) below).

The vast majority of these variations can be explained as late scribal attempts to harmonize the readings of different manuscripts. When these have been discarded, there remain three alternative traditions which must all have been current at an early date:

(α) Our present R.V. arrangement (so the best MSS. known prior to 1935);

(β) A version which ended the epistle at 16²³—i.e. the present arrangement without the doxology. This tradition must have been a very strong one, since it is perpetuated by editors who

Destination and Integrity

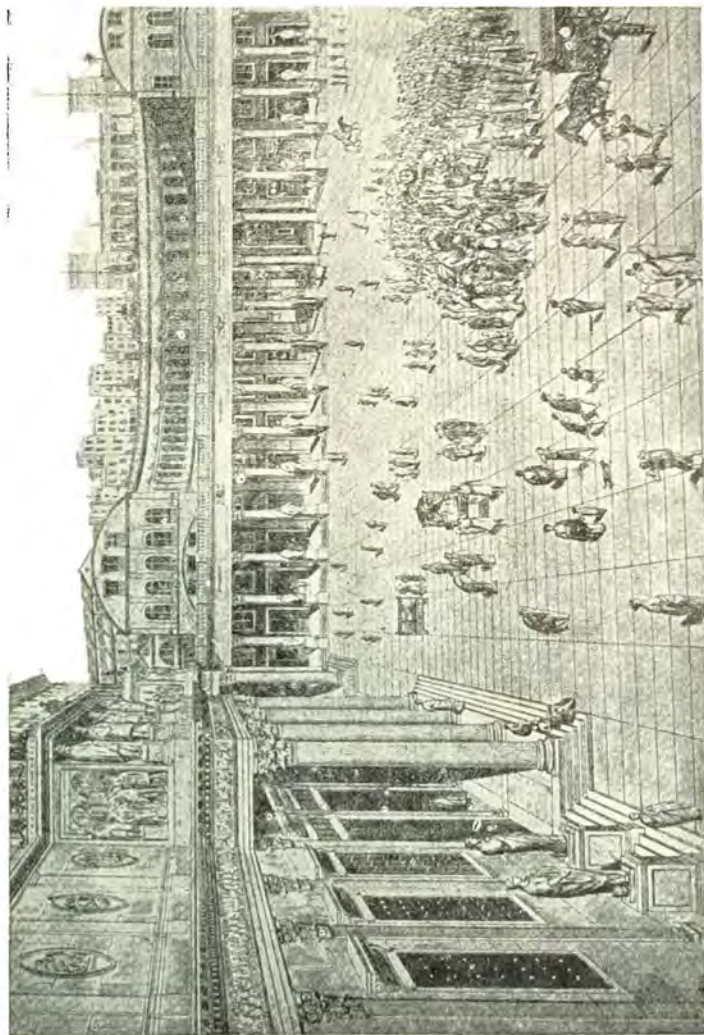
knew that in other MSS. the doxology appeared at the end of chapter 14 or chapter 16 (showing their knowledge by leaving gaps at one or other of these places), yet nevertheless preferred to omit it altogether.

(γ) A version which had the doxology at the end of chapter 15, followed by chapter 16¹⁻²³. This version is of peculiar interest and importance. It occurs only in the newly discovered Beatty-Michigan papyrus codex of the epistles of S. Paul—a document 'a hundred years or more' older than any hitherto known MS., i.e. written early in the third century (see for text of this passage, and introductory notes, H. A. Sanders, *A Third-century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul* (University of Michigan Press, 1935); F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fascicule iii, supplement (London 1936)).

This newly-discovered reading must be very early—not so much because it occurs in the earliest known MS. (for the other readings may go back to even earlier archetypes), as because it is difficult to believe that it could have got into circulation at all after the other two readings had become widespread. Thus we have to attempt to discover which of the three is the earliest, and how the other two arose from it. If we call chapter 15 by the letter A, 16¹⁻²³ by B, the doxology by C, the three readings can be described as A+B+C, A+B, and A+C+B, respectively.

Unfortunately, it is quite easy to frame plausible theories assigning priority to each of the three readings, and showing how the other two arose from it. It is true that A+C+B does not at first sight seem a very probable original reading; but if, as was suggested above (p. 16), the last paragraphs of the epistle were added very much at haphazard, it is not an impossible one, and so must be taken into account.

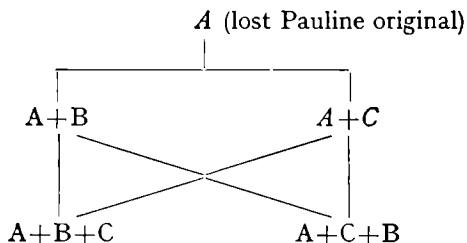
At the same time, the most attractive suggestion is that, at an even earlier stage in the circulation of the epistle, two endings only were known: A+B, and (now lost) A+C. Then A+B+C and A+C+B represent different attempts, by separate editors, to combine the two. Carrying the process back a step farther, we assume that, as it left S. Paul's hand, the epistle ended with A. To this, in one copy, B was added, either as a message to Ephesus by S. Paul himself, or as a loose scrap of a separate letter (see



ROME. A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FORUM OF TRAJAN

Destination and Integrity

p. 12 above); in another copy the (spurious) doxology C. Thus the history of the text would have been (lost stages in italics):



This hypothesis has the advantage not merely of explaining the textual phenomena in the simplest way, but also of satisfying the difficulties both of those who think chapter 16 cannot have been addressed to Rome, and of those who suspect the genuineness of the doxology; whilst it eliminates the problems mentioned above under II. B (i) *Order of Paragraphs*. It is doubtful whether as much can be said for any other suggestion. But it must be repeated that other views are tenable: consequently the new reading cannot be held to exclude the possibilities that either B, or C, or both, belonged to S. Paul's original letter.

III. *The Church of Rome*

Of the earliest history of the Church of Rome nothing is known. S. Paul calls it 'the foundation of others' (*ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον*), 15²⁰—a phrase which does not preclude the possibility that it had its origin in the missionary preaching of a single person, though it certainly does not prove it. In all probability it arose almost spontaneously from the visits (or return home) of converts who had been won to the gospel in the east (cp. Damascus (Acts 9^{2, 19}) and Antioch (Acts 11¹⁹⁻²¹), where Christian communities must have had their origin in a similar way), and spread the news of their experience among their friends. The parable of the olive-tree, in Rom. 11¹³⁻²⁴, gains added point if it be assumed that the first centre in which the Jewish converts to Christianity preached their new gospel was the 'Synagogue of the Olive', for whose existence



THE CHURCH AT ROME

A Christian fresco in one of the catacombs depicting the Good Shepherd

there is independent evidence (W. L. Knox, *S. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*, pp. 254, 258). But even if the imposing list of names in ch. 16 refers to the Roman Church, it does not seem to have been in fact a very impressive body. The Jews at Rome, as a whole, though aware that 'this sect is everywhere spoken against', seem quite unconscious that a branch of it exists in their midst, and treat S. Paul as though he were the first Christian ever to arrive in Rome (Acts 28^{21, 22}). This in itself suggests that the Roman Church at a very early date became predominantly Gentile, which tallies with S. Paul's reference to his 'apostleship to the Gentiles' as a ground for his writing to it (1^{5, 6, 13}, 15^{16, 18}; cp. also 11¹³).

IV. *Purpose of the Epistle*

Unimportant though the Roman Church may have been in comparison with the city at large, S. Paul treats it with the utmost deference and tact. He refers repeatedly to the long-desired privilege of visiting it which is at last to be realized (1^{11, 13}, 15²³). He pays high compliment to the Christian virtues which its members exhibit (1⁶, 15¹⁴, 16¹⁹). If 16¹⁻²³ belongs to the original letter, it shows the apostle extending to it the most solemn and elaborate greeting ('All the churches of Christ salute you', 16¹⁶) of any in his epistles, and taking care to mention by name as many Roman Christians as possible. It is ridiculous to regard all this as merely empty compliment, or to think that the apostle is dazzled by the reflected lustre which the imperial city sheds even upon the humble Christian community which dwells there. The Church of Rome at this time must have been a church of unquestionable holiness to evoke such an admiration from S. Paul.

It is true that in 16^{17, 18} he warns his readers against persons 'who cause divisions', but he does not assert that any such mischief-makers are actually to be found in the church. Again 14¹⁻¹⁵ might be taken to imply differences of opinion, amounting to acute controversy, on such subjects as vegetarianism and the 'observance of days'. But it is not clear that these differences exist *within* the community. It is at least possible that the Roman Church, in its high idealism, was setting too high a standard for candidates for baptism, and S. Paul is urging them first to 'receive'

the 'weaker brothers' into the church, and then to deal tenderly with them (see *infra*, pp. 234, 235).

Thus his first purpose in writing is simply to prepare the way for his own visit to a church which he so highly esteems. In doing so, however, he takes occasion to set down on paper the main principles of his gospel. Not, indeed, that he thinks such a course is necessary for the instruction of his readers (15¹⁴), but that the time seems opportune. His decision to leave the east for the west closed a chapter in his life; and at such a moment it is natural with all of us to review whatever has been done (or, in this case, what has been preached) and to reduce it to clear intelligibility. The greater part of the epistle is easily accounted for on these grounds, which also explain the numerous parallels between Romans and the earlier letters (Thessalonians, Corinthians, and Galatians), in which arguments here expounded in general and considered language are to be seen in the process of formation under the stress of actual controversy.

S. Paul's exposition of an argument frequently took the form of a dialogue—a series of questions addressed to him by an imaginary opponent, to which he replies at some length. This is particularly true of Romans, as may be seen from 3¹⁻⁹, 4¹⁻¹², 9¹⁹⁻³³, &c. This being so, it is wrong to suppose that any or all of the questions thus dealt with in the epistle were questions which specially vexed the Roman Church, in the same way (for example) as the points raised and discussed in 1 Cor. 7, 8, 12, &c., were problems definitely referred to S. Paul by his informants. If these questions are to be regarded as real and not rhetorical ('Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?' (6¹, see *infra*, pp. 82, 199) is obviously as purely rhetorical as anything could be), they arise out of S. Paul's past experience not out of his correspondents' present perplexities. This explains, why it is that, in dealing with a church predominantly Gentile, S. Paul should devote the greater part of his letter to anti-Jewish argument, or to explaining the place of the rejection of the Jews in the divine scheme for the universe.¹

¹ Thus to infer from S. Paul's insistence upon the equality of Gentile with Jew before God that the Roman Church was mainly composed of converts from Judaism at the time the epistle was written (W. L. Knox, *S. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*, pp. 345, 350) is scarcely legitimate.



S. PAUL IN TRADITION. REMBRANDT'S S. PAUL.

Only at one point, apart from the practical problems of chapters 14 and 15 and perhaps the warning in chapter 16, do we seem to come into contact with the immediate situation as it existed in the Roman Church. In chapters 9-11 S. Paul is dealing with the mystery of the rejection of the Jews. The subject was one which,

under the conditions of the day, and in view of the origin of Christianity from Hebrew soil, no exposition of the Christian gospel could disregard, quite apart from the fact that without some such discussion the doctrines of grace and predestination are open to serious misunderstanding. It is, therefore, just another of the general topics on which the epistle gives S. Paul's considered view. But in 11¹³ a personal note suddenly obtrudes itself. 'I speak to you that are Gentiles', the apostle writes, as though singling out for a special message one section (even though the larger section) of his readers. And here he is warning them against a very definite danger—the possibility that they, who appear for the moment to have stepped into the place of the Jews as the covenant people of God, should 'in their own conceits' (11²⁵) 'glory' over the Jews (11¹⁸). What lies behind this unexpected admonition it is impossible to say with any certainty. Perhaps the Gentile members in the Church were showing themselves 'high-minded' (11²⁰) towards converts of Jewish extraction, and so breeding dissension in the body. Perhaps the Gentile influence was showing itself hostile to any missionary approach to the Jews, on the ground that God had abandoned the latter to their fate. This would account in part for the ignorance of Christianity displayed by the Jews in Rome (*supra*, p. 24); and S. Paul's deliberate overtures to them (Acts 28^{17, 23}) constituted a diplomatic step which enforced by action the reproof of the Gentile converts which in Rom. 11¹³⁻²⁵ is administered in words.

V. Structure

The epistle has to be read through more than once before its structural history becomes at all clear. But when this point has been reached we discover that the letter is not so formidable a maze as at first appeared. The most significant points are the following:

(a) A logical and well-thought-out sequence of exposition can be discerned as the basis of the epistle. S. Paul opens his account of the gospel by propounding two great questions: (1) How shall God be vindicated against the suspicion of indifference to evil? (2) How shall man be relieved of the burden of sin and guilt? Of these two questions, the first is not fully answered—or rather,

the answer is subsumed under the answer to the second question, which is, in brief, 'Christ by His death has brought relief from sin'. This section of the argument occupies chapters 1-3.

In chapter 4 S. Paul proceeds to the next step—it is by faith that we appropriate the benefits of Christ's death. Chapters 5-8 describe the type of life which issues from faith's acceptance of grace, and emphasize that the Christian can take no credit for his progress in sanctification—it is the gift of God mediated by the Holy Spirit. The statement of this fundamental Christian truth, however, raises the double problem of 'predestination' or 'free will' (the former being the metaphysical, the latter the psychological aspect of the question); and this S. Paul takes up in chapters 9-11, applying it primarily to the case of the Jews, and including some hints as to his view of God's ultimate purposes as revealed in history. Chapters 12-15¹³ contain illustrations of what is implied by the type of life described in chapters 5-8, the general principles laid down in the earlier section being developed in the discussion of particular ethical problems. 15¹⁴-16²⁷ is almost entirely concerned with personal matters and greetings.

(b) This logical and clear-cut scheme, however, is disturbed, and its sequence therefore disguised, by countless interruptions; and these are often introduced by rhetorical questions or ejaculations which tend to enhance the impression of discontinuity conveyed by the interruptions themselves. They may be classified under three headings:

(1) *Parentheses*—short passages designed to clear up particular difficulties of detail, such as a modern writer would relegate to footnotes or appendices.

(2) *Prepossessions*—passages in which an unkind critic would say that S. Paul had fallen a victim to an 'obsession', 'complex', or *idée fixe*. There were, in fact, certain subjects upon which the apostle never missed an opportunity of repeating his views whenever possible; even a chance turn of phrase in the context often provided him with an occasion which, however unsuitable, he was unable to resist. Among these subjects were the equality of Jew and Gentile under the new régime of Christianity; the supersession of law by grace and works by faith; the principle that where there is no law there can be no transgression; the opposition between

'life in the flesh' and 'life in the spirit'; the problem of predestination and free will, particularly in connexion with some such epigram as 'Let us sin that grace may abound'; the privileges originally bestowed upon Judaism; and so forth.

(3) *Digressions*—extended passages in which S. Paul's thought is unnecessarily, though not always inappropriately, diverted to some subject more or less remote from the main course of his argument. Thus, although a discussion of the problem of predestination cannot possibly be called alien to the theme of the epistle, and (in so far as it carried or carries conviction) must be regarded as a source of strength, it is nevertheless clear that chapters 9-11 form such a digression. For the application of the general principles of Christian conduct to concrete problems contained in chapters 12-15¹³ would follow naturally upon the statement of those principles contained in chapters 5-8, and to this extent chapters 9-11 interrupt the flow of the exposition. Moreover, the section, chapters 9-11, itself suffers from three internal digressions—the two passages 9³⁰-10¹³ and 10¹⁴⁻²¹, throwing the responsibility for their apostasy upon the Jews; and the warning to the Gentiles not to be 'high-minded' (11¹³⁻²⁴).

An examination of the most discontinuous section of the epistle, chapters 5-8, will illustrate the extent to which these three factors exercise a disintegrating influence upon S. Paul's exposition of his subject. As will be seen from the notes, the section consists of ten paragraphs, lettered continuously from (a) to (j). The main theme runs through paragraphs (a)-(d)-(h)-(i)-(j), as follows:

- (a) 5¹⁻⁵, a sketch of the sanctified life;
- (d) 6¹⁻¹⁴, its motive force: union with Christ;
- (h) 8⁵⁻¹⁷, mediated by life in the Spirit;
- (i) 8¹⁸⁻³⁰, its goal: the 'glory which shall be revealed';
- (j) 8³¹⁻⁹, a concluding hymn of confidence.

Several of these paragraphs have themselves suffered disturbance. Thus (d) is strongly influenced by the predestination problem, which appears at the beginning in the rhetorical question, 'Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?' and at the end in three verses (12-14) emphasizing human responsibility. The opposition between law and grace appears in ver. 14, and a prepossession in connexion with the idea of the flesh is hinted at in the 'lusts' of ver. 12 and the 'members' of ver. 13. Paragraph (h) (*life in the Spirit*, 8⁵⁻¹⁷) is strongly and

dramatically influenced by the antithesis between 'flesh' and 'spirit', and runs throughout in a series of contrasts, though, strictly speaking, no reference to the 'flesh' was necessary for the development of the theme. It contains also a short hortatory parenthesis in 8^{12, 13}, and in ver. 15 (see note *ad loc.*) the prepossession about the equality of Jew and Gentile shows itself in a very delicate innuendo. Paragraph (i) (*the goal of the sanctified life*, 8¹⁸⁻³⁰) contains no less than three parentheses: 8¹⁹⁻²² on the redemption of the universe; 8^{24, 25} on the nature of Christian hope; 8^{26, 27} on the assistance of the Spirit in inarticulate prayer; and ends with a strong emphasis upon predestination (8²⁸⁻³⁰), revealing in no measured terms S. Paul's prepossession on that subject. The *hymn of confidence* ((j), 8³¹⁻⁹) continues under the influence of the same idea.

The remaining paragraphs of the section, (b), (c), (e), (f), (g), are all digressions, more or less appropriate. Of these (b) *the hymn of the crucified Jesus* (5⁶⁻¹¹), and (c) *the life of one can affect many* (5¹²⁻²¹) have no particular claim to appear where they do; they would have fitted the context better if they had followed chapter 3. In (b) there is a short and obscure parenthesis (5⁷) on the uniqueness of the love shown by Christ for men; in (c) there are two parentheses (5^{13, 14}, on death in the pre-Mosaic age, and 5¹⁵⁻¹⁷, on certain points in which the parallel between Adam and Christ is defective). Paragraph (e) (6^{15-7⁶}) illustrates by two analogies the theme of the relief from despair brought by the new life in Christ. It is therefore perfectly appropriate where it stands, but it does not help the argument forward. It suffers more than most parts of the epistle from prepossessions. Its opening words, for example (6¹⁶), suggest that it will deal with the problem of predestination, which it signally fails to do; and the second analogy is made almost unintelligible by the forcible introduction of the contrast between 'law' and 'grace' (see note on 7¹⁻⁸). The theme of the 'flesh' appears in 7⁶.

Paragraph (f)—the famous passage on the misery of a life of sin (7⁷⁻²⁵)—is another digression, whose presence at this particular point is justified only by the fact that it emphasizes, by contrast, the joys of the life in grace. This purpose, however, is severely obscured by S. Paul's prepossessions about 'law' and the 'flesh', so that the chapter becomes, in effect, a full-dress treatise on the part played by these two factors in the development of the sinful consciousness. It has, therefore, no particular relevance to its context; though S. Paul harmonizes it with the paragraphs which follow by carrying on into them the idea of the 'flesh' (e.g. 8^{1, 3, 5-8, 12, 13}). Finally, paragraph (g)

(8¹⁻⁴) is a digression which summarizes those parts of S. Paul's gospel contained in chapters 1-4, but expresses them in terms of the opposition between 'law and grace' and 'flesh and spirit' which dominated chapter 7. Its purpose is probably to find a way back from digressions (e) and (f) to the main theme, as it is to be resumed in paragraph (h).

(c) Nevertheless, despite these constant interruptions, many of them both lengthy and involved, S. Paul achieves the remarkable feat of always returning to his main theme at the point at which he deserted it. This proves conclusively that in dictating his epistle to Tertius he must have been working to an already existing draft—the epistle was not thrown off, as opportunity offered, without careful preparation of a kind which can fairly be called literary. And it is more than probable that some of the interruptions—in particular those which we have called 'digressions'—were premeditated; that is to say, were already contemplated in the original draft. Opinions must differ as to the number of instances in which this may have been the case; but it is noticeable that the main ideas of a section or paragraph are often prepared for in the passages which precede it. Thus the emphatic use of predestinationist language in 8²⁸⁻³⁰ heralds the approach of the full-length discussion of the problem in chapters 9-11; whilst the predominance of the words 'law' and 'flesh' in 7⁷⁻²⁵ is prepared for—the former by the remarkable substitution of the 'law' for 'sin' as the oppressor in the second illustration in the paragraph 6^{15-7⁶} (see note on 7¹⁻⁶); the latter by the references of 6¹², 10^b, 7⁵, which increase in definiteness as the main treatment of the subject of the 'flesh' draws nearer. What is clear at least is that the epistle, in the form in which it was finally sent to Rome, represents the conclusion of an elaborate process of thought and arrangement, even though many of its difficulties are the result of last-moment afterthoughts (parentheses or prepossessions) which only influenced it in the final stage of the dictation of the fair copy.

(d) Another conclusion as to S. Paul's methods of composition is legitimate. The reader cannot fail to notice a certain lack of proportion between different parts of the epistle. It will be commonly agreed that the denunciation of human sinfulness which occupies the greater part of chapters 1-3, the elaborate account of

Abraham's faith in chapter 4, and the parallel between Adam and Christ in chapter 5—to name three examples only—are altogether disproportionate in length when compared with the meagre eleven verses (3²¹⁻³¹) allotted to the most important theme of all—that of the Atonement. And a comparison of the different sections of the epistle in respect of literary finish or technique brings to light similar characteristics. There are many passages which exhibit a high degree of workmanship, and in which S. Paul's tendency to discursiveness is kept severely under control; others are sketchy, perfunctory, or diffuse. His treatment of the first question he raises (the vindication of God from the accusation of indifference), for example, is unsatisfactory in the extreme; indeed, were it not for the crucial phrases of 1^{17, 18} and 3^{25, 26} (*infra*, pp. 33-6), we should have had no reason for supposing that the apostle was exercised by it at all. Similarly, the arguments of 3¹⁻⁸, 4⁹⁻¹², 7¹⁻⁶, 8^{26, 27}, and other passages could have been clarified with great benefit to the readers of the epistle. And though the difficulties of some of these passages can be accounted for on the hypothesis that they are last-minute interpolations, not all of them can be explained in this way.

It follows from this that, although S. Paul conceived and drafted his epistle as a literary and theological whole, he probably had at his disposal a number of different essays, addresses, or sermons on many of the subjects which he proposed to discuss; and that he saw nothing objectionable in incorporating them wholesale at the appropriate points, as an alternative to covering the ground a second time by composing a new paragraph on the same lines. These pre-existing essays or sermons were, of course, of varying length, and in varying stages of completion and revision. Hence, although the inclusion of any one of them was determined by its relevance to the course of S. Paul's argument, and not vice versa, the differences between them, when they were all fitted together, produced an unevenness and want of proportion which would probably have been avoided if the apostle had decided not to avail himself of old material in this fashion.

In the notes on the text at the end of this volume, an attempt is made to indicate the points at which S. Paul diverged from and returned to his main argument, and to decide the underlying

cause or influence in each case. It remains, in the final section of this Introduction, to disentangle the general principles of his thought from these accidental complications, and exhibit them to some extent as they might have appeared if the personal equation of his psychology, and the exacting conditions under which he worked, had not, in greater or lesser degree, modified his presentation of them.

VI. *The Main Ideas of the Epistle*

A. *The Righteousness of God* (1¹⁷, 1¹⁸, 3²¹⁻⁶).

I am not ashamed of the gospel, S. Paul says: *it is the power of God unto salvation . . . for therein is revealed a righteousness of God*. The whole epistle turns on this sentence—our gospel reveals, as at no other time has been revealed, the righteousness of God. The revelation is a progressive one, *from faith¹ unto faith* (1¹⁷); we cannot in a moment understand *the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God* (11³³). As often with S. Paul, the theme is no sooner introduced than apparently set on one side; there follows a long dissertation (extending from 1¹⁸ to 3²⁰) on man's unrighteousness, which at first sight obscures the issue. But the thread is picked up again in 3²¹⁻⁶: *the righteousness of God*, only *witnessed to by law and prophets*, has now been *manifested* (πεφανερωται, a different word from 'revealed', with a new shade of meaning—see note on 3²¹) *at this present season*. We have to ask ourselves, what does S. Paul mean by this dominating phrase, *The righteousness of God*?

The phrase is a comprehensive one. To a Greek-speaking Jew, acquainted both with the classical meaning of δικαιοσύνη, and with the special colouring the word assumed from the Hebrew conceptions which it was employed to convey in the Greek version (LXX) of the Old Testament, it had an almost infinite variety of shades of meaning. The same is true of the word 'justification' (δικαίωσις), which means, in general, no more than the righteousness of God in operation. Which of these various meanings, in either case, were most congenial to the mind of S. Paul, we shall discover as we proceed. But at the very outset he provides us with one clear finger-post, and that a very startling one. *I am not*

¹ So R.V. *mg.*; and better than the 'by faith' of the R.V. text.

ashamed of the gospel (he writes) . . . *for therein is revealed a righteousness of God . . . for the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men* (I¹⁶⁻¹⁸).

The repetition of the verb 'revealed' (*ἀποκαλύπτεται*) in the present tense, and of the explanatory particle 'for' (*γάρ*), leaves no shadow of doubt as to S. Paul's intention. Whatever we may learn about the 'righteousness of God' later, we are here told that the gospel reveals it by revealing God's *wrath against sin* (not, let us notice at once, against sinners). Amazing though this conclusion may be, it is confirmed by the context in 3²⁵: God has 'set forth Christ Jesus to be a propitiation' *to shew his righteousness, because of the passing over¹ of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God . . . that he might himself be just* (mg. *righteous*).² The first *proof* (which is the special meaning of 'shew' (*ἔνδειξις*) in this passage), as well as the first activity, of God's righteousness must be that sin is no longer 'passed over'. Sin may be reprobated, sinners may be forgiven; either result (as S. Paul will tell us) expresses a 'righteous' attitude. But to pass sin over, to ignore it, in effect to condone it, is unrighteous. In the past God had seemed indifferent to sin; now it is clear that His indifferences were only apparent. He was righteous all the time: at last His righteousness is manifested. Hostility to sin appears visibly in God's dealings with His sinful universe; the veil of seeming callousness is torn aside.

S. Paul the Christian has, of course, a theory to account for God's apparent indifference to sin, as pious Jews had before him. It is really no indifference, but a *goodness of God leading to repentance* (2⁴; cp. for the same thought Acts 14¹⁶, 17³⁰, 2 Pet. 3⁹, Isa. 57¹¹, Wisd. 11²³, 12¹⁰, Ecclus. 5⁴, 2 (4) Esdras 7⁶⁴ (134)). But the fact that he found an answer to the problem does not mean that it had never been a problem to him; it is clear from what has been said that he must have found it a severe testing of faith. In this he shows himself no more than the descendant of a long line

¹ A.V. 'for the remission of sins that are past', and marginal references, are entirely wrong here.

² The words 'justice' and 'righteousness', and 'just' and 'righteous', are equally translations of the Greek *δικαιοσύνη* and *δίκαιος*; and the use now of one and now of the other in the English versions implies no change of meaning.

of heroic souls, whose perplexities are written large on many pages of the Old Testament (Pss. 17¹⁴, 37¹, 42⁹, 43², 73³⁻¹⁴, Job 21⁷⁻¹², &c.). The vehemence with which S. Paul, now reassured by the Christian gospel, rejects every suggestion that God may perhaps be *unrighteous* (e.g. 3⁵, 9¹⁴, 20) is symptomatic of the degree to which, as a Jew, he had shared these perplexities. The wicked flourish, the righteous are oppressed, and God makes no sign; must not this be read as evidence of divine indifference?

That S. Paul was deeply exercised by this problem of divine indifference is clear from the two rare words which he uses to express it in 3²⁵. 'Passing-over' (*πάρεσις*) would appear, in this meaning, almost to be an invention of his own; but the verb with which it is connected implies the idea of 'slackness' or 'febleness'. In Heb. 12¹² it is used of hands that 'hang down' nervelessly; in classical Greek it seems to mean at best an 'arbitrary leniency', 'favouritism', or 'complaisance'. 'Forbearance' (*ἀνοχή*) is another rare word, used elsewhere in the New Testament only in 2⁴ of this epistle, where the context gives it a kindlier meaning. In the present passage we might give it its usual classical sense of the sudden checking or calling off of forces in hot pursuit of an enemy,¹ as though God had suddenly 'called a truce' with sin.

Again, the 'wrath' or 'anger of the Lord' was a familiar Old Testament phrase (e.g. Exod. 4¹⁴, Num. 11¹, Deut. 6¹⁵, Isa. 5²⁵, Jer. 4⁸, Pss. 78³¹, 95¹¹, 106²³, and constantly). But S. Paul habitually avoids any use of it, preferring the impersonal phrase 'the wrath' (Rom. 2⁵, 8, 3⁵, 4¹⁵, 5⁹, 12¹⁹, 13⁵, 1 Thess. 1¹⁰, 2¹⁶, 5⁹). With the exception of Col. 3⁶ and its parallel Eph. 5⁶, the present passage (2⁴, 5) is the only one in which S. Paul speaks explicitly of 'the wrath of God'. The reason is evident. Except where he is dealing with the special problem of divine indifference, the apostle is so anxious to insist that the dominant characteristic of God, as revealed by Jesus, is *love* or *mercy*, that to ascribe 'wrath' to Him verges on blasphemy. But here (1¹⁸) S. Paul is dealing with this particular problem, and therefore nothing less than the emphatic and startling 'wrath of God' will serve his turn. God is indeed a God of mercy. But if I press the question 'What is His attitude towards sin?' the answer must be, 'An attitude of abiding anger or hostility.'

God's anger against sin, though fully and finally revealed only in the gospel, was *witnessed to*, or hinted at, by *law and prophets*

¹ Cp. 1 Macc. 12²⁶—Jonathan gives the enemy no 'respite' (*ἀνοχή*).

(3²¹) in the case of the Jews; and even the Gentile, we are about to learn, could have inferred from the principles of natural religion that God's righteousness must show itself, in part at least, as *righteous judgement* (2⁵, 12, &c.) and condign punishment (2⁶)—*wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish* (2⁸, 9). That sinners are to be judged and punished *according to their works* is the consistent teaching of the Old and New Testaments alike, and it is fully endorsed by our Lord Himself. It has, indeed, to be harmonized with the specifically Christian doctrine of *free forgiveness*, or *justification by faith*, as S. Paul is about to call it; but the latter principle is a development, not an abrogation, of the former. It is flying in the face of all the evidence to assume, as is sometimes done, that no penalty was attached by Christ to unchanging and conscious perseverance in sin. We may believe, if we will, that the *goodness of God which leadeth to repentance* (2⁴) must triumph in the end even over the hardest hearts.¹ But should it fail to do so—and the logical possibility of this cannot wholly be excluded—we must allow that Christ saw final punishment as the only alternative outcome of sin. This is St. Paul's position. There is no question here of turning man to God through the fear of hell. The apostle does indeed warn sinners. But his aim, as we have seen, is principally to reassure the earnest-minded that there is a God to whom sin is utterly hateful, and to convince them that in this matter God is of one mind with them.

The interpretation of 1¹⁷, 1⁸ given above appears to be the natural one, and it is confirmed by the use of the words *πάρεσις* and *ἀνοχή* in 3²⁵. Modern scholarship as a whole, however, prefers another interpretation, whereby the revelation of God's righteousness in 1¹⁷ is *contrasted* with the revelation of His wrath in 1¹⁸. *Formerly*, or apart from Christ, the meaning would then be, nothing could be seen but wrath; *now* nothing can be seen but mercy. This interpretation has little to commend it. It ignores the strict parallelism of 1¹⁷ and 1¹⁸ (*for there is revealed a righteousness . . . for there is revealed a wrath*); it makes nonsense of 3²⁵ (for how could sin be said to have been *passed over* if wrath had been everywhere visible?); it ignores an element of perplexity common to all deep religious speculation; and it waters down a characteristic of Christian teaching emphasized with the utmost gravity throughout the New Testament—the fact,

¹ On S. Paul's apparent universalism, *infra*, p. 124.

that is to say, of the eternal gulf between God and sin. This is not to say that the idea of the 'hostility of God to sin' exhausts the implications of the 'righteousness of God' (*infra*, pp. 46, 47, 89); it is merely to assert that the one is involved in the other. It is not only because, in some mysterious way, the anger of God with sin has been revealed in the Christian dispensation, but also because a realization of the shameful character of sin is a necessary preliminary to the understanding of the gospel, that S. Paul puts this aspect of the case first.

B. *The Universality of Sin* (1¹⁹-3²³).

The gulf between God and sin is therefore S. Paul's theme: or better, perhaps, the gulf between God and sinful man, and how it has at once been emphasized and bridged by Christ. No sooner has the apostle stated his problem than he begins to underline its intensity by dwelling upon the degradation into which man is brought by sin. He launches out upon a terrible review both of the Jewish and of the Gentile world, seen as it were with the eyes of God; as though, indeed, the Lord had 'looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God' (Ps. 14²). S. Paul picks up the words of the 14th Psalm at this point, joining to them other quotations (Rom. 3¹⁰⁻¹⁸; cp. Pss. 5⁹, 140³, 10⁷, Prov. 1¹⁶, Isa. 59⁷.⁸, Ps. 36¹) of the same tenor—*All the world, he concludes, is under the judgment of God* (3¹⁹). It is proclaimed against *every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first* (because the Jew had the advantage of revelation), but *also of the Greek* (2⁹); we are bound to lay to the charge both of Jews and Greeks,¹ that they are all under sin (3⁹).

Here again is something which, though fully and finally declared only by the gospel, has been *witnessed* (3²¹) in time past in more ways than one, and to the Gentile as well as to the Jew. That *which may be known of God is manifest* in the hearts of the Gentiles, *for God manifested it unto them; for the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen . . . that they may be without excuse* (1¹⁹⁻²¹). To the consciences of men, by natural inference from the ordered marvel of creation, are revealed the *everlasting*

¹ Here, and generally in the epistle, 'Greeks' is used as the equivalent of 'Gentiles', though in 1¹⁴ S. Paul distinguishes the 'Greeks' from the 'barbarians' among the 'Gentiles'.

power and divinity of God (1²⁰—a pregnant phrase, covering not merely the righteousness of God, but much else besides: see note *ad loc.*), whereby they could have learnt *the ordinance of God, that they which practise such things are worthy of death* (1³²).

No doubt the Gentile, lacking a special revelation, is here at a disadvantage as compared with the Jew; and in so far as his darkness is the involuntary cause of his moral failure S. Paul would not hesitate to say of him, 'The times of ignorance God overlooked' (Acts 17³⁰; cp. Acts 14¹⁶). For *where there is no law, neither is there transgression* (4¹⁵); *sin is not imputed when there is no law* (5¹³; cp. 3²⁰, 5²⁰, 7⁷). But the ignorance, such as it was, was not enough to exculpate him wholly; he had light enough by which to walk, and by that light he is to be judged. S. Paul's inherent sense of the superiority of the Judaeo-Christian dispensation allows him only to assert explicitly the possession of a natural faculty of conscience of those Gentiles *which do by nature the things of the law* (2¹⁴), not of all Gentiles impartially. But his meaning is evident. *The Gentiles . . . are a law unto themselves*;¹ *they have the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them* (2¹⁵).

S. Paul's doctrine of conscience, as the inner guide to conduct even in the natural man, is not very fully developed. In 2^{14, 15} *the Gentiles . . . are a law unto themselves, in that they show the work² of the law written in their hearts*. Here conscience appears as an intuitive recognition, both in principle and in detail, of the distinction between right and wrong. This doctrine has many points of contact with the popular Stoic ethics of the period.³ In 1²⁰, however, S. Paul's view seems to be that the knowledge of right and wrong is derived from the contemplation of God's *everlasting power and divinity*, which in their turn are *perceived through the things that are made*. This bases morality not on direct intuition, but on inference from natural religion. Such religion, S. Paul would say, teaches man that God is all powerful, all loving, and a God of order, 'not of confusion' (1 Cor. 14³³). Therefore man ought to *glorify him as God and give thanks* (1²¹), and reproduce

¹ Not, of course, in our modern use of the phrase; the next words make the meaning clear.

² i.e. 'the precepts of the law as to the type of life demanded of the righteous man'.

³ Lietzmann, *HZNT*, on 2¹⁴ gives full references.

in his own life and environment the benevolence and orderliness manifestly intended by the Creator.

Here we are obviously back in the realm of Hebrew thought, in which ethics is always based upon theology.¹ Thus if, as is commonly supposed, Ps. 19 is composite, it is highly significant that its ethical passage (*The law of the Lord is perfect . . . the testimony of the Lord is sure . . . the precepts of the Lord are right . . . the commandment of the Lord is pure*, vv. 7 ff.) should be made to follow one on natural theology (*The heavens declare the glory of God, &c.*, vv. 1-6). It is as though scepticism on the former subject could be anticipated and, so to say, strangled at birth, by referring to God's visible work in creation as the evidence on which, for human minds, all confidence in the validity of moral distinctions must ultimately rest.

The reasons for S. Paul's variations on this subject are obvious. As we shall see, he never failed to recognize an 'upward tendency' even in the natural man (*infra*, p. 101), and in designating it by such words as *νοῦς* and *συνείδησις* he showed that it was at bottom an intellectual element—a recognition by the mind of the difference between higher and lower. But as a Jew he could not but regard this factor in human psychology as a weak one, apart from revelation; and as a Christian he thought it weaker still, wherever redemption had not brought the Spirit of God to the rescue of the inner man. In general, therefore, he found it difficult to believe that the Gentiles, who were not only *separate from Christ*, but even *alienated from the commonwealth of Israel*, could retain an effective trace of the conscience with which they were originally endowed. For all practical purposes they were both ethically and spiritually *without God in the world* (Eph. 2¹⁸). Consequently, he never makes any weighty use of the conception of the natural law of conscience, except in the present passage; and he does so here only to convince the Gentiles that they are responsible for their own sins, and *without excuse* (1²⁰). For the most part he attached such overwhelming importance to the need for redemption, that he allowed very little to the fact of the guidance of man's life by conscience.

The Gentile then, like the Jew, can know, and might always have known, that God is a God of righteousness. But there is further evidence to that effect available without recourse to any special revelation. The moral standard of the world, in S. Paul's opinion, has steadily deteriorated; its immoral practices have

¹ Though the inference from God's works to His existence and character is common in Greek philosophy; see references in Lietzmann, *HZNT*, on 1²⁰.

grown in enormity. Surely that fact in itself is sufficient evidence *that the judgement of God is according to truth against them that practise such things* (2²). So, with a boldness which has its parallels in the Old Testament (Judges 10¹⁴, Ps. 81¹², Ezek. 20³⁹; cp. Acts 7⁴²), he asserts with threefold emphasis that the cause of moral degradation in contemporary society is to be sought in the fact that *God gave them up* to the unbridled sway of their passions (1²⁴, 26, 28). This is not the final revelation of the wrath of God, nor His severest punishment, but it is enough to suggest (what the gospel will prove) that wrath is one of the characteristics of divinity.

The section, 1¹⁸⁻³², on human sinfulness has many literary associations. The connexion with popular Stoic thought has just been mentioned, and commentators have for long been aware of close parallels with chapters 12-14 of the Book of Wisdom (see Sanday-Headlam, pp. 51, 52, for details; and cp. *ibid.*, p. 268, for similar parallels between Rom. 9 and Wisd. 11, 12), itself a product of the fusion of Jewish and Greek thought. It is now also agreed that the habit of enumerating sins in the form of a catalogue was a recognized device among popular moralists, Greek and Jewish alike (Lietzmann, pp. 34, 35, for references); and Dr. Rendel Harris has found 'ground for a suspicion' that the catalogue of Rom. 1²⁹, with certain others, goes back to a lost Hebrew alphabetical catalogue. This being so, we must not take S. Paul's indictment as a systematic and wholly impartial picture of contemporary society. It is often said, not without probability, that his account is darker than the circumstances really warranted. It was designed, in part at least, to arouse the consciences of his readers; and a writer who has this end in view can scarcely avoid an element of rhetoric, if not even of undue generalization, in his presentation of the case against sin.

Even the suggestion that humanity has progressively fallen from original righteousness into an ever-deepening abyss of sin, and that this disaster must be attributed to divine decree, is present, though in confused form, in Wisd. 12-14 (cp., e.g., Wisd. 14^{12, 22ff}, *The devising of idols was the beginning of fornication . . . afterward it was not enough for them to go astray as touching the knowledge of God . . . for either slaughtering children in solemn rites, or celebrating secret mysteries . . . no longer do they guard either life or purity of marriage, &c. . .*). To S. Paul, however, belongs the credit of reducing the idea to order; and his insistence that moral deterioration is itself a part of God's



THE POWERS OF EVIL (see p: 42). AN ASSYRIAN DEMON

punishment upon sin is sufficiently bold to warrant a moment's attention. The apostle is not concerned here with the *origin* of evil in the world—that question occupies him later (*infra*, pp. 91–101)—but with its development and continuance. He has to choose between two divergent views of God's supremacy. The first is that God, having created and endowed the universe, allows it to run its course unchecked till the day of judgement; the second, that at every stage of history He is actively present, guiding, correcting, and controlling. The first thinks of the universe as handed over, for the progress of this world era, to the powers of evil, of whom 'the prince of this world' is chief; the second regards it as a scene in which every action of man is answered by an immediate reaction of God.

In strict logic, no doubt, the distinction between the two views is only apparent. If God retains the power of final judgement, it matters little to philosophy how far for the time being He is thought of as surrendering the control to subordinate forces. Everything must in the end be responsible to Him and subject to His will. It is possible, therefore, for one and the same writer to hold now the first and now the second position without any deep logical inconsistency. So we find S. Paul doing. There are numerous passages in which he appears to regard the evil angels, principalities, dominions, powers, or indeed the demons of the Greeks themselves, as in undisturbed possession of 'this world'.¹ In others again, as in the present one, it is to God that he refers the development of evil in the world.² In either case the ultimate supremacy of God is maintained.

But in the moral and religious sphere it makes a great deal of difference whether God is thought of as an impersonal spectator or absentee until the day of final judgement, or as an ever-present and ever-ready agent in the warfare of good against evil. In the former case the would-be righteous man is left to fight his battles alone in his own strength. In the latter he has God continually at hand to warn him by chastisement and to encourage him by assistance. For a Christian the latter view is the only possible one. The Incarnation and the Cross prove conclusively how God steps in to adjust His warped creation, to testify against sinners, and at the same time to call them to repentance. Just as, at a later stage, S. Paul will tell us of the abiding presence of the Spirit of God witnessing with and to our spirit (8¹⁶), so at this point he suggests that in the moral degradation of the universe the Christian cannot fail to see God's successive

¹ *Infra*, pp. 52, 130.

² Cp. also 9¹⁶, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.

warning gestures against sin. The Christian *must* see as much; and others *might* have seen it—they knew *the ordinance of God that they which practise such things are worthy of death* (1³²). It was not beyond the insight of the natural reason of man, even in his fallen state.

We pass on to the indictment of the Jew (2¹⁷⁻²⁹), which has already been foreshadowed in 2⁹ and even in 2¹ (see notes). Even more than the Gentile, the Jew had, in the Law, clear warning of God's judgement to come (2⁹⁻¹², 17-20). He too had experienced a foretaste of wrath by being 'given up' to ever blacker depths of sin (2²¹⁻⁴)—so black indeed, that until we realize that S. Paul has here a deeper meaning than that which appears upon the surface (see below, small type) we can scarcely acquit him of exaggeration. As it stands, however, the argument is in essence a simple one—what is true of the Gentile is *a fortiori* truer still of the Jew. He has no business to judge the Gentile (2¹); the latter has a better right to judge him (2¹³, 14, 27).

S. Paul has two objects in introducing his review of human sinfulness at this point. The first we have already examined: it is that it should serve as evidence of God's righteous wrath against sin. The second is to prepare the way for the doctrine that all, having sinned, are without exception in need of the justifying grace of God. It is necessary to ask, therefore, how far his assertions on the subject are valid. Obviously there are many men who have no consciousness of moral failure in themselves. Is it not at least possible that of these a few not only appear to themselves to be sinless, but are so too? Can there be no such thing as a genuinely moral man honestly living up to his fullest ideals? The apostle does, indeed, admit this as a logical possibility both for Gentile and for Jew (cp. *infra*, p. 70). But he does not count it as a possibility at all likely to arise in actual life—'all are under sin'.

What, then, is the sin of the man who believes himself (as it will later be called) *justified by the works of the law* (3²⁰)—whose achievements seem to himself at all events to correspond with his ideals? S. Paul has no hesitation as to the answer: such a man is guilty of an easy complacency, a degrading hypocrisy, which is worse than open rebellion against God. This is the burden of the passage in which the sins of the Jews are specially pilloried (2¹⁷⁻²⁴). To the self-styled righteous man S. Paul says: *Thou bearest the name of a Jew, and restest upon the law, and gloriest in God, and knowest his will, and approve-*

the things that are excellent (being instructed out of the law), and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them that are in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of babes, having in the law the form of knowledge and of the truth (2¹⁷⁻²⁰). And then comes his own estimate of the true character of his imaginary interlocutor: Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob temples?¹ thou who gloryest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonourest thou God? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you (2²¹⁻⁴).

At first sight this passage would seem to accuse all Jews indiscriminately of open hypocrisy; and no doubt there were among them many hypocrites, as in every religious community. No doubt, also, hypocrisy is a natural outcome of spiritual pride and complacency. But we shall miss the full force of S. Paul's horror of the situation if we stop short at this bare thought of conscious hypocrisy in its cruder forms. There must have been many Jews who in the literal sense were neither thieves nor adulterers nor temple-pilferers, but who nevertheless were guilty of all these sins in a spiritual form, so that *the name of God was blasphemed among the Gentiles because of them*. Of such were the self-righteous who *made void the law² of God because of their tradition* (Matt. 15⁶), *who tithed mint and anise and cummin but left undone the weightier matters of the law, judgement and mercy and faith* (Matt. 23²³). The Pharisee who adopted the casuistry of 'Corban' (Mark 7¹¹) was, in fact, though legally blameless, a temple-pilferer. The Sadducee who allied himself with Greek debauchery or Roman power against the purer national religion was spiritually adulterous. The lawyers who *took away the key of knowledge* (Luke 11⁵²) were as genuinely thieves as the most degraded footpads. *As touching the law blameless* (Phil. 3⁶) they might to all appearance be, but within they were full from *extortion and excess* (Matt. 23²⁵).

By his appeal on the one hand to conscience and natural religion, and on the other to the law and the prophets, S. Paul has shown that Gentile and Jew alike had strong reason for recognizing the righteousness of God, and rejecting the theory of divine indifference to sin. We should have expected him to pro-

¹ Meaning uncertain (see note on 2²¹⁻⁴).

² Some MSS. read 'word'. On the meaning of Corban see A. E. J. Rawlinson, *Gospel according to St. Mark*, pp. 95, 96.

ceed at once to show how the Cross *proves* that at which previous generations have only guessed. But this is not his method. The complaint of the would-be righteous man against God is, after all, somewhat academic in character. The fact of sin, on the other hand, raises an issue of supreme practical importance. The latter, therefore, takes precedence of the former—to such an extent, in fact, that the problem of the vindication by the Cross of God's righteous wrath against sin is never fully dealt with. Or rather, it is subsumed under the new problem of the vindication, or justification, of man; for, if God has taken means to deliver man from the power of sin, how shall we any longer accuse Him of indifference?¹

The passages just reviewed contain one or two anticipatory allusions to problems which the apostle will treat more fully later on. Thus (a) in 2¹²⁻¹⁵, 26-9 words are used which might imply the worthlessness of the Jewish law; and therefore in 3¹⁻⁴ the question, *What advantage hath the Jew? or what is the profit of circumcision?* must be asked and an answer sketched in outline, to be filled in at a later stage (9^{4, 5}, 11^{16, 28}). (b) Again, the thought that sin, though no doubt something for which man is wholly responsible, is yet in some mysterious way contained within the purview of God's providence (for it *commends*, or gives God an opportunity of displaying, his *righteousness* (3⁵)) raises a group of problems which we shall meet again;² and these are hinted at for the first time in 3⁶⁻⁸. (c) Nor are there lacking clear indications of one of S. Paul's most fundamental thoughts—that as Jew and Gentile are equally under God's condemnation if they remain in sin, so they will equally be received in mercy if they lay hold upon the gospel (2^{20, 29}; cp. pp. 78-80). It is only in the order of history that salvation comes *to the Jew first, and also to the Greek* (1¹⁶, 2¹⁰, 9²⁴). Apart from these digressions, the section is clear enough. It is fairly summarized by the writer himself in 3⁹⁻¹⁰: *We before* (i.e. in this section) *(have) laid to the charge both of Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin . . . that every mouth may be stopped and all the world may be brought under the judgement of God.*

C. *The Justification of Man* (3¹⁹⁻³¹).

So far, indeed, S. Paul's gospel must have been cold comfort to his readers. If sin is universal, and the Christian message is that of God's hostility to it, what hope is there for any of us? The

¹ See further on this, *infra*, p. 62.

² See *infra*, pp. 81 ff., 119 ff.

'righteous man' of the Old Testament (Ps. 1⁶, 5¹², 11⁵, and frequently), who so constantly 'cries to the Lord', is a fiction; he has never existed; he never can exist. His complacency—the 'conviction of relative righteousness' which, 'in spite of all their readiness to abase themselves before God and consciousness of their own sin, the Jews still retained'¹—has been torn to shreds by S. Paul in the second chapter of this epistle (2¹⁷⁻²⁹), just as its hollowness will be exposed in the seventh. *All glorying is excluded* (3²⁷); we are *without excuse* (2¹).

But if God is not indifferent to sin, how can He be indifferent to the sinner? S. Paul is so obsessed by this question that he fails to observe that he has not yet answered the previous one. He assumes that it is answered, and passes on. By a *tour de force* of insight, he extends the meaning of the 'righteousness of God' till it includes also the meaning of 'the mercy of God to sinners'—a mercy showing 'salvation'. The gospel, which proclaims the *wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness* is also the *power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth* (1^{16, 18}); and herein equally the divine *righteousness* is revealed (1¹⁷). Thus God's righteousness, so far from being a righteousness of universal condemnation (cp. 8¹), implies the promise of *eternal life* to them that *by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honour and incorruption* (2⁷), however much they may fall by the way.

In this extension of the meaning of the *righteousness of God* S. Paul was not altogether without predecessors. There had indeed been a dark period in Jewish history when so much stress was laid upon the sinfulness of man and the anger of God, that the idea of the divine righteousness had been intolerable. It had appeared as an attitude purely 'forensic'—the impartiality of a hanging judge. It was for a manifestation of God's *mercy* rather than of His righteousness that men prayed (Baruch 3³, Song of Three Childr.¹⁹); and the conviction that 'only a few should be saved' became very strong (2(4) Esdras 7⁴⁷, &c.). But the greatest minds among the Jews saw that God's righteousness may well be the equivalent of His mercy. It extends a saving hand to those who turn to Him in faith, sinful though they may be. They are exempt from the operation of the eternal law, 'The soul that sinneth it shall die'.

Such a conception of God's righteousness, no less than the other,

¹ W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*³, p. 391.

had been *witnessed to by law and prophets*. S. Paul is content to quote the example of Abraham (ch. 4); there are many others (cp. Dan. 9^{16, 18}, 2 (4) Esdras 8³⁶, 11⁴⁶; Baruch 5⁹). Hence the two words 'salvation' and 'righteousness' are often found in juxtaposition. 'The Lord hath made known His salvation, His righteousness hath He openly shewed in the sight of the nations' (Ps. 98²) could be written in all good faith even before Christ came (cp. Pss. 24⁵, 69²⁷⁻⁹, 143¹¹, Isa. 45^{22, 23}, 46¹³, 51^{5, 6}, 56¹; and *infra*, p. 56, on 'justification'). Naturally enough the meaning of 'salvation' differed at different epochs. In the days of national solidarity God's 'righteousness' showed itself in the deliverance of Jerusalem from her enemies; at other times in the salvation of repentant and trustful individuals from terrestrial misery or from super-terrestrial doom. In the greatest writers it occasionally achieves a meaning equivalent to that which, as we shall see, is predominant in S. Paul's thought—the meaning of salvation from the pangs of conscience and the dominance of temptation (Ezek. 37²³, Pss. 39⁸, 51¹⁰⁻¹², 79⁹, 130⁸).

How far was S. Paul wise in reviving this somewhat forced meaning of the *righteousness of God*—a meaning which makes it the equivalent of *mercy*? Would not some other word have served his turn as well, and avoided inevitable confusion? The answer is, surely, that *no* other word would have achieved the purpose he had in mind. He intended to break down once for all the conception that God rules His creation by a *law of works*; that His love is in any way commensurate with, or conditioned by, or to be bargained for by any acts of man. That 'forensic', commercial conception had been in danger of becoming the only meaning which the Jew could attach to *righteousness* as applied either to God or to man. There was only one way in which such a definition could be banished from the Christian dictionary, and that was by giving the word itself a wholly different content. This course S. Paul takes; and, in so far as this is in his mind when he says *In the gospel is manifested the righteousness of God*, his meaning (as the whole epistle declares) is exactly the same as that of the contemporary writer who crystallized the whole message of Christianity in the phrase *God is love*. There is no righteousness except the righteousness of love; and that is God's righteousness.

The keyword of this epistle, however, is not 'salvation', but 'justification'—God is *righteous* (or *just*, the word is the same in the Greek) and *the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus* (3²⁶). Since *justification*, then, is God's remedy against sin, the two words 'sin' and 'justification' will mutually explain each other.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

As we compare and contrast them each will grow more vivid and detailed. As we do not know what salvation means to a man till we realize what he has been saved *from*, and as we cannot realize what he has been saved *from* unless we grasp the depths of relief which salvation has brought him, so we can only know what 'sin' means as we learn more about 'justification', and only what 'justification' means as we learn more about 'sin'.

It is easy to say what S. Paul does not mean by justification; it is far more difficult to decide *how much* or *how little* he means by it. Two meanings may be set aside at once as having no bearing upon his thought:

(i) In classical Greek the word means to 'do justice' to a man—to hang a murderer or acquit an innocent person. This we can clearly eliminate from consideration altogether. Justification implies an act of undeserved love on God's part—the very reverse of giving a man his deserts. That God *justifies the ungodly* (4^b) is not (as it would be if the classical meaning were the right one here) a knell of doom; it is a paean of joy.

(ii) Many interpreters of the epistle have held that 'to justify' means 'to make righteous', 'to impart righteousness to'. It is true that the idea of God's righteousness imparting itself to man is by no means foreign either to Jewish or to Pauline thought (*infra*, p. 89). But few modern scholars hold that this is the principal meaning of the word 'to justify'; and although in one or two isolated passages it could be made to have this meaning, the suggestion is negatived by the vast majority of the cases in which it occurs. In so far as the gift of God through Christ Jesus does 'make man righteous', S. Paul gives to the process the name of 'sanctification' rather than that of 'justification' (*infra*, pp. 87-9). We may safely dismiss this opinion also as inadequate.

'To justify' in S. Paul's usage means neither 'to give a man his deserts' nor 'to make him just or righteous'. The first breathes the atmosphere of the law-courts, the second of the fairy tale; and neither of these is the atmosphere of Christianity. So much is clear. Commentators are in the main agreed that by the verb 'to justify' S. Paul meant 'to deem righteous', to 'impute righteousness', 'to treat as righteous', 'to acquit'. Here we are still in the atmosphere of the law courts, but it is redolent of mercy rather than of jurisprudence. Other phrases used by S.

Paul support this meaning—'to reckon as righteous', 'to reckon faith as righteousness' (4^{3, 5, 6, 11, 22, 23, 24}); 'not to reckon trespasses' (2 Cor. 5¹⁹); 'to forgive (though the word is not the usual one) trespasses' (Col. 2¹³); 'to blot out a bond', or 'promissory note' (Col. 2¹⁴—but this phrase has had many different interpretations). 'The free acquittal of the guilty' would express the sense clearly. It is supported further by the tenor of chapters 1-3, and indeed of much that S. Paul wrote, in which sin is spoken of as an offence against God—a great and conscious *refusal* (1²⁰)—and God's reply (apart from the gospel) is seen to be a swift punishment of condemnation (2^{2, 3, 5, 9, 16}, 3¹⁹, 5^{9, 16, 18, 19}, 8¹), only partially and for a time delayed by *forbearance and longsuffering* (2³⁻⁹). It is supported again by his emphatic assertion that justification is *not of debt* but of *grace* (4^{4, 5}). God was emphatically under no obligation to justify. It was, as we still say, an 'act of grace'. And what other act of grace could there be so fitting to God as the forgiveness of sins?

If we hesitate, then, to accept this thought of 'acquittal' as the full and final meaning of 'justification', it is not because there is anything in it that can for a moment be considered un-Pauline or un-Christian. But there are elements of vital importance, both in St. Paul's doctrine of justification and in his doctrine of sin, to which it fails altogether to do justice. It may be suggested that the apostle himself felt this to be the case, and consequently did not insist upon the interpretation of 'justification' as 'acquittal' as much as he might have done. There are some very curious and significant silences in his writing. He does indeed employ, as we have seen, as synonyms for 'to justify' such phrases as 'to reckon righteousness', and even (if we accept the misleading substitution, in the R.V. translation, of the normal English word for an unusual Greek one)¹ 'to forgive trespasses'. But where is the commonest New Testament phrase of all, 'the forgiveness of sins' (*ἀφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*)? That of all others would have expressed his meaning of 'acquittal', yet he uses it only once (Col. 1¹⁴, with parallel in Eph. 1⁷); whilst the corresponding verb (*ἀφιέναι*) comes only in an Old Testament quotation in Rom. 4⁷ (from Ps. 32¹).

Why, again, if the idea of God as judge is present to his mind,

¹ The Gk. is *χαρίζεσθαι*, not *ἀφιέναι*.

does he constantly avoid the words 'the wrath of God' and substitute for them the vague impersonal term 'wrath' (*supra*, p. 35) --except to warn us that we are not to lay too much emphasis upon the connected ideas of punishment and acquittal when we think of the relation between God and man? So too, though the reconciliation of God and man is one of his favourite themes, it is not, as we should expect, God the offended king and judge who is to be reconciled to man the offender, but man who has to be reconciled to God.¹

Most noticeable of all, perhaps, is the fact that though sin is constantly thought of by S. Paul as an offence against God, the one chapter above all others which probes the depths of the sinful consciousness (Rom. 7) contains no hint of a sense of guilt—there is *death* (7^{5, 9}), *disunion* (7¹⁴⁻²⁰), *captivity* (7²³), *wretchedness* (7²⁴) in the sinful soul, but not a word of guilt. Contrast this with the 51st Psalm, and a vast difference of outlook suggests itself. It comes as no surprise thereafter that the apostle scarcely ever uses the gospel phrase 'repentance',² and that he tends to avoid those words for 'sin' which normally express the idea of transgression.³ Facts such as these imply that, even when strict legal conceptions are moulding what St. Paul says about 'justification', the apostle is thinking as much of a civil as of a criminal suit; and that the idea of 'quittance' is as much in his mind as that of 'acquittal'.

¹ See Rom. 5^{10, 11}, 11¹⁶, 2 Cor. 5¹⁸⁻²⁰, Col. 1²⁰⁻¹. The idea of the need for God to be reconciled to man has sometimes been read into Rom. 5¹¹. But if this is the meaning, the passage is unique; and no more need be implied than 'we have received' (and 'enjoy'—Moffatt) 'a state of reconciliation with God'. We are not entitled, on the strength of this sentence alone, to water down S. Paul's language in general till it implies simply that 'reconciliation must be mutual' (Sanday and Headlam, *ad loc.*). An arrogant offender is often more stubborn and recalcitrant than the person whom he has molested. Similarly, in 11²⁸, though the Jews are described as treated as 'enemies' by God, this does not imply that God has been alienated from them by their sins, but only (as the context shows) that He has rejected them *temporarily*, in order that the Gentiles may be saved.

² *μετάνοια* (noun) only in Rom. 2⁴, 2 Cor. 7^{9, 10}, 2 Tim. 2²⁵; *μετανοεῖν* (verb) 2 Cor. 12²¹; *ἐπιστρέφειν* 2 Cor. 3¹⁶, 1 Thess. 1⁹.

³ *παράβασις* only Rom. 2²³, 4¹⁶, 5¹⁴, Gal. 3¹⁹, 1 Tim. 2¹⁴; *παράπτωμα*, about fifteen times; *ἁμαρτία* ('missing the mark'), more than fifty times. But it is possible that S. Paul was not very much influenced by the etymological sense of *ἁμαρτία*, and used the word without any deliberate exclusion of the idea of 'transgression'.

These considerations make it clear that we cannot accept the word 'justification' in any narrow or pedantic sense. We must investigate the other metaphors which St. Paul employs for the purpose of expressing his meaning. Of these he has very many. The change in man's condition brought about by the death of Christ is analogous to that which takes place when reunion follows estrangement—man and God are *reconciled* (5^{10, 11}, 11¹⁵, &c.). It is like that which takes place in an orphan's condition when he is *adopted* (8^{15, 23}; cp. Gal. 4⁵, Eph. 1⁵). It is like the *redemption* or enfranchisement of a captive from captivity (3²⁴, 6¹⁸⁻²³, 8²³, and frequently) or a slave from slavery (see *infra*, note on 6¹⁸); the *freedom* which comes to a wife—a wife of the ancient world, who was her husband's chattel—at his death (7⁸; cp. 8²).¹ It is like the opening of the doors of the presence chamber, which gives a suppliant *access* to the king (5²; cp. Eph. 2¹⁸, 3¹²). It is like the cancelling of the debtor's *bond* in the parable (Col. 2¹⁴); it is, above all, like *resurrection from the dead* (6^{5, 6}, 8¹⁰, 11¹⁵; cp. Col. 3¹, and commonly)²—a *death to sin* for those who were *dead in sin*. We need not inquire too closely how far these phrases are to be taken as merely rhetorical, and how far as sober statement of spiritual truths. What is important is that the change in man's condition (as distinct from a change in his character, with which we have still to deal)³ is something much wider than mere deliverance from the sense of guilt.

And the 'sense of sin' (which, as we have seen, must help to explain the meaning of 'justification') is also much more to S. Paul than the 'sense of guilt'. In Rom. 7 it is rather a sense of paralysing impotence and disunion—*Not what I would that do I practise, but what I hate that I do* (7¹⁵⁻¹⁹). So complete is this impotence that it would seem as if the human personality had faded away altogether, and an alien power usurped its place in the body—*It is no more I, but sin which dwelleth in me* (7²⁰). The body may live on, but the man himself is spiritually *dead* (7^{5, 9, 11}; cp.

¹ For S. Paul's various uses of this idea of freedom, enfranchisement, redemption ('buying back') see Gal. 3¹³, 4⁵, 5^{1, 13}, 1 Cor. 1³⁰, 6²⁰, 7²³, 2 Cor. 3¹⁷, Eph. 1⁷, 4³⁰, Col. 1^{13, 14}, where the Greek words used should in each case be considered.

² Although, of course, more is implied here than a mere analogy.

³ *Infra*, p. 83.

Eph. 2¹, Col. 2¹³)—the body is a *body of death* (7²⁴) just as a house can become a house of death.

This thought of sin as an alien power—a personal force of evil—is one of the most distinctive elements in S. Paul's theological outlook. The entry of sin—conceived almost as Satan or Beelzebub, the lord of misrule (cp. 1 Thess. 2¹⁸, 2 Thess. 2⁹, 1 Cor. 5⁵, 7⁵, 2 Cor. 2¹¹, 11¹⁴)—into the world (Rom. 5¹²), attended by its minions of 'principalities and powers' (8³⁸; cp. 1 Cor. 15²⁴, Eph. 2², 6¹², Col. 2¹⁵—in Eph. 1²¹, 3¹⁰, Col. 1¹³ they are not necessarily evil), produced the actual 'sinfulness' of man, whereby sin's *reign* in individual hearts (6¹²) is extended into a universal *reign* (5²¹). Throughout chapters 6 and 7 and in many others passages (e.g. 6⁶, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22, 7¹⁴, 17, 20, &c.), we could substitute 'the devil' for 'sin' without in any way altering S. Paul's meaning. 'Sin' means, in fact, not merely 'wrongful acts done by man', but even more a cause outside man which induces him to do the wrongful acts, though it does not *compel* him in such a sense that he can disclaim personal responsibility.

Sin, in fact, is not a simple but a very complex phenomenon. S. Paul seems to conceive it as a personal entity, around which hover and group themselves a host of evil, mysterious, supernatural forces, whose very shadow-nature enhances the horror which they inspire. The 'powers of this world', the 'god of this world', the 'evil world-age', Satan and his angels, the flesh, the demons, death itself, are all fellow conspirators with sin in compelling the downfall of man.¹

In all this S. Paul is at one with the religion both of the later Jewish period and of the Greek world. Under Persian influences, the Jews had come to think of the course of history as given over to evil angels, who exercised their malign influence through the aims and oppressions of heathen conquerors; and whose triumph was so complete that nothing short of an apocalyptic self-manifestation of God in a universal act of destruction, judgement, and restoration could overcome their power. Among the Greeks, too, there reigned the same fear of evil forces from whom escape was desired. Of such were

¹ As will shortly be suggested, the value of S. Paul's doctrine of justification does not depend upon the truth of his belief in personal forces of evil (*infra.* p. 63).



MYSTERY RELIGIONS AT ROME

The ceremony of initiation into the cult of Bacchus, illustrated on a terracotta plaque. The priest on the left is holding the basket containing the cult symbols, while the mystagogue holds the veiled head of the novice, and a Bacchante plays her tambourine.

the demons, for whom S. Paul has at least a wholesome respect (1 Cor. 10³⁰), who plagued man in this life; and the seven remorseless planets of the heavens—the 'elements' of this world (στοιχεῖα, Gal. 4³. 9, Col. 2⁸. 20—see the important note, Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.)—which the soul had to pass after death if it would reach the Eighth (the Ogdoad) with whom peace was to be found. Escape from these enemies was offered to heathendom by magic rites of initiation and mystic pass-words. Of these S. Paul knows little or nothing, but he adds the demons and the 'elements' to his census

of the enemies of man. Where, however, he is original is in making 'sin' the chief and principal of all these opponents of human effort. His purpose is to make sin thereby the more terrible and deathly.

Among the associates of sin in the work of man's undoing are the law, the flesh, and death. The two former will concern us later; the third may be considered here. Death, according to S. Paul, enters into relation with sin by divine fiat. It is the divinely ordained penalty for sin (the *wages of sin*, 6²³; cp. 1 Cor. 15^{21, 22}; Wisd. 2²⁴) instituted on occasion of Adam's sin. So it *passed to all men, for that all sinned* (5¹²).¹ This connexion between sin and death, together with the doctrine that both entered the world at the Fall of Adam, was a commonplace of S. Paul's time (cp. Wisd. 2^{23, 24}, Ecclus. 25²⁴, 2 (4) Esdras 3⁷, 7¹¹⁸, 2 Baruch 17³, 19⁶, 23⁴, 54¹⁵, 56⁶). But, even for those who held it, it was not without its difficulties, as S. Paul shows in a perplexing little aside. For *sin is not imputed where there is no law*; hence *until the law* (i.e. between Adam and Moses) men cannot be said to have 'sinned' in any real sense, as Adam did. *Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression* (5^{13, 14}). How could this be?

The passage in which this problem is hinted at is primarily concerned with an entirely different subject—the parallel between Adam, *who is a figure of him that was to come* (5¹⁴), and Christ (*infra*, p. 75). That parallel is not affected in any way by the particular answer given to the question, Why did death reign from Adam to Moses? S. Paul, however, is too conscientious to leave even this minor problem on one side. Unfortunately, his answer is not by any means clear: (1) It may be that he is suggesting that, although the sins of post-Adamite men were less heinous than that of Adam, they were nevertheless sufficient (in view of what he has said earlier about the *law written in the hearts* even of those *who have no law* (2^{14, 15}, *supra*, pp. 38, 39)) to merit death. (2) More probably, when he says that *until* (= 'before') *the law sin was in the world* (5¹³), he is asserting in a compressed form something like this: Adam allowed the evil force, sin, to gain an entry into the world; and sin brought death, its minion, with it. Because of human ignorance of the law, sin could not as yet compel men to commit conscious sins. But death, once unleashed, was able to exercise its tyranny even beyond the sphere within which it might claim lawful dominion. How this 'unleashing

¹ On the interpretation of this sentence, and the doctrine of original sin in general, *infra*, p. 100.

of death' enabled it to reign so universally we are not told; it is probably a theosophical conception introduced by S. Paul to meet a particular difficulty, but not in any way thought out. (3) Some extant MSS., with attestations in the Latin Fathers, omit the *not*, and read, *Death reigned . . . even over them that had sinned*. But this is no more than an unfortunate attempt to correct the text, so as to suggest that every one between Adam and Moses *did* in fact sin as terribly as Adam himself. Had S. Paul wished to say this, however, he would not have expressed it so awkwardly. For as it stands the *even* is meaningless, and the sentence does not exclude the possibility that some did *not* sin 'after the likeness of Adam's transgression', yet leaves the problem of their undeserved death unanswered.

The modern reader knows that there is no such metaphysical connexion between death and sin as S. Paul and his contemporaries believed. Death is a universal phenomenon in the physical world, affecting unconscious organisms as much as conscious ones. This fact challenges the entire relation between sin and death assumed in the epistle. Fortunately, however, even if the present passage is set down as a piece of mythology which the world has outgrown, another reference in S. Paul shows a connexion between sin and death which is as real to-day as it was to the apostle. *The sting of death*, he says in I Cor. 15^{55, 56}, *is sin*; for no sinner can view death with equanimity. There is always the possibility, if no more, of a further life after death; and in that life the sinner is bound to be less happy than the righteous. Death, then, can appropriately be connected with sin as among the forces which man fears and loathes; and Christ, in overcoming sin, has robbed death of its sting, and made it an occasion of hope for those whom He has justified.

Picture, then, the depths of despair to which the thought of sin so conditioned and attended must reduce a man. Guilt is no doubt a factor in that despair, but only one of many factors. Justification—release from sin—can therefore be nothing less than the change from such despair to hope of the brightest radiance, or rather to a certainty of victory. Such a definition of 'justification' as 'relief from hopelessness' covers not merely the sense of 'quittance' or 'acquittal', but also all those other senses which we found to be germane to S. Paul's thought. Further, it brings together both sides of the righteousness of God. In 'proving Himself righteous' by condemning sin God is raising the cloud of hopelessness no less than in 'justifying the ungodly'. The two

processes are no more than different aspects of a single operation. And finally, if this can be taken as the true meaning of 'justification', it will remove some of the most pressing difficulties presented by the doctrine of the atoning death of Christ (*infra*, p. 61).

Once more we may notice S. Paul's controversial dexterity. Just as the 'righteousness of God' had to many Jews become synonymous with His mercy, so the word 'justification' in the Greek Old Testament (meaning simply, of course, 'the righteousness of God in operation') is often used in the sense of 'relief from oppression'¹ (C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, pp. 47-58). This sense of the word is, as we have seen, completely congenial to S. Paul. Contemporary rabbinic legalism, however, though it used the word 'justification', meant no more by it than acquittal. S. Paul, therefore, accepts this meaning as the starting-point for his argument, at the same time leading his readers on to the wider meaning of the word. It is as though he said to his immediate opponents: 'You are concerned to obtain acquittal from God. You cannot obtain it by your own efforts. God offers it to you freely through Jesus Christ. But he offers you far more as well—complete relief from all the anxieties and distresses which, if you were a truly spiritual person, would weigh upon you as heavily as does your narrow desire for exemption from punishment. These are the matters upon which your thought should be concentrated, rather than the other; and if you consider the implications of prophetic teaching and Christian revelation about the justifying righteousness of God, you will see this to be the case.'

In thus developing the content of the word 'justification' S. Paul, we may suspect, is repeating the device he has already employed in dealing with the closely connected idea of the 'righteousness' of God. He is deliberately cutting the ground away from his opponents' feet—using one of their favourite words, in fact, in a different meaning, in order to rebut as inadequate the conception of God's dealing with man which their vocabulary implied. The attempt was not wholly successful. His commentators and disciples have only too often given 'justification' its exclusively forensic meaning, and so have produced, and attributed to him, a doctrine of the Atonement very different from that which he preached. But the challenge he threw out still remained. It was always seen that the old bottles could not contain the new wine; and the incongruity of these misunderstandings of his teaching

¹ It probably passed through an intermediate stage in which it had the meaning of 'the vindication by God of those whom he has promised to vindicate', i.e. the people of Israel.

with his system of thought as a whole has served in all ages to direct attention once again to the central problem of Christianity—How did Christ redeem man?

D. *The Death of Christ: Atonement* (3^{24, 25}, 4²⁵, 5¹⁵, 6⁶, 8^{3, 34}).

S. Paul has more to tell about sin, its origin, growth, and agents. But for the moment that can wait; indeed, to postpone it is merely to follow the order of the epistle itself. For in the third chapter, which we are still considering, there stands a phrase which is of vital importance to the Christian—*Christ Jesus, whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood* (3²⁵). Here is an answer to the question important above all others: *How* has God relieved the Christian from the burden of despair? What had S. Paul seen that brought him the conviction of justification? The answer is at first sight clear—it was *the blood* (3²⁵, 5⁹; cp. Acts 20²⁸, Eph. 1⁷, 2¹³, Col. 1²⁰, Heb. 9^{12, 14}, &c.), *the sufferings* (2 Cor. 1⁵, Phil. 3¹⁰; cp. Heb. 2^{9, 10}, 1 Pet. 1¹¹, 4¹³, 5¹), *the cross* (1 Cor. 1^{17, 18}, Gal. 5¹¹, 6¹⁴, Eph. 2¹⁶, Phil. 2⁸, Col. 1²⁰, 2¹⁴), *the death* (5^{8, 8, 10} and constantly) of Christ. But a moment's reflection shows that this is the answer not to our question but to another one. It tells us *what* has justified us, but not *how* the result has been secured.

It might at first sight appear necessary to examine what S. Paul says about 'Christ' before considering what he says about His death. It is not any death, but the death of *Christ* with which the gospel is concerned. But if we are to put in order the great questions of this epistle, with their answers, as they presented themselves to the apostle's mind in writing it, we must recognize that—for reasons at which we can only guess—the person of Christ is not among the primary ones. Some of the things he says about that person in the letter to the Romans are difficult, and all are important; yet if we were investigating what is called the 'Christology' of S. Paul, we should in the main look for it elsewhere—in the epistles to Ephesus, Colossae, and Philippi for choice. We may postpone the Christological question, therefore, as S. Paul does not press it at this point; and be content with accepting from him that Christ, though *born of the seed of David after the flesh*, is *declared to be the Son of God with power* (1^{3, 4}), is the *Lord* of believers (4³⁴), the *Father's own Son* (8³), *the firstborn among many brethren* (8²⁹). There are times when an oblique view is more

instructive than a direct one; and just as we learnt more about justification by considering the meaning of sin, so we may learn more about the person of Christ by looking for the meaning of His death.¹

We have to notice, at the outset of this inquiry, that while the cross, sufferings, blood, and death of Christ are central to S. Paul, they are not the only factors to which man looks for justification:

(1) Thus the Father is equally concerned with the Son—*It is God that justifieth* (8³³; cp. 8³², 2 Cor. 5¹⁹, Gal. 4⁴, and John 3¹⁶, 1 John 4⁹). This unequivocal statement debars us for ever from thinking of justification as something wrung from a grudging and reluctant tyrant by the sufferings of a willing but innocent victim.

(2) In the same passage (8³⁴) S. Paul at once proceeds to add to his assertion that God is the author of our justification, the words *It is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead*, thus giving to the resurrection a place at least equal to that of the death of Christ in justification. In 4²⁵ this takes another shape (see note *ad loc.*), but the implication is the same; Christ *was delivered up for our trespasses and was raised for our justification*. We need scarcely remind ourselves of the importance attached to the resurrection in chapter 6 of this epistle, or of the central position given to it in 1 Cor. 15 as the sole ground of faith and hope, or of the place which it held in the early Christian preaching (Acts 1²², 2²⁴⁻³⁶, 3¹⁵, 4^{10, 33}, 5^{30, 31}, &c.), or of S. Paul's passionate longing to *know him and the power* (not of His death, but) *of his resurrection* (Phil. 3¹⁰), to see that if justification is (in his vocabulary) the great gospel message to the sinner, it is inextricably bound up not only with the death, but also with the resurrection of the Lord.

(3) Nor is the *earthly life of Jesus* without an influence. It is true that the *saved by his life* of 5¹⁰ may refer to the risen life of Christ; but the *one act of righteousness or redress* (or, as it may be translated, *the righteous act of One*) through which there came unto all men *justification of life* (5¹⁸) must, in spite of many difficulties in interpretation,² be taken as an allusion to Christ's sinless life on earth—a life so *obedient* (5¹⁸) to the will of God that it led Him even to *death on the cross* (Phil. 2⁸; cp. Heb. 5⁸).

¹ Further on S. Paul's Christology, *infra*, pp. 102 ff.

² See note, *ad loc.*

The death of Christ, then, does not stand alone. It forms part of a sequence—life, death, resurrection—which is a unity in the work of our redemption, and which must be attributed ultimately to the good will of God who *spared not his own Son* (8³²). When S. Paul says, in what may almost be called his favourite phrase, that the Lord 'gave Himself for us' (Gal. 1⁴, 2²⁰, Eph. 5², 1 Tim. 2⁶; Tit. 2¹⁴), it is not of any one part of the manifestation of God through Christ that he is thinking, but of the whole.

With these considerations in mind we may now attempt to gather up what the apostle says about the redemptive work of Christ:

(1) In character it is plainly connected with, or analogous to, the sacrifices of the old covenant. The emphasis on the *blood* of Christ makes this certain. It is no coincidence, therefore, that S. Paul alludes, in this connexion, to each one of the principal Jewish sacrifices. *Our passover also hath been sacrificed for us, even Christ*, he says in 1 Cor. 5⁸; and the fact that the allusion is plainly incidental, and has no purpose except to introduce a picturesque analogy from the feast of unleavened bread, makes it all the more significant. It shows how easily S. Paul falls into the sacrificial strain of thought about the death of Christ, which was, indeed, not foreign to the evangelists, and which became the dominant idea of the writer of Hebrews. Less clear is the allusion to the *sin-offering*. It is, no doubt, the case that the words *for sin* in 8³ and perhaps *sin* in 2 Cor. 5²¹ are technical Old Testament terms for this kind of sacrifice, but they need not have this meaning here (*infra*, pp. 66, 67). The *peace-offering* or *thank-offering* is mentioned in Eph. 5², once again in technical terms from the Old Covenant—*Christ gave himself up for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for an odour of a sweet smell*. Lastly, in the passage from which we started (3²⁰) stands a word which the R.V. translates as *a propitiation*, which has probably some reference to the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (*infra*, pp. 65, 66).¹

We are here face to face with the central problem of the death of Christ and its significance for man; and it is important to notice that the criticisms directed against many of the solutions which have been offered to that problem in Christian thought are due

¹ Note also that, in 8³², *He that spared not his own Son* is reminiscent of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22¹⁶).

to the bringing together in them of the ideas of *justification* and *sacrifice*. Apart from one another, each of those ideas is welcome to religion. That God *justifies* man (even in the narrowest sense of exempting him, in His overwhelming mercy, from the consequences of sin), while it must be qualified by the demand for some degree of repentance on man's part, is wholly consonant with the teaching of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and with all that is highest in the whole Biblical tradition of forgiveness. That *sacrifice*—the offer both actual and symbolical of loyal service and submission to the divine will—is the proper attitude even for the incarnate Son of God Himself to assume towards the Father—is no less a biblical conception.

But when the sacrifice of Christ is thought of exclusively as winning man's acquittal for him we are near the border-line of conceptions which many Christians resent. For in the common mind, sacrifice has always been marked out by two characteristics where sin is concerned—it is *placatory*, and it is *substitutionary*. On the one hand it reconciles an angry God to His offending servant; on the other, to effect this result, it pays, by the suffering of the victim, a price which in strict justice should have been paid by the sinner himself.

In view of these dangers, it is essential to notice that although S. Paul fell quite naturally into the practice of speaking of the death of Christ as a sacrifice, yet *he fell into it very rarely*. The passages we have mentioned (several of them only doubtful references at the best) are few and far between when compared with the vast number of his references to the passion. Yet they are the only ones in which the analogy of sacrifice is so much as mentioned. Nor is it merely the case that the apostle fails to press the analogy; he even shrinks from applying it at its most obvious points. We have seen already how carefully he avoids the suggestion that God has ever had to be reconciled to man. We need only add that his doctrine that God Himself is the source of justification would make any such suggestion ridiculous.

Again, it is to be noticed that never except in 1 Tim. 2⁶ (which may not be Pauline), and there only with a strong qualification,¹

¹ ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων. The qualification lies in the ὑπὲρ, which virtually destroys the effect of the prefix ἀντί.

does S. Paul speak of Christ dying *instead* of us; elsewhere it is always *on our behalf*. The death of Christ to him was certainly *altruistic*; we cannot affirm that it is ever *substitutionary*. A statement like that of Dr. Rashdall's,¹ 'It is impossible to get rid of this idea of substitution, of vicarious punishment, from any faithful presentation of S. Paul's doctrine', is infinitely more sweeping than the facts warrant.

Thus it might well be suggested that the sacrificial references in connexion with the death of Christ have no other purpose than to emphasize the twin facts that His offering of Himself was well-pleasing to the Father, and that man's salvation was only secured at infinite *cost* to the Redeemer; they throw no light upon the *method* by which that salvation was secured. If we accept this suggestion, we can go far to elicit from S. Paul's writings a view of the death of Christ which emphasizes its complete uniqueness, yet exempts it from those non-moral implications which modern critics are so ready to see there.

(2) For it should be self-evident that all these 'substitutionary' or 'placatory' theories of the Atonement are bound up closely with the conception of sin as *guilt*, and justification as *acquittal* from guilt. But it has already been seen (*supra*, pp. 49-56) that such ideas are very far from exhausting S. Paul's teaching on either subject. To him, *sin* is a summary term for all evil forces, anxieties, or disasters which threaten and beset mankind; and *justification* is relief from the despair which must inevitably attend, not merely their onset, but even the thought of their onset. Now it is noticeable that whenever S. Paul speaks of any of these agencies in the same breath as the offering of Christ, the language he uses is always the language of victory. Sin is *dead* (7⁸—see note), has lost its *dominion* (6¹⁴), has been *condemned*, and that in the *flesh*, its stronghold (8²—see note); the law *abolished* (Rom. 10⁴, Gal. 3²⁵, Eph. 2¹⁵), its *ordinances blotted out* (Col. 2¹⁴); the powers of darkness *stripped and triumphed over* (Col. 2¹⁵—though the word here rendered *stripped* (R.V. 'having put off from himself') is variously interpreted); death *swallowed up* (1 Cor. 15⁵⁴) or *abolished* (2 Tim. 1¹⁰). So constantly does this language recur that we shall hardly be wrong in taking it as coming near to the

¹ *Idea of the Atonement*, p. 92.

heart of the apostle's meaning. In the life, passion, and resurrection of Christ was manifested an *obedience unto death, even to death on the cross* (Phil. 2⁸), and this *righteousness of one* (5¹⁸) has proved the overthrow of sin. *Sin shall no longer have dominion over us* (6¹⁴).

True, the victory is not complete. As another writer could say, *We see not yet all things subjected to him* (Heb. 2⁸). More remains to be done before *the last enemy* (I Cor. 15²⁶) is wholly driven from the field. The work of driving home the victory and reaping its fruits is left to the Christian and the Church; it is for them to *fill up that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ* (Col. 1²⁴). This that remains, however, is small compared with what has been accomplished—so small that we can already say, *Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ* (I Cor. 15⁵⁷).

If, then, we attempt to summarize what appears to be the main trend of S. Paul's thought, as we must do if we are to understand this or any of his epistles, it may well be as follows. Mankind has suffered under the ravages of sin, till men have lost freedom, communion with God, and hope; and are oppressed by a sense of guilt. The seeming indifference of God has added to their despair. But the spotless life of Christ, *who knew no sin* (2 Cor. 5²¹; cp. John 8⁴⁶, Heb. 4¹⁵), culminating in His death and proved unconquerable by the resurrection, has broken the power of sin. It has introduced into the world, and made available for man, a power demonstrably stronger than all the forces of evil, singly or in combination. It has removed the false impression of God's callousness by revealing *his wrath from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness* (1¹⁸), a wrath showing itself to-day in the great battle with sin itself which has culminated in the victory of the cross, but fraught with a warning of *judgement* (2²) to come for all who do not now lay hold on the new power and new hope that has been given. And thus it has altered man's whole attitude towards his environment. Despair, uncertainty, impotence, alienation from God are all gone; the believer is full of hope for the future.

Even the sense of guilt has been lifted. This last fact may perplex us until we examine a little more carefully what a sense of

guilt really implies. It is in essence the bitter reflection that an offence has been committed whose stains can never be washed away, for which adequate reparation can never be made. But if man is free to live the righteous life once more in all its fullness, reparation is possible; if that freedom has been won by Manhood it may be said to have been made already. There may be sorrow still for the past. But it is a sorrow that purifies, warns, and inspires—it is something far removed from the barren hopelessness of remorse. Thus S. Paul's use (rare though it is) of sacrificial analogies from the Old Law is wholly justified. The purpose for which sacrifice was instituted is fulfilled in the Cross of Christ.

It should be evident that this interpretation of S. Paul's mind does not depend upon any acceptance of his view that sin, principalities, powers, and so forth, are *personal* forces of evil. That men suffer agonies of remorse and despair partly because of their own sins, partly because of the apparent hostility of the universe, is a matter of common experience. That the power of the Holy Spirit transmits to the Christian 'the spirit which dwelt in Christ Jesus', and so enables him to face his environment with a new equanimity, is something to the truth of which every Christian will testify, however conscious he may be of repeated lapses in his own life. That the death and resurrection of Christ constituted the culminating phase of His spiritual victory needs no proof. Whether the victory was won over external invisible powers of evil, or over inner tendencies tempting human nature to self-seeking, cowardice, and despair, is a secondary question of no practical importance. S. Paul's education led him to speak in terms of hostile forces external to man; the modern view concentrates upon the inward struggles of the divided self. In either case the doctrine holds—wherever the true seat of evil may be, Christ has dethroned it, and has given to man the power to dethrone it from his own life in like manner.

This, however, though true in general, does less than justice to S. Paul's thought at one point. In 1 Cor. 15²⁶, ⁵⁴ he tells us that the *last enemy that shall be abolished is death*, adding, with reference to Isa. 25⁸, Hos. 13¹⁴, *Then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory*. Metaphorically, of course, this is true enough, for by his relief from the fear of punishment after death the justified Christian can laugh at death's *sting* (*supra*, p. 55). But S. Paul means more than this. The whole of 1 Cor. 15, and in Romans such passages as 6⁶, 7, 8, 8¹¹, ²³ (see notes *ad locc.*), make it clear that in

his view the victory of Christ over death has given the righteous man assurance of his physical resurrection, and thereby of his ultimate 'reigning' with Christ in *glory*. S. Paul is not so much concerned with this aspect of the matter in Romans as in Thessalonians or 1 Corinthians. One or two points, however, may be noticed. (a) Naturally enough he connects it primarily with the resurrection of our Lord. We may properly ask, how is it that the resurrection of Christ should guarantee in any way the resurrection of the believer? Why should what took place in the case of the Son of God be necessarily true of mere man? S. Paul has no clear answer on this point. 1 Cor. 15¹³, however, suggests that whatever God did for Christ during His terrestrial existence He is prepared to do for all men. Christ's resurrection is thus the example of a general principle—*If there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised.*

(b) The specifically Pauline and Christian doctrine is not so much that of personal immortality as that of the resurrection of the *body*. Of the significant differences between the two conceptions this is not the place to speak. We may notice, however, that even in 1 Cor. 15 this is the problem at issue. The objectors seem to have believed in personal immortality, but wished for an answer to the question, *How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?* (1 Cor. 15³⁶). Here S. Paul supplies, though not in any very connected argument, a line of thought more effective than the induction which leads from the resurrection of Christ to that of all believers. The spiritual resurrection of the Christian here and now is to him an unquestionable empirical fact (6⁵⁻⁸; cp. Col. 3¹: 'If then ye were risen'). It is of such a character that the body can share in it. The *members* are no more instruments of sin, but *weapons of righteousness*; we can *present our bodies a living sacrifice*; they are *temples of the Holy Spirit* (*infra*, p. 98). If, then, even in our earthly life, the body is capable of subserving the interests of the Spirit, nothing prevents the same being true of the life after death. True, some definite change (Phil. 3²¹) will be necessary, for the life after death is not corporeal after the manner of life here, and so the body will be *spiritual* (1 Cor. 15⁴⁴): and the change is so dramatic as to enable S. Paul to speak of the believer putting off one body and *being clothed* with another (2 Cor. 5¹⁻⁴). Yet there is an organic continuity—it is the same body which is *sown* and is *raised* (1 Cor. 15^{42, 43}). The resurrection of the Christian as an entire personality, therefore, and not as a disembodied spirit alone, is guaranteed by the fact that even here on earth his entire personality, and not his spirit alone, is redeemed.

The view thus outlined might be called the attribution to Christ through His death of a *vicarious victory* on behalf of man. It is open to question, however, at certain points. (1) In Rom. 3²⁵ S. Paul speaks of Christ's death as a *propitiation* (*ἰλαστήριον*); and it is often held that the passage is too studied to enable us to say that we are dealing with no more than a mere metaphor here. As has been said, the word has some reference to the Day of Atonement. Throughout the Greek Old Testament it is used of the 'mercy seat' in the Holy of Holies, which on that most solemn of days was sprinkled by the High Priest for his sins and those of the people (Exod. 25¹⁷, Lev. 16 *pass.*; cp. Heb. 9⁵). Now if it be held, as it very well might be, that the ritual of the Day of Atonement was dominated by those placatory and substitutionary conceptions of sacrifice which Christianity deplors, then we should be forced to say that S. Paul at this point at least admits an undesirable element into his theology of the death of Christ. And on the assumption, which is hard to resist, that here he is speaking in his most emphatic and considered mood, it might well be asked whether we must not interpret his whole teaching in the light of this passage.

While the word *ἰλαστήριον* would naturally bring to the mind of a Jewish reader the thought of the Day of Atonement, the reference cannot be a direct one. 'God set forth Christ as a mercy-seat by His blood' or 'through faith in His blood' is virtually meaningless. The word here is probably adjectival, though 'as a propitiation' is a fair translation, provided we recognize (1) that the substitution in the English of noun for adjective is unauthorized; and (2) that we do not as yet know in what sense S. Paul is using the word. Nevertheless, it must be repeated that the pacifying of an angry God is probably to some extent inherent in the Jewish conception of the Day of Atonement; and the same appears to be even more true in respect of the normal use of the word *ἰλαστήριον* in contemporary pagan writing.¹

Against this, however, it is to be urged that the general Old Testament usage of the verb from which *ἰλαστήριον* and connected words (*ἰλάσκεσθαι*, &c.) are derived, both in the Greek and the

¹ It meant a 'votive offering'—see Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.; with references there.

Hebrew, is not by any means favourable to the view that it necessarily involves the idea of placating God. In this respect, in fact, there is a wide distinction between the Jewish and the pagan outlook. 'Though the idea of propitiating God may be indirectly involved in the phrases used in the Old Testament, it is very much less prominent than in heathen writers . . . there is not the same thought of directly appeasing one who is angry, with a personal feeling against the offender' (S.R. Driver in *HDB*, iv, p. 128; C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, pp. 82-95, is even more emphatic). In general, if the subject of the verb is man, the meaning is simply 'to wash away, or cleanse (oneself) from, guilt' without reference to any particular method of cleansing; if God, 'to forgive'. So if for 'propitiation' we read 'means of cleansing', or even (taking God as the implied subject) 'of forgiveness', we shall have done full justice to the passage.

(2) In Rom. 8³ S. Paul says that God sent His Son *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* (R.V. 'as an offering for sin'). R.V. is no doubt right in adding the words 'as an offering' and so making the passage allude to the sin-offerings of the Old Testament; for the phrase is normally employed in the LXX to designate that sacrifice. But the allusion is certainly not central. All that S. Paul actually says is that Christ came 'concerning sin' ('to deal with sin', Moffatt), and we need read no more into his words. Even if he deliberately chose this phrase rather than any other because of its Old Testament significance (an hypothesis which can only be assumed), it is hazardous to assert that he did so in order to convey that the death of Jesus performed in every sense the function of a sin-offering, and in particular the function of appeasing the wrath of God against guilty mankind. It is far more probable that the allusion (if any was intended) is purely literary and casual, and cannot be pressed to extremes such as this.

In connexion with 8³ commentators and critics of S. Paul usually cite 2 Cor. 5²¹: *Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in him.* Here the 'sin' which Christ was 'made' may once more be an Old Testament technical term for 'sin-offering' (cp. Gore, *Belief in Christ*, p. 305); and if so, the allusion may again be purely casual, and we cannot infer that it involves any doctrine of substitutionary propitiation.

But whereas *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* would lend itself naturally to the interpretation of 'sin-offering' *ἁμαρτία* ('sin') does not do so. Hence the majority of commentators do not take it in this sense. This leaves them with a difficulty of interpretation: how can S. Paul say that Christ was 'made sin'? The question is important, but does not concern us here; for at least it is clear that whatever answer be given to it (apart from the interpretation of it as referring directly and exclusively to the 'sin offering') the idea of appeasing the Father is in no way involved.¹

Similarly with Gal. 3¹³—*Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law having become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* The 'curse of the law' is, of course, the condemnation uttered upon sin by God (Gal. 3¹⁰); from this Christ redeemed or saved us. The further meaning of the passage is extremely obscure. Deut. 21²³ prescribes that the body of a person 'hanged upon a tree' for a 'sin worthy of death' shall not remain there overnight 'that thou defile not thy land', *for he that is hanged is accursed of God (mg. the curse of God)*. It is highly significant that S. Paul adapts the quotation so as to avoid any suggestion that Christ was *cursed of God*. But the strangeness of the verse as a whole makes it probable that it is a piece of inverted controversy. Jewish opponents of Christianity were using the crucifixion to prove that Christ, so far from being Messiah, was 'accursed of God'. S. Paul replies that Christ's sufferings, indeed, were identical with those imposed upon the 'accursed of God'; but in *His* case the reason of them was not any sin of His own, but His purpose of redeeming thereby sinners who properly deserve to be called 'accursed'. No further meaning can be got out of the passage; least of all the suggestion that God required that *some one* should suffer the penalty of the 'curse', but was indifferent whether it were incurred by the innocent or the guilty.

It is evident that such tenuous and insecure arguments in no way affect our description of S. Paul's doctrine of the Atonement as one of a *vicarious victory* won by Christ on man's behalf. By introducing into the world a force stronger than any which sin and its agents could exert, and making it available to man through the gift of the Spirit, it relieved him of all his burdens and anxieties, including even the sense of guilt against God; and in doing so (because ultimately justification comes from the

¹ The meaning is probably 'made Him bear the burden of sin'.

Father, who for our sakes spared not His own Son) it manifested God's eternal attitude of loving care for His children (see also *infra*, pp. 76, 77).

To the question, 'Did the death of Christ alter God's attitude towards man?' we must reply therefore in an emphatic negative. This implies that we cannot in any exact sense say that it 'won forgiveness' for our sins. What it did was at once to reveal and to make available to us the spiritual power which a forgiving God had, from the day of the first sin, held out to man. It carried into effect, as between God and man, the lesson of the parable of the Prodigal—that restoration to true sonship is possible to all who desire it, through the death and resurrection of our Lord and the gift of the Spirit of Christ. There is scarcely a word in S. Paul which justifies Christian theology in going a step beyond this position.

No doubt other parts of the New Testament—especially the epistle to the Hebrews, with its strong emphasis upon the death of Christ as the unique effective sacrifice for the sins of men—go further in the direction of suggesting strictly 'propitiatory' ideas; passages in the Johannine writings have somewhat the same colour. They can best be interpreted as implying, not that the death of Christ produced a change *in* God (the idea conveyed by the word 'propitiation'), but that it produced a change *for* Him by initiating the new process of redemption through grace. Such a doctrine would in no sense be repugnant to S. Paul's teaching. That he does not emphasize it in any way is due simply to the fact that his epistles are concerned with the practical rather than the metaphysical issues of Christian thought, and that his primary purpose in connexion with the death of Christ is to consider not how it affects the Godhead, but how it affects man.

Indeed, even this is to state his purpose too widely. His real interest was simply to proclaim that Christ has reconciled us to God; and our difficulty in discovering what 'theory of the Atonement', if any, he held is due to the fact that he was not really interested in *any* particular theory. Thus, on the one hand, he does not attribute to Christ's *death* the unique position which it holds for so many theologians (*supra*, p. 58); and on the other, he does not go out of his way to expound at length why anything which Christ did or suffered should have had the effect attributed to it. That Christ saves us is to him the all-important truth; *what acts* of His were specially efficacious, and why they were so, are secondary problems which never engross his full attention. (Cp. *infra*, note on 5¹⁸.)

E. *Faith and Works: Grace and Law: Gentile and Jew* (3²⁷-5²¹, 7⁷⁻¹⁶, 10⁴⁻¹³).

It would be unfair to Judaism to say that it was wholly lacking in any doctrine of atonement. Isaiah's great picture of the Suffering Servant (Isa. 52¹³-53¹²), indeed, never assumed this significance until it was taken over by the Church as a prophetic anticipation of Christ Himself.¹ But later Judaism had achieved a view of the divine mercy which made it possible to hold that the sufferings of the righteous would avail to win clemency for their kinsmen after the flesh.² Some even had the hardihood to assert that bare membership in the chosen race would infallibly guarantee salvation.³ These, however, were eccentricities. The cardinal doctrine of Judaism was that each man must attain his own salvation by his own efforts: and the method set before him was that of rigid obedience to the demands of the law.

With characteristic opportunism S. Paul takes this feature of Judaism as the focal point of his attack upon all non-Christian elements in religion. But as he proceeds we discover that he has far more important matters in view than the mere Mosaic law—the law of commandments contained in ordinances, as he calls it in Eph. 2¹⁵. *We reckon therefore*, he says, *that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law* (3²⁰). The immediate conclusion which he draws from this statement is that the distinction between Jew and Gentile is finally broken down: *Is God the God of Jews only? is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yea, of Gentiles also; if so be that God is one, and he shall justify the circumcision by faith and the uncircumcision through faith* (3^{20, 30}; cp. 2^{28, 29}). Strictly speaking, this conclusion is irrelevant here: it belongs to another line of thought (the tension between Jew and Gentile) which is to occupy the centre of the stage in chapters 9-II, though it emerges from time to time throughout the earlier chapters of the epistle (*infra*, p. 78). But it emphasizes the fact that what S. Paul has to say about *his gospel* (2¹⁰) is said to all men indifferently.

¹ Hence S. Paul's quotation from it in Rom. 4²⁵ is no evidence for his doctrine of the Atonement.

² Cp. 2 Baruch 2⁹, 14⁷; 4 Macc. 6²⁰, 17²²; and on the merits of the patriarchs, Sanday-Headlam, p. 330 (see below, notes on 9⁸, 11¹⁶, 28).

³ See below, note on 2¹⁻⁴

The *law* which he has in view, therefore, must be something more universal than the Mosaic law. The Gentiles, we remember, also have *the work of the law written in their hearts* (2¹⁵), and are theoretically capable of *doing by nature the things of the law* (2¹⁴) and *keeping its ordinances* (2²⁶). We may infer, then, without hesitation, that in so far as S. Paul's primary reference here is to the Mosaic law, he is using it simply as a typical example of the moral law as such; and we can rightly understand *the works of the law* to apply to both Jew and Gentile in the sense of all moral effort considered in itself apart from the dispensation of grace. S. Paul's purpose, in fact, is to expose the futility of moralism—the inevitable failure of every attempt, Jewish and pagan alike, to live by a code of rules.

It is now possible to see how S. Paul's condemnation of law fits on to his exposition of the Atonement. We have reviewed the multiple anxieties from which the death of Christ relieves us. They arise mainly, though not entirely, from our consciousness of moral failure. The despair of a sin-ridden world is concentrated in the fact that even the would-be 'righteous man' sees no alternatives before him except on the one hand a Pharisaic complacency (*supra*, p. 43) and on the other a morbid sense of the degradation into which failure to obey the law must bring him (*supra*, p. 51). Once or twice, it is true, in what has preceded, S. Paul has admitted the logical possibility that successful moral effort might bring relief from this oppression (2^{7, 10, 14, 25-9}); he will even allow himself to use similar phrases again (4⁴, 10⁵). But his main emphasis throughout has been on the universal sinfulness of mankind; hence we are not surprised when he asserts once more that successful moral effort is impossible to man: *By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in God's sight* (3²⁰; cp. 8³ and Gal. 2^{16, 21, 3¹¹}, Acts 13³⁹). S. Paul apparently founds his opinion upon a bare acceptance of the letter of Scripture. He found the second half of the sentence written in the 143rd Psalm (ver. 2); his addition of the first half ('by the works of the law') is no more than an obvious and intelligent expansion of the text. But in this matter at least he reinforces Scripture by experience: *Through (the) law cometh the knowledge of sin* (3²⁰; cp. 4¹⁵, 5^{13, 20, 7⁷}).

In chapter 7 the meaning of this is made clear. It is not because

the law reveals *what sin is* that S. Paul criticizes it—so far the law is, as the Psalmist said (Ps. 19⁷⁻⁹, 119¹³⁷), *holy and righteous and good* (7¹²). What makes it the source of despair is, first of all, that it enhances the desire to sin (7^{5, 7-9, 11}); and secondly that it throws a revealing light upon the fruitless struggle which man wages against sin (7^{22, 23}). For some men at least, life under the régime of law is no more than the perpetual torture of *consenting unto the law that it is good*, and yet, at the same time, *practising the evil which they would not* (7^{16, 19}). For them there can be no justification by the works of the law, whether we take the word 'justification' in its narrowest sense of acquittal, or its widest sense of 'release from despair'. *Through the law we are reduced to a condition in which our only hope is to die to the law* (Gal. 2¹⁹)—that is, to renounce it; to abandon the quest for personal righteousness; and to *call upon the name of the Lord* (10^{12, 13}).

S. Paul's preoccupation with the problem of moralism—the attempt of the moral man, devoid of religious presuppositions, to live up to a standard which he has set for his own life—which emerges so clearly in all that he says about *law* and *works*, complicates and even distorts his presentation of the Christian doctrine of salvation more, perhaps, than any other feature in his writing. But it also reveals him as endowed with a religious insight almost unequalled in depth. It deserves, therefore, the closest possible study. It may be approached along lines somewhat akin to the following. Man's environment, as we have seen, has been radically altered by Christ's death and victory over the forces of evil—he need suffer torture no longer. But how are we to appropriate the fruits of that alteration—communion, freedom both from the sense of guilt and from the sense of alienation, a consciousness of reconciliation with God? The answer is given by S. Paul in one word. It is *by faith that a man is justified, apart from the works of the law* (3²⁸); by a 'law' (here the word is used simply in the sense of 'principle') *of faith* not a 'law' *of works* (3²⁷). To the illustration of this conception chapter 4 of the epistle is devoted; and the conclusions there drawn are conveniently recapitulated, later on, in 10⁴⁻¹³.

(i) As an example of justifying faith S. Paul takes the case of Abraham (4^{1, 2}; cp. Gal. 3⁶⁻⁹). He vindicates his right to do so by

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

an appeal to scripture (4³—see Gen. 15⁶)—*Abraham believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness*. The passage was one which had prompted much discussion before S. Paul's time,¹ and its meaning even in his day was open to different interpretations (contrast this passage and Gal. 3⁶ with Jas. 2²¹⁻³). But the salient features of Abraham's faith are quite clear. *Though he considered* (or, as some MSS. read, *because he considered not*—i.e. 'disregarded') the amazing improbability of the promise that he should become, in his old age, *the father of many nations* (4^{18, 19}), *he wavered not through unbelief, but waxed strong through faith* (4^{19, 20}), so that he was enabled *in hope to believe against hope* (4¹⁸). The analogy is perfectly clear: the Christian, contemplating in the same way the vast array of facts which have almost deprived him of hope, is yet constrained to believe in God's ability to *perform what he has promised* (4²¹). If we ask in what this promise consists, the answer is ready to hand. It is that *God quickeneth the dead and calleth the things that are not as though they were* (4¹⁷), a promise of which the guarantee for the Christian lies in the fact that *He raised Jesus our Lord from the dead* (4²⁴). The relation between promise and guarantee in this respect is clearly indicated in 6⁴—*Like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also shall be raised that we might walk in newness of life*.

But this improbability (promised though it be) rests on another—the amazing improbability that Christ should have died for our sins. How improbable this dogma of faith is the apostle reminds his readers in chapter 5. *Peradventure for the good man some one would even dare to die*; even though *scarcely for a righteous man* (obviously some one less worthy of sacrifice than 'the good man'—but see note *ad loc.* for another suggestion) *will one die* (5⁷). But who would die for sinners? Yet that is what we believe of our Lord. *While we were yet weak, in due season Christ died for the ungodly . . . God commendeth his own love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us* (5^{6, 8}). Grant this improbability, that we are *now justified by his blood*, and have *now received the reconciliation* (5^{9, 11}), and the other improbability follows as

¹ Cp. 1 Macc. 2⁶²; 4 Macc. 16²⁰; Ecclus. 44^{19, 20}; and for the importance of 'faith' in later Judaism see Lietzmann on 4²⁶.

a natural consequence—we shall be *saved from the wrath of God, saved by his life* (5^{9, 10}).

S. Paul, as we have just seen, does not mitigate the difficulties of Christian faith. He may not say, in so many words, *credo quia impossibile*, but he leaves us in no doubt that Christian faith is a faith in God's power to perform miracles. Nevertheless, because the Christian has far stronger evidence than Abraham had upon which to base his faith, he uses of Abraham's faith a word which (diverging here from the view of Heb. 11¹) he would regard as inadequate for Christian faith—the word *hope*. *Hope*, to S. Paul, is something consequent upon faith (see notes on 4¹³, 5², 8²⁴)—a firm expectation of *the glory which shall be revealed* (8¹⁸). In the Christian this is based upon a final conviction that God has already done for us more than we could ever have dreamed possible, by giving His Son for our redemption. Abraham had no such evidence of God's goodness upon which to base his loyalty: his 'faith' may therefore as properly, if not more properly, be called *hope* rather than *faith*. But in giving it this name S. Paul does not belittle it: rather he is insinuating that if Abraham could evince such trust in God on so little evidence, his *hope* is the greatest of challenges to the Christian to give proof of a living *faith*.

Other problems also lie in the background of S. Paul's mind even in this discussion. Abraham is called *our forefather according to flesh* (4¹—if this be the right reading—see notes) to prove once again to the Jews that if their great forefather depended for justification upon faith rather than works, it was idle for them, his lesser descendants, to rest their claim upon works. The fact that Abraham, not being justified by works, had nothing of which to *glory* before God, is introduced (4²), with a reference to a previous hint (*Where then is the glorying? it is excluded*, 3²⁷), as a reminder that it is mere hypocrisy to *glory in God* (2¹⁷) if we fail, or refuse, to do His will (*supra*, pp. 43, 44). The fact that Abraham was *in uncircumcision* (4¹⁰) when his faith was commended, together with the promise that in consideration of his faith he should be *heir* not of the Semitic stock alone, *but of the world* (4¹³—see note, *ad loc.*)—*the father of us all, the father of many nations* (4¹⁸⁻¹⁸), corroborates other arguments that, in this matter, Jew and Gentile are equal before God (4¹⁰⁻¹²). Furthermore, the writer is concerned to show that his doctrine of justifying faith was anticipated even in *the law* itself—*Do we then make the law of none effect through faith? God forbid; nay, we establish the law* (3³¹)—a point of some importance to which we shall recur (p. 76). Once these cross-currents

of thought have been allowed for, the argument is clear—the faith that justifies is a faith like Abraham's.

(ii) To be *strong through faith* (4²⁰), therefore, means for a Christian to accept as a certainty that to which the death and resurrection of Christ point as evidence. It means to believe that *sin has been condemned* (8³) in the life and death of Christ, and that therefore its burden of remorse, alienation from God, and despair has once and for all been removed from the Christian's shoulders. It means, further, to embrace the conviction that God having *raised Jesus from the dead* (10⁹) will *raise us up* (cp. 1 Cor. 6¹⁴, 2 Cor. 4¹⁴) not only at the last day,¹ but here and now, that we may once again *seek the things that are above* (cp. Col. 3¹) in the fullness of hope.

Much useless labour has been expended on the question whether faith, as so depicted by S. Paul, is an intellectual or a moral quality. Clearly, such faith is both. It is an intellectual conviction framed and held by the mind, based upon the evidence of the Christian revelation in the face of the contrary evidence of the sinfulness and hopelessness of the world. But, like all genuine intellectual convictions, it is both accompanied by and productive of moral qualities. The faith which embraces our new *status* must produce in us a new *character*. It is not enough to *believe in the heart* alone. We must *confess with the mouth* as well (10⁹, 10); and *confession with the mouth*, in S. Paul's day, was no mere conventional tribute to Christianity, but an act of outstanding heroism and dedication. In the great hymn of the crucified Jesus which occupies the first eleven verses of chapter 5, the apostle gives us a clear indication of those moral qualities without which faith would not be faith at all—*Being justified by faith*, he says, *let us have* (or *we have*—the reading varies) *peace with God . . . let us rejoice in hope . . . let us also rejoice in our tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience probation, and probation hope, and hope putteth not to shame, because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts* (5¹⁻⁵). All these spring, therefore, from faith. Without 'works' such as these S. Paul would assert as unhesitatingly as S. James that *faith is dead in itself* (Jas. 2¹⁷).

(iii) Faith, then, is the psychological medium through which *the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ,*

¹ On the resurrection of the individual, *supra*, p. 64.

abound unto the many (5¹⁵). We must stop to notice a difference of terminology between S. Paul and later theologians. We habitually use the word 'grace' in the sense of a spiritual power poured into the soul (or, if it be preferred, a spiritual influence exercised upon the soul) by God, whereby it is inspired to moral triumphs higher than any which it could attain by its own unaided effort. This conception, based upon undoubted Christian experience, needs further examination (*infra*, pp. 91, 92); here we have to notice that, although it is as familiar to S. Paul as to ourselves, he does not specifically use the word *grace*, as we do, to designate it. *Grace* to him, as to the Old Testament writers, is the 'favour' or 'loving-kindness' extended by God to man in all its manifold varieties. It comprises 'grace' in our sense of the word, of course, but goes far beyond it. It is, in fact, the one comprehensive term under which S. Paul summarizes the whole of God's redemptive activity on man's behalf.

(iv) Of this grace the *one man Jesus Christ* (5¹⁵) is the *one mediator* (cp. 1 Tim. 2⁵, Heb. 8⁶, 9¹⁵, 12²⁴). He may fitly, then, be called *the end of the law unto righteousness unto every one that believeth* (10⁴). It is always a wonderful thought that the act of one can affect many, whether for good or ill; and S. Paul appropriately enough arrests the course of his argument to emphasize it here. It is *through the one, even Jesus Christ*, that the many who receive *the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life* (5¹⁷); *through the obedience of the one shall the many be made¹ righteous* (5¹⁸). This reminder is a fitting climax to the hymn of the crucified Jesus; and S. Paul thinks it sufficiently important to be dignified by an analogy illustrating the principle 'from one to many'. Countless analogies could be suggested that would have served his turn. But the contrast between 'sin' and 'justification' which had so far been ruling his mind betrayed him into one which has been a battleground of theology from that day to this. 'From one to many' is the principle by which the grace of Christ is extended to His disciples through faith; 'from one to many' is the principle, also, by which the sin of Adam passed to his posterity through—what? Through their free imitation? through the force of heredity? through some

¹ On the meaning of 'made' here see *infra*, pp. 86, 100.

other channel? The passage which began simply as an illustrative analogy suddenly opens up a vast problem—the problem of what is called original sin. S. Paul does not discuss the problem here, confining himself to a general contrast between the two dispensations of sin and grace respectively (5¹⁶⁻²¹); and we may so far follow him as to postpone it until a more convenient place in the argument (*infra*, pp. 99–101).

(v) S. Paul's introduction of Abraham in connexion with his argument brings out another aspect of the contrast between law and grace. We have spoken hitherto of the system of grace, as compared with that of law, as a 'new' system. But this is not S. Paul's thought. To him grace is the *oldest system of all*; though revealed last of all in Christ, it is a revelation of what God has been from the beginning. He can even estimate chronologically the precedence of grace—the law was *four hundred and thirty years after* the great promise to Abraham which is the charter or *covenant* of the dispensation of grace (Gal. 3¹⁷). Even under the reign of law 'David' could testify to this older and truer aspect of God as *reckoning righteousness apart from works; saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered; blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not reckon sin* (4⁶⁻⁸; cp. Ps. 32¹⁻²). Throughout Israel's history God has been exhibiting *the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering* (2⁴; cp. 9²³). It had been *promised afore* (1²) and *witnessed to* by prophets, law, and scripture (3²¹). Centuries before the birth of Christianity Habakkuk had proclaimed (though not altogether in the sense in which S. Paul interprets him—see note on 1¹⁷) that *the righteous shall live by faith* (1¹⁷, Gal. 3¹¹; cp. Hab. 2⁴); whilst Isaiah and Joel alike had prophesied that *whosoever believeth on him* should not be *put to shame*, but should be saved (10^{11, 13}).

The Old Testament, then, is throughout a revelation, to discerning eyes, of God's ultimate character as a God of grace. In so far as the Christian dispensation endorses this revelation, it simply *establishes the law* (i.e. the O.T. as a whole, 3³¹). The law was a temporary and transient manifestation, introduced for a particular purpose: it *came in beside* grace (5²⁰; cp. Gal. 3¹⁹). Thus the Christian dispensation is not the result of a new attitude on God's part, a change of His mind towards man. The whole idea of an angry God

being propitiated, satisfied, or reconciled is a figment and a fallacy. The atonement is the forcing upon man's attention of God's eternal nature—obscured partly by man's *blindness* (11⁸⁻¹⁰, 25; cp. 1²¹, 22, 2 Cor. 4⁴⁻⁶), partly by the system of strict recompense providentially initiated, under the guise of law, to awaken him to a knowledge of that blindness. God did not begin to love us, when He sent His Son; He *commended his own love* (5⁸) which had always been there. Christ was *openly set forth crucified before men's eyes* (Gal. 3¹), that they might never more be ignorant of the love of God.

S. Paul's conviction that the Old Testament prefigured the saving truths of the Christian dispensation led him, as it led practically every other theologian of the early centuries, to ransack it for texts and passages which should illustrate, even if they did not clinch, his arguments. Sometimes his selection is happy enough. His choice of Abraham as the prototype of Christian faith (c. 4), of Ishmael, Esau, and Pharaoh and Isaac, Jacob, and Moses as types, respectively, of those who have not, and those who have been adopted by God into His special care (9⁷⁻¹⁰), is singularly effective. His use of the conception of the testimony of nature to God (Ps. 19⁴) to illustrate the untiring proclamation of the gospel by Christian missionaries (10¹⁰) is wholly legitimate. And the innumerable Old Testament passages, which proclaim, often in mysterious language, the ultimate salvation of Israel, and even of mankind, by God, could obviously point (for a Christian of Jewish descent) to no one but Christ (cp. 8³⁰, 9³³, 11²⁶, 14¹¹, 15⁹⁻¹⁰, 21). But the belief that Old Testament texts were not primarily concerned with those of whom, or for whom, they were written, but were *also* (4²⁴) if not *altogether* (1 Cor. 9¹⁰) promulgated *for our sake*, resulted in a wholly illegitimate use of texts in connexions where they could not possibly find themselves at home. When, in 9³⁰, 20, S. Paul uses of the Gentiles language which Hosea addressed to the northern kingdom, it is no doubt just possible to defend him by the argument that the original passage revealed a *principle* of God's dealings with man which Christ has shown to be universally applicable. But the employment of words, originally applied to the Mosaic law, as a description of the Christian gospel, with the implication that they prove the law itself to be abrogated (10⁸⁻⁹), cannot possibly be justified. It is to S. Paul's credit that neither in this epistle nor elsewhere does he use this illegitimate method of argument or allegorism with anything like the frequency which it enjoyed in the writings of the majority of Christian theologians up to relatively modern times.

On the whole, his use of the Old Testament is singularly reasonable and restrained, and often highly effective in its suggestiveness.

(vi) Once God's eternal attitude has been revealed as an attitude of grace, it is clear that those effects of law to which we have already referred were intended by Him from the outset. Law came in beside grace in God's purposes because of transgressions (Gal. 3¹⁹), that the trespass might abound (5²⁰)—i.e. to emphasize man's need of grace. For *where there is no law neither is there transgression* (4¹⁵); *sin is not imputed when there is no law* (5¹³). Law lays down a *positive ideal*: and in so doing enables us to *know sin* (7⁷)—to recognize our divergence from the ideal, our lamentable failure to attain it. But it also lays down *negative or prohibitive commandments*, and thereby (as constant human experience reminds us) stimulates the desire to rebel (7⁸). In either case the result is the same; by revealing to man his *wretchedness* (7²⁴) it recalls him to his need of God. In such a sense, the law is truly a *tutor to bring us unto Christ* (Gal. 3²⁴).

(vii) A further corollary of the doctrine that grace has abrogated law is the equality of Jew and Gentile before God so far as the Christian gospel is concerned. Historically, no doubt, the gospel was preached *to the Jew first* (1¹⁶); and in S. Paul's own missionary work it was not till he had been rejected by the Jews that *he turned to the Gentiles* (Acts 13⁴⁶). But this bare historical fact was one in which the apostle had little interest. The essential truth is that the gospel is *the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth* (1¹⁶), for *God is not a God of Jews only, but of Gentiles also* (3²⁹), and Abraham was father not of *them which are of the law only, but of us all* (4^{14, 16}; cp. 2^{10, 29}, 9²⁴, 15^{8, 9}, 1 Cor. 1²⁴, and constantly). Thus *there is no distinction in God's sight between Jew and Greek: for the same Lord is Lord of all and is rich unto all that call upon him* (10¹²). *The middle wall of partition* which once separated Jew and Gentile has finally and for ever been broken down (Eph. 2¹⁴).

For the most part it is to the Jew that S. Paul addresses this statement. Judaism had, no doubt, been wonderfully privileged as contrasted with the Gentiles in the past (cp. the enumerations of 3², 9^{4, 5}). But the privileges were bound up with the law, and this the Jew had signally failed to obey (2²¹⁻⁴, 3^{9, 19, 20}, &c.). Hence

he could claim no superiority by virtue either of circumcision (2²⁸, 2⁹, 4⁹⁻¹²), or of descent (4¹³⁻¹⁷). But in 11¹³⁻²⁴ S. Paul finds himself obliged (probably by special circumstances at Rome of which we have no knowledge) to remind the Gentiles that the supersession of the Mosaic law by grace gives them no precedence over the Jews; and he addresses them with the same authority as he usually employs towards their opponents. All are equal in the sight of God, and that is all there is to be said.

That this doctrine was unutterable blasphemy to the Jews who heard it—that it caused acute anxiety and dissension among the Jewish Christian community which constituted the original nucleus of the Church—these are facts which control the whole history of the 'Acts of the Apostles'. That this should have been so need cause no surprise to any one who, from his reading of the Old Testament, recognizes the loathing with which the Jews, on grounds of history, regarded every Gentile, and the scorn they poured upon them by reason of their own supposed monopoly of the divine favour. For the same reason, though we may well be amazed at the tenacity with which S. Paul preached his new doctrine, we cannot feel surprised at the enthusiasm which it evoked in him. He felt about the tension between Jew and Gentile as a modern European might feel about that between France and Germany. It was an age-long, internecine conflict, inflamed by all the hatred of which the Jews were capable. But in one respect S. Paul was, so far as we know, entirely original in his attitude to this animosity. He refused to regard it as inevitable. It was a burden under which the world groaned—an outrage upon humanity—something unnatural rather than natural. And in the gospel he found a power which, he believed, would annihilate the tension, and reunite the opponents in a harmony so complete that even their difference of origin would be forgotten.

So he insists that in Christ Jesus *there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman; but Christ is all and in all* (Col. 3¹¹; cp. 1 Cor. 12¹³, Gal. 3²⁸). And when this new and utterly unheard-of alliance is finally cemented, no language will be adequate to express its joys except to say that the *riches of the world*, and the *reconciling of the world*, have been attained at last—a veritable *life from the*

dead for human society and civilization (11^{12, 15}). The tension between Jew and Gentile which so exercised S. Paul's mind has no meaning for the modern Christian. But, if we could view the vast antagonisms of the present day with the same confidence that the gospel will overcome them, we should discover a strong source of consolation upon which to fall back in evil times.¹

(viii) Finally, we must recognize that to S. Paul the two systems of grace and law are mutually exclusive—if we are *under grace*, we are not *under law* (6¹⁵). Grace, therefore, is not a mere divine expedient or adjunct to help us to keep the law. By coming into the sphere of 'grace' we are *dead*, once and for ever, *to law* (7⁴). There is no point in the whole of S. Paul's teaching on which more tremendous emphasis is laid. Either we strive unavailingly to secure 'justification' by works, or we find ourselves freely 'justified' by grace through faith. Sometimes S. Paul's insistence upon this point leads him to the verge of self-contradiction. Abraham (and by implication every one who follows him in the life of faith) is described succinctly as *him that worketh not*; to those who have faith *God reckoneth righteousness apart from (their) works*. (4^{5, 6}). But the passages in which S. Paul rings the changes upon the words 'faith' and 'works', 'grace' and 'law', in order to bring home to his readers how utterly the two ideas are opposed, are numberless (cp. 3^{20, 28}, 9^{30, 31}, 10⁴, 11⁶, Gal. 2^{16, 21}, 3^{2, 11, 12}; 5⁴, Eph. 2^{8, 9}, &c.).

As numberless, however, seem to be the problems raised by S. Paul's outspoken proclamation that grace has superseded law. But, fortunately, they can all be focused in the single question, *What part in his own salvation must man discharge by his own unaided efforts?* If we suppose S. Paul to reply 'No part at all' (as a strict interpretation of the doctrine that law has been abrogated would seem to require), then—apart altogether from the danger of immoralism which such a principle would seem bound to introduce—it appears to involve us in the conclusion that all who are saved are saved solely by virtue of divine predestination and irresistible grace; whilst any who are lost are lost simply because God did not design to save them (since moral effort, or *works* alone, are powerless to justify). If, on the other hand, S. Paul

¹ Further on this, *infra*, pp. 128–30.

requires some contributory effort on man's part (as, for example, the effort of faith before justification, or that of 'good works' afterwards), we must admit that law has *not* been wholly superseded, and that all S. Paul's fine phrases on the subject are not far removed from empty rhetoric. And, further, if works are still necessary on man's part, it is open to any one to say that he has not received sufficient grace to enable him to do what is required of him, and so, with apparent good reason, to blame God once more for abandoning him to his fate.

It is, of course, possible to compromise between the two points of view by saying (as popular Christianity does so often say) that the assistance of grace makes it *easier* for a man to show faith, or to perform the works necessary for salvation. Even so, the objector can still reply that the task required of him is more than he has strength to perform; and, in any case, S. Paul is in no way saved from the charge of gross and unwarranted exaggeration. Here, then, is a crucial dilemma for Christian theology; and in the next section we must consider the way in which the apostle deals with it.

F. Grace and Freedom: Sanctification: the New Life (3⁵⁻⁸, 6¹⁻⁷, 8¹⁻¹⁷, 26-39, 9¹⁴⁻¹⁰, 11⁷⁻²³).

The group of problems mentioned at the end of the last section is not ignored by S. Paul. Unfortunately for us, however, in so far as he discusses them, he does so in a series of passages which it is extraordinarily difficult to disentangle. Each of these passages is in the form of question and answer; but the answers continually run into one another, and so on occasion appear in the context of a question to which they are irrelevant. This is due to two facts: the first, that the questions are in appearance very like one another, though in essence they differ widely; the second, that they all engender considerable vivacity in S. Paul's replies—sometimes because of their sheer perversity, sometimes because of the fundamental issues which they raise—and consequently introduce an element of incoherence into the sequence of his thought. Nor can we acquit him of a certain unwillingness to be drawn into the discussion of theological problems, however important they may be. His tendency is to state his own convictions dogmatically, and to resent interruptions. Thus the systematic justification of

the views he expresses must be sought for in occasional hints, rather than in any detailed and reasoned exposition.

Two of the passages just mentioned, though verbally not unlike the problem we have to discuss, are in fact concerned with other issues:

(a) In 6¹, following up the thought of 'grace abounding' in 5¹⁵⁻²¹, S. Paul raises the question, *Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?* This problem he had already anticipated in a particularly confused little aside in 3⁵⁻⁸: *If our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say? . . . If the truth of God through my lie abounded unto his glory . . . why not (as we be slanderously reported and as some affirm that we say), Let us do evil that good may come?* Now, although 'Let us do evil that good may come' (like its companion phrase 'The end justifies the means') is on occasion a sound and necessary ethical maxim (see note on 3⁸), it is liable to the most flagrant abuse in unscrupulous hands—so much so that to attribute it to any one is, as a controversial device, tantamount to accusing him of jesuitical hypocrisy. S. Paul therefore, though he must frequently have acted upon the maxim in its unobjectionable form, flatly denies that he has ever said anything of the kind. Nor can we suspect him, or any other serious Christian, of deliberately proposing to *continue in sin that grace may abound*—merely, in fact, to give God further opportunities of forgiveness. As a dialectical quip at S. Paul's expense the question (together with the suggestion that S. Paul himself answered it in the affirmative) may have had some debating value; as a serious contribution to theology it is worthless. Consequently, although S. Paul *appears* to be answering it in both passages, we find on inspection that actually he dismisses it as curtly as possible, and addresses himself to other issues.

(b) One of these other issues is as flippant as that which we have just been considering. It is the main point embodied in 3⁵⁻⁸: *If our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who visiteth with wrath? . . . If the truth of God through my lie abounded unto his glory, why am I also still judged as a sinner?* 'God ought to be grateful to me', the objector suggests, 'for giving Him so many opportunities to show mercy; instead of which (you tell me) He threatens me with punishment for my sins.' S. Paul takes a very short way with this objection. It is not worthy of consideration, for it makes nonsense of the distinction between righteousness and sin—and *then how shall God judge the world?* (3⁶). In effect, he appeals to the objector's better self: if he admits the fact of sin at all, he must recognize that sin is no less sinful even though inciden-

tally and unintentionally (so far as the sinner is concerned) it has resulted in grace abounding. More than that need not be said about it.¹

It is in chapters 6 and 8 that S. Paul faces the real difficulty, although his main purpose even here is simply to continue the exposition of his gospel, and not to deal with 'problems'. Chapter 6 begins with a question which is, in fact, a false start—the perverse inquiry, *Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?* (6¹—see small print above). The real question is contained in 6¹⁵, *Shall we sin because we are not under law, but under grace?* If we interpret *to sin* here as meaning 'to abandon moral effort' the issue is perfectly plain: Now that grace abounds, is effort any longer necessary? If faith is all that is needed of the Christian—if the law of works has been abolished—surely there is an end to the whole matter? Man has performed his part of the contract by showing faith, and nothing further can be asked of him; it remains simply for God to justify him according to His promises. And if it be argued that God would never receive into salvation one who was not morally stainless—that justification, in short, must affect *character* as well as *status*—the reply is obvious: it is for God to supply the strength necessary for such moral purity. All that is needed on our part is faith, and that we have shown: God will do the rest. His power will act upon us like a tonic or stimulant, inducing in us irresistibly, and without contributory effort on our part, the virtues of the Christian life. It seems almost incredible that such views should ever have been seriously advocated among Christians. But as a matter of fact they have from time to time been extraordinarily popular; and the scriptural basis has invariably been found, in part at least, in S. Paul's sustained and embittered attack upon the idea of justification by works.

And, further, what of faith itself? Is that something which man must evoke by his own unaided effort? If so, then faith is itself a *work*, and man's salvation depends in the last resort upon himself. If not, we are faced with a new question, *Must we continue in sin until grace* (in such measure as will avail to evoke the necessary faith) *abounds?* This question S. Paul never attacks directly, but it is no less fundamental than the last. As we have seen, the two may be summarized in one phrase if we ask, How

¹ For a further possibility in connexion with 3⁵⁻⁸ see *infra*, p. 123.

far is free human effort necessary to man's salvation, and how far is it exclusively and entirely the work of God? Consequently, it will simplify matters if we assume that whatever S. Paul says on the subject with reference to man's life *after* he has received grace through faith holds equally of his achieving that faith which makes grace possible. If the former is the free gift of God, so is the latter: if the former requires human effort apart from the activity of grace, so will the latter too. And elsewhere S. Paul says as much explicitly: *By grace have ye been saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God* (Eph. 2⁸).

S. Paul's answer to the question he has raised is not easy to discover. Here, as elsewhere, he shrinks from direct argument, and prefers to employ illustrations whose effect is to intensify the problem rather than to elucidate it (cp. notes on 6¹⁵-7⁶). But certain points are clear:

(a) Quite evidently he does not think exhortation to moral effort superfluous. *Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body*, he writes, . . . *neither present your members unto sin . . . but present yourselves unto God: . . . present your members as servants to righteousness* (6¹², 13, 19). The theme is continued in chapter 8: *We are debtors, not to the flesh to live after the flesh* (but, it is implied, to God, to live after the Spirit; and we ought to pay the debt (8¹²)). Again the hypothetical, *If by the Spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body ye shall live* (8¹³), implies that it is within our power to decide whether we will, or will not, *mortify the deeds of the body*, and so secure the proffered salvation. The two parables of the ransomed slave and the emancipated widow (6¹⁵-7⁸), though they assert frankly that we are *free from sin* (6¹⁸) and *discharged from the law* (7²), go no further than to insist that we have a paramount moral obligation to *present ourselves* to God as *servants unto obedience* (6¹⁸). And all these exhortations are addressed to Christians who have been *buried with Christ through baptism* (6⁴), who have become *obedient from the heart to that form of teaching whereunto they were delivered, and being made free from sin became servants of righteousness* (6¹⁷, 18). The rebukes to the Jews in 9³⁰-10¹³, 10¹⁴-21, the grave warnings addressed to the Gentile Christians in 11¹³-24, the moral instructions and advice of 12-14, and countless other passages in S. Paul's writings, tell the same tale.¹

¹ Cp. particularly Phil. 2¹², 13 where the collocation of 'work out your own

(b) On the other hand, the general tone of Rom. 6 and 8, with large parts of 9-11, takes us into an entirely new world. They seem to imply that the Christian, once he has entered into the new relationship with God through Christ, cannot miss moral perfection, and so salvation, however much he may fall by the way. Grace does, in fact, act in a 'tonic' way, after the manner of a stimulant. While such a sentence as *We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein?* (6²) is ambiguous, in so far as 'How shall we' may simply be a rhetorical question implying 'It would be sheer treason to God',¹ there can be no doubt about: *If we have become united with him by the likeness of his death, we shall be also by the likeness of his resurrection . . . we believe that we shall also live with him* (6^{5, 8}); *sin shall not have dominion over you* (6¹⁴); *ye have your fruit unto sanctification, and the end eternal life* (6²²). Even more emphatic are *There is therefore now no condemnation² to them that are in Christ Jesus. For the law* (here = 'principle') *of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death* (8^{1, 2}); and *If Christ is in you . . . the spirit is life because of righteousness* (8¹⁰). And the whole peroration of chapter 8, from ver. 28 onwards, is simply one magnificent series of variations on the central thought: *He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not also with him freely give us all things?* (8³²).

The reading of 5¹⁻⁸ (in which the progress of the Christian life is first described) is unfortunately too uncertain to help us very much here. If 'let us have' is correct in 5¹ and 'let us rejoice' in 5³, we are still on the plane of free will and moral exhortation. If 'we have' and 'we rejoice' be preferred, they may be no more than a description of a formed habit of mind acquired by Christians who respond with proper earnestness to the gift of justification. But it could be argued that S. Paul regards *peace, joy, patience, hope*, and so forth

'salvation', with 'for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work', is very striking. And note that in 10³ (see note on 10¹⁻³), 16²¹, there is no hesitation in making the Jews responsible for their own failure to receive the gospel, in spite of the fact that in the same passage (11⁸) the responsibility for their *spirit of stupor* seems to be thrown upon God (see note on 11⁷).

¹ So also 6¹¹ ('reckon yourselves') may mean either 'take it as a fact that' or 'act up to the principle that'; 8⁴ ('that the ordinance') may be either a necessary consequence or a pious hope.

² For meaning see note *ad loc.*, and *infra*, p. 100.

as the necessary consequences of justification—not acquired by the Christian, but bestowed upon him regardless of any merit of his own. More definite at first sight is 5¹⁹, *Shall the many be made righteous*. But here we are concerned with the parallel between Adam and Christ; and as the 'were made sinners' earlier in the verse does not mean more than 'were predisposed to, or put in the way of sinning' (*infra*, p. 100) so we are not entitled to any stronger translation than 'were predisposed to, or put in the way of righteousness'. S. Paul may have been willing to imply more than this, even in this sentence; but he does not actually assert it.

The evidence of chapters 9–11, again, in so far as they concern the 'elect' is very impressive. S. Paul here insists that *the purpose of God according to election must stand, not of works* (i.e. irrespective of any thing that the 'elect' person may do or fail to do), *but of him that calleth . . . it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy* (9^{11, 16}). God has His *vessels of mercy, which he afore prepared unto glory, even us, whom he also called* (9^{23, 24}, cp. 11^{5, 6}). The same strain of thought runs through all S. Paul's epistles. *God that said, Light shall shine out of darkness, shined in our hearts . . . that the exceeding greatness of the power may be from God and not from ourselves* (2 Cor. 4^{6, 7}); *if any man is in Christ he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new. But all things are of God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ* (2 Cor. 5^{17, 18}); *you being in time past alienated and enemies in your mind in your evil works yet now hath he reconciled* (Col. 1^{21, 22}). And all this is predestined by God—*He chose us in Christ before the foundation of the world that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love, having foreordained us unto adoption as sons* (Eph. 1^{4, 5}; cp. 1 Cor. 1^{27, 28}, 1 Thess. 5⁹, 2 Thess. 2¹³, and *infra*, pp. 119, 120). It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the main doctrinal section of the epistle closes with the great confession of faith, *I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord* (8^{38, 39}).

If the evidence of this last series of passages and others like

¹ For those who do not appear to be 'elect' see *infra*, pp. 120–5; and on the meaning of 'election', pp. 121, 125.

them were taken in isolation, we should have to credit S. Paul with a doctrine of the Christian's absolute predestination to salvation. Nor does he shrink from language which appears finally to commit him to this view: *Whom he foreknew, he also foreordained, . . . and whom he foreordained, them he also called;*¹ *and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified* (8³⁰). And if, as has already been suggested, it is incredible in addition that God should receive into salvation any one who is not morally perfect, then we can only call the whole process, from predestination to glorification, a process of *automatic moralization*, in which the Christian is steadily endowed with every one of the gospel virtues. Such a doctrine, it is evident, can satisfy no sane person. It is repellent in theory, for it robs the moral life of all meaning; and it is contradicted by universal experience, which tells us that we constantly fall away lamentably from grace, and yet are capable of restoration if we repent and 'do the first works' (Rev. 2⁵). But it is no solution of the problem of S. Paul's thought on the subject merely to set this view alongside that other which requires responsible moral effort from the Christian as an absolute condition of salvation, as though they would mutually counteract or cancel out their respective exaggerations. For in the first place it cannot be denied that the ultimate emphasis in his teaching is upon the truth that we cannot save ourselves, and that God saves us without any merit of our own; if we had to choose finally between the two alternatives, we should have to say that the supremacy of grace was nearer to S. Paul's heart than the responsibility of man. And, second, we have to recognize that S. Paul does not appear in any way conscious of the contradiction between the two points of view which he expresses. He sets them forth not as adversative to one another, and with apology; but as triumphant complementaries in the same system of thought.

S. Paul's instinctive grasp of a deep-lying truth beneath this apparent paradox is shown at its best in his curiously delicate use of the words 'sanctify' and 'sanctification' (*ἀγιάζειν, ἁγιασμός*), with which, of course, the title 'saints' (*ἅγιοι*), so constantly used by him of and to Christians (1⁷, 8²⁷, 12¹³, &c.; cp. 1 Cor. 1³, 2 Cor. 1¹, Eph. 1¹, and

¹ On these three words in detail, *infra*, p. 120.

constantly), is intimately connected. The conception involved goes back, as is well known, to the Old Testament, where the words all refer to the setting apart of some one or something for the exclusive service of God by means of a cleansing or purification. In the earliest stages of the Old Testament this cleansing was a strictly ritual one. But as the prophets developed the doctrine of God's *moral holiness*, so, when the sanctification of persons is in question, moral purity becomes the prerequisite of approach to God—thus only *he that hath clean hands and a pure heart, who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity and hath not sworn deceitfully, can properly ascend into the hill of the Lord and stand in his holy place* (Ps. 24^{3, 4}; cp. Ps. 15).

It is not easy to say how far the idea of moral sanctification superseded that of ceremonial cleansing in Jewish thought about man's relation to God. Still less can we say whether the moral connotation has the ascendancy to any extent in the large number of passages in which men are told to sanctify themselves; in many cases it is certainly ceremonial only—e.g. Exod. 19^{10, 11, 22}, Num. 11¹⁸, Joshua 3⁶, &c. But there can be little doubt that to S. Paul, as to all other New Testament writers, the moral connotation was supreme (thus, in 6¹⁹, *sanctification* is opposed to *iniquity* (*ἀνομία*, 'lawlessness')); and that consequently the words 'sanctify yourselves', when they came across them in their reading of the scriptures, must have meant to them 'make yourselves ethically holy'. From this point of view the following facts are important:

(1) S. Paul never uses language which suggests, even distantly, that man can 'sanctify himself'. It is always *God* or *Christ* who sanctifies (1 Thess. 5²³, Eph. 5²⁶). The best that man can do is to *present his members . . . unto* (i.e. 'for') *sanctification* (6¹⁹), or to *continue in sanctification*—so (in a special connexion) in 1 Tim. 2¹⁵, but the idea is present in the *ἐν ἁγιασμῷ* of 1 Thess. 4^{4, 7}, 2 Thess. 2¹³ (with *πνεύματος*, of the Holy Spirit).

(2) But as compared with the freedom with which he uses the words *justification* and *salvation* in the sense of activities of God wrought for men and upon men, he shows a relative unwillingness to use *sanctify* and *sanctification* at all. Setting the Pastorals (in which, in any case, the former is used twice only, the latter once) on one side, we find only four passages in which *sanctification* occurs (Rom. 6¹⁹⁻²², 1 Cor. 1³⁰, 1 Thess. 4³⁻⁷, 2 Thess. 2¹³) and five instances of *sanctify*¹ (Rom. 15¹⁶, 1 Cor. 1³, 6¹¹, Eph. 5²⁶, 1 Thess. 5²³). We need not look far for the reason. The ethical associations of the words were by now so

¹ The usage of 1 Cor. 7¹⁴ belongs, obviously, to a different line of thought.

predominant that to speak freely of man being *sanctified by God* would have encouraged just that idea of 'automatic moralization' which it is so necessary for Christian theology to avoid. In dealing, therefore, with man's moral condition S. Paul habitually prefers phrases which do not exclude the idea of human effort (e.g. 'walk in the Spirit'); but he sets his face absolutely against such an outspoken expression as the familiar Old Testament 'sanctify yourselves'.¹

A further device by which S. Paul might have emphasized the idea of 'automatic moralization', had he wished to do so, would have been to appeal to yet another of the many implications of the Old Testament phrase 'the righteousness of God'.² It seems commonly agreed that among the ideas connected with this many-sided phrase was that of 'a righteousness imparting itself from God to man', 'a righteousness of which God is the author and man the recipient' (Sanday and Headlam, p. 24); though the passages commonly quoted in support of this view (Ps. 24⁵, Isa. 45²⁴, 54¹⁷, &c.) are anything but conclusive, as in each case 'vindication' or 'salvation' (cp. *supra*, p. 56) is the more probable translation. There are two or three passages in S. Paul which have suggested that he adopted this meaning into his own vocabulary. From 10³ (*They did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God*) nothing can be inferred: the context seems to show that it means simply 'they did not accept the offer of justification by faith which God in His righteousness (here = 'mercy', cp. *supra*, pp. 46, 47) held out to them'. But Phil. 3⁹ (*Not having a righteousness of mine own . . . but the righteousness which is of God by faith*) and 2 Cor. 5²¹ (*That we might become the righteousness of God in him* (Christ)) are remarkable for the distance which they go towards implying a theory of imparted righteousness. More remarkable, however, is the fact that they are to all intents and purposes unique in S. Paul. The idea, in short, was not one which he was anxious to foster.

¹ It should be noticed in this connexion that the popular use of 'sanctification' in Christian theology, as meaning 'moral progress', is not explicitly supported by the New Testament use of the word; though the *unto (eis) sanctification* of 6¹⁰. ²² suggests a process terminating in the state of sanctification. In general, the word means a 'relation with God consisting in a moral affinity', thus differing from *justification* by the emphasis laid upon the ethical aspect. The passages just cited seem to imply that entry into the sanctified state comes at a relatively late moment in the Christian life, as also do 1 Thess. 4³, 5²²; on the other hand, 1 Cor. 1³, 6¹¹ suggest that it is attained at the very beginning (in 1 Cor. 6¹¹ even before justification, though after 'cleansing'). S. Paul had evidently not cleared his mind as to his usage; but of course this is no evidence that the idea of moral progress (though not contained in 'sanctification') was anything but congenial to him.

² For the uses to which he does appeal, *supra*, pp. 37, 46, 47.

We must notice further the implications for the individual of this paradoxical combination of apparently contradictory views. The constant repetition of moral exhortation and appeal implies emphatically that if we fail to progress in the Christian life it will be our own fault, and we shall deserve whatever penalty we incur. But the insistence upon the element of predestined sanctification implies that, if we advance in virtue, we cannot take any credit for it. All *glorying is excluded* (3²⁷): it is the unconditioned gift of God. The two implications, it can be asserted unhesitatingly, commend themselves in fact to every Christian, whatever theological difficulties they may provoke. On the one hand, he recognizes his entire responsibility for his sins; on the other, he disclaims all merit for his virtues, and attributes them wholly to God, *by whose grace alone*, as S. Paul says, *I am what I am* (1 Cor. 15¹⁰). What we have to do is to find some element in S. Paul's thought which satisfies the terms of this universal Christian sentiment, which he was the first theologian to voice.

The situation is eased if we remember (*supra*, p. 75) that in biblical theology 'grace' does not mean (as it so often does with us) an impersonal force, but the personal favour or kindness of God to man. S. Paul goes further, and ascribes the origin of all that is good in us to God's *love*. The virtues catalogued in 5¹⁻⁵ are all attributed to *the love of God shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Ghost which was given unto us*, and to that alone. The missionary fervour of the Christian springs solely from the fact that *the love of Christ constraineth us* (2 Cor. 5¹⁴). Our assurance of salvation depends upon the conviction that no power in heaven or on earth can separate us from the *love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord* (8³⁵⁻⁹).

It requires little reflection upon the nature of love, even as we see it among men, to obtain a glimpse of S. Paul's meaning. Love is a compelling force, but it never uses compulsion. You may say 'No' to it, but it will never take 'No' for an answer; you may reject it, but true love ignores the rejection. And S. Paul thought of grace thus in terms of an irresistible love which yet can be resisted, not in terms of an irresistible power to which no resistance is possible. Love in the end will have its way; but its way is always to win a free and willing response from the loved one.

So S. Paul's thought is based upon a paradox, but a paradox which is rooted in the deepest human experience. There is beyond question a constraint of love. But the characteristic of this constraint is that if you respond to it, there is no merit on your part—it is the free gift of love to create its own response; but if you reject it—and for a time at least you may—it argues no weakness in the love but only perversity in yourself; the blame rests not with the lover but the loved one. Faith and sanctification therefore are the free gifts of God's love, and no man can pride himself on possessing them. But faithlessness and apostasy are the free refusal of man to welcome or recognize God's gift, and to man they shall be imputed.

Two points deserve passing notice here:

(i) The history of ethics shows that even those systems which have emphasized the idea of predestination in its starkest forms, and without reference to the over-ruling conception of the love of God, have nevertheless been curiously successful in stimulating strenuous efforts towards responsible moral achievement in the lives of their adherents. The reason is a psychological one. The fear of ultimate failure is in itself a stultification of will-power; release a man from this fear, and you add impetus to the forces in him which make for righteousness. That is why Stoicism and Calvinism, for example, appealed to the heroic type of character, and inspired it to even greater flights of heroism. Their defect was that they had no message for the unheroic, and most men are unheroic by nature rather than the reverse. Hence, it is only where, as in S. Paul and S. Augustine, 'predestination' is seen to be simply a theological term for God's compelling love, that the idea has proved a moral incentive even to the weakling.

(ii) The tendency to speak of grace in language suitable to an impersonal force—a tonic, drug, or stimulant; or better, the influence of music, art, and literature in producing a heightening of the emotions—is a deeply rooted one; so much so that in the New Testament, as in the Old, it is even applied to the Holy Spirit.¹ It has often been attacked as implying 'magical' or 'semi-magical' ideas of God's operation. This inference is wholly unwarranted. We naturally speak of a friend's influence in 'tonic' language of this kind; saying, for example, that his presence or conversation has a 'stimulating',

¹ Cp. *infra*, pp. 108, 109.

'magnetic', 'exhilarating', 'refreshing' effect upon us. We tend to use this language more readily with reference to the influence he has upon us by his mere presence and character (an influence often very noticeable), than to those occasions where he influences us by some particular word or deed upon which we first reflect and then act. The first type of influence may be called direct or immediate, and we may at the time be wholly unconscious of it; the second, indirect or mediate, because it is mediated to us by our conscious or discursive reflection upon it. Thus the tendency to use 'tonic' expressions of the divine love towards man is not merely unexceptionable; it is also supremely important, because it insists that God, like any human friend, can influence us for good even though at the actual moment when this is happening we may be wholly unaware of it.

In what sense, then, shall we say that 'law' has been abrogated? Some conclusions are obvious. Under the old dispensation, to do the works of the law was the sole ambition of the righteous man: under the new, his sole desire is to be received into that love of God which enables the *ordinance of the law to be fulfilled* (by God) *in us* (8⁴). Under the old dispensation law held sway tyrannically in its own right; in the new it is a standard, subordinate to the redeeming love of God, which the Christian gladly adopts as proof of the genuineness of his own response. 'Formerly law said "Thou shalt", now the Christian says "I will".'¹ Formerly, man stood or fell by the success or failure of his own efforts; now, he knows that whatever the failure of his efforts, it will be made good by the triumphant love of God. The believer's life is no longer a *duty*; it is primarily a *privilege*. Admittedly, these are no more than paraphrases designed to make S. Paul's paradox more intelligible. But when all has been said the fact remains that there is no Christian who does not know from experience that, the more he learns of Christ, the less does the weight of moral obligation oppress him, and that without any decline in his sense of its transcendent importance.

If we revert once more to S. Paul's indictment of the law, in fact, we discover that its essential failure, which is the failure of all ethics that attempts to live without religion, is that it is bound to force a man continually to think about himself, either by way

¹ Wernle, *Paulus*, p. 105; cp. H. A. A. Kennedy, *Theology of the Epistles*, p. 143.

of complacency (*supra*, p. 43) or by way of despair (*supra*, pp. 55, 70). Yet ethics itself, in all but its most eccentric forms, demands that men should be self-forgetful and altruistic. By its very insistence, therefore, upon the *law* of self-forgetfulness or the *works* of altruism, it stultifies itself, and makes the attainment of its own ideals impossible. But once the soul has been laid hold of by the love of God, it is no longer absorbed or centred in itself, but in God; as self-centred beings, concerned with our own success and failure, we *died, and our life is hid with Christ in God* (Col. 3³). Even the analogy of earthly love teaches us as much.

In so far, then, as this relation subsists between the soul and God, it does not require the law; love produces spontaneously a life pleasing to God. Only where, for any reason, the bonds of love are temporarily weakened, has the Christian any need to remind himself that he is *not without law to God, but under law to Christ* (1 Cor. 9²¹); and thereafter, if he sets himself to *fulfil the law of Christ* (Gal. 6²), grace comes back to his soul, and fills him once more with unselfconscious, but not unfruitful, love. In reality, no doubt, we have to remind ourselves very constantly that moral effort is necessary, even for those who are under grace. But ideally, whenever *God makes all grace abound unto us, we have always all sufficiency in everything, and abound unto every good work* (2 Cor. 9⁸), without any of those thoughts of our own success or failure which are the inevitable and stultifying accompaniment of the life which is lived by law alone.

This compelling love of God is mediated to man, for his justification, by the death of Christ. For sanctification, it is ministered by the Risen Christ and the Spirit of God in a variety of ways; and baptism plays a definite part in the scheme. These conceptions have to be examined. In the meantime we may summarize the various phrases in which (especially in this epistle) S. Paul speaks of the new or sanctified life. They are as numerous as they are inspiring. We no longer *walk after the flesh, but after the spirit* (8⁴; cp. Gal. 5^{18, 25}); *we have crucified or put off the old man, and put on the new or put on Christ* (6⁶; cp. 13¹⁴, and Gal. 3²⁷, Col. 3^{9, 10}, Eph. 4²²⁻⁴, 2 Cor. 5¹⁷); *we have crucified the flesh* (Gal. 5²⁴; cp. Gal. 2²⁰, 6¹⁴), and *died to sin and risen again with Christ*

(6⁴, 5, 8, 9, 11, 8¹¹; cp. Eph. 2⁶, Col. 2¹², 20, 3³, Phil. 3¹⁰, 2 Cor. 4⁹, 10, 5¹⁴); we are *awake from sleep* (13¹¹⁻¹⁴, Eph. 5¹⁴); have undergone or are undergoing a psychological *transformation* (12²; cp. 8²⁹, 2 Cor. 3¹⁸, Phil. 3¹⁰); have become *slaves to Christ* and *obedient to his law* (1⁵, 6¹⁶⁻²², and constantly), and yet are no longer *slaves but sons* (8¹⁴, 15, Gal. 3²⁶, 4¹; and cp. *υιοθεσία* ('adoption') in 8²³, Gal. 4⁵, Eph. 1⁵). The phrases are all self-explanatory, and it is to be noticed that in so far as we take them in terms of that moral effort which certainly receives full emphasis in S. Paul's paradox of love, though naturally not so full as that placed upon the creative and redemptive activity of God, they imply a self-crucifixion in the Christian's life, a *mortifying* of the *deeds of the body* (8¹³—see note) of no mean order. The development of his thought on this subject, however, is bound up with two new terms—'flesh' and 'spirit'; and these cannot be considered apart from his psychology as a whole.

G. Ethical Psychology: *Flesh and Spirit* (7⁵–8¹⁷).

The new life of the Christian is begotten, nurtured, and brought to consummation by the free activity of the love of God, extended to us in fullest measure through the death and resurrection of Christ. S. Paul is at pains to describe this process in some detail. To do so, he must explore the recesses of human nature, and discover there those elements which are amenable, and those which are hostile, to the operations of grace. His interest is purely practical; he imports the psychological factor into his exposition solely with a view to clearing up the ethical problems of his readers.

Once we allow for this fact, and recognize in consequence that S. Paul had no intention of writing with scientific precision, his psychology is relatively straightforward. His general name for the soul is *ψύχη*. His interest in it being specifically ethical and spiritual, he treats of it from this point of view alone; and analyses it, therefore, into the only two elements into which it can be analysed on this basis. We may call them, for a moment, the 'lower' and 'higher' elements, or the 'downward' and 'upward' tendencies, in human nature. To the lower element he consistently gives the name of the 'flesh' (*σάρξ*); the man who has

surrendered or tends to surrender wholly to this element is 'fleshly' (σάρκινος or σαρκικός). But this, as the entire Pauline outlook insists, is almost inevitable for the soul which remains in the natural order and does not come under supernatural grace. Hence ψυχικός (the only English translation is the misleading 'natural') can occasionally be used instead of σαρκικός with the same meaning (1 Cor. 2¹⁴, 15⁴⁴⁻⁶).¹

This 'downward' tendency in man is to a large extent animated by sense-impression, and concerned with the gratification of bodily needs. Thus, quite apart from the natural use of 'flesh' as a synonym for 'body' or for embodied persons (cp. the common biblical and Greek use of 'all flesh'), S. Paul can frequently speak of the 'flesh' as though it comprehended the body and its 'members', or use the words 'flesh' and 'body' interchangeably (see notes on 6, 8, 12, 7²⁴, 8^{10, 13}; and discussion of 2 Cor. 10^{2, 3} in my *Vision of God*, p. 89). The extent to which this was possible is indicated by the word 'earthy' (χοϊκός) in 1 Cor. 15⁴⁷⁻⁹, where the meaning differs very little from that of σαρκικός, and by the references to the 'members' as the seat of sin in 6^{13, 19}, 7^{5, 23}, Col. 3⁵.

But though the 'flesh' is connected with bodily needs, its meaning is not exhausted thereby. S. Paul can often use the word without any reference to the body at all. In 6¹⁹ *the infirmity of your flesh* means simply 'deficient spiritual apprehension'; in 2 Cor. 1¹⁷ it is identified with 'fickleness'; in Phil. 3³⁻⁷ ('confidence in the flesh') it covers the whole of S. Paul's intellectual and spiritual inheritance, upbringing, and education; in 2 Cor. 1¹² it is used of a tendency to undisciplined speculation in theology;² and the 'fleshly minds' of the Colossian ascetics, so far from giving way to sensual impulses, betray their real character by excessive self-mortification (Col. 2¹⁸⁻²³).

On this evidence, the best definition of 'flesh' as used by S. Paul is that given by Dr. Laidlaw (*H.D.B.* iv. 166): 'Flesh is what nature evolves; spirit what God in His grace bestows.' But 'what

¹ Though the word is not so explicitly the equivalent of σαρκικός here as in Jas. 3¹⁶ (R.V. 'sensual'), and Jude¹⁹ (R.V. 'sensual' again).

² Throughout both epistles to the Corinthians, the 'wisdom', with which the 'wisdom of God' (1 Cor. 2⁷), or 'words taught by the Spirit' (1 Cor. 2¹⁰), is contrasted, is not 'worldly wisdom' in our sense of the words (i.e. prudential calculations of self-interest), but gnostic speculation.

nature evolves' is at best weak and liable to attack; consequently, in S. Paul's view, it is by virtue of this lower tendency in man that 'sin' can enter into him and take possession of his soul. S. Paul gives a pathetic and terrible description of the process and its results in chapter 7. As we have already seen, the law has the effect of rousing *sinful passions* (7⁵; cp. vv. 8-12); and if we remain *in the flesh* (7⁶—i.e. allow the downward tendency, of which these 'passions' are particular manifestations, to have free play) *sin revives* (7⁹), *dwells in us* (7¹⁷), and *becomes exceeding sinful* (7¹³). The culmination of the process is that (spiritually) *I am dead, carnal* (i.e. 'fleshly'), *sold under sin* (7^{9, 11, 14}). Yet until the very end of the process is reached, the higher element in the soul still remains, and dissociates itself from the man's own actions, which are dominated by the overwhelming power of sin (7¹⁵⁻²³). There is a sense, then, in which conscience can exclaim *It is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me!* (7^{17, 20}). But this is not in any sense to disclaim responsibility. If we allow a process to take place in us, we are responsible for the state into which that process brings us.

Even if we reject the mythological personification of sin, it is clear that S. Paul's account, first of the divided, and then of the enslaved self, rings true to life's experience. However far a man has fallen from righteousness, so long as he has any sense of decency left his confession will take the form, *Not what I would, that do I practise, but what I hate that I do* (7^{15, 16, 19, 20})—thus *consenting to the law that it is good* (7¹⁶), and still *delighting in it after the inward man* (7²²). No psychologist is able to explain the matter further than this. The uncontrolled gratification of certain desires which we usually call 'lower' may easily reach a point at which human effort finds it impossible to restrain them, even though the soul still regards itself as in some sense a separate entity whose basic volition has not as yet been enlisted on their side.

There is, therefore, nothing particularly original in what S. Paul says about the flesh. What is original is that he found a single word, and that (as all agree) a particularly expressive one, to cover all these various connected aspects of the subject. In this respect he is unique; for the one or two passages in Philo of Alexandria which

refer the origin of sin to the 'flesh', and are often quoted as parallels, are really using the word simply as a synonym for 'body', and do no more than reproduce the widespread oriental view that the body is inherently evil—a view with which S. Paul has no sympathy whatever. S. Paul's importance in this connexion is in his discovery of a really appropriate term to express a very complicated meaning.

Two views have been held in Christian history about the 'lower' desires which exhibit these characteristics; and indeed which are to a large extent called 'lower' because of these characteristics, just as 'weeds' are distinguished from 'flowers' mainly on the ground that they propagate themselves more freely. The one holds that they are in themselves intrinsically evil, and that the only hope for the moral man is to extirpate them from his soul. The other, and to-day the far more popular, theory regards them as beneficent in themselves, and capable of being employed to further man's highest good, but dangerous in so far as they normally clamour for gratification to an inordinate extent. Much of S. Paul's language about the flesh suggests strongly that he held the former view. *The mind of the flesh is death, or enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, nor indeed can it be* (8^o. 7); *if ye live after the flesh, ye must die* (8¹³); *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing* (7¹⁸). *For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, for these are contrary the one to the other; and the works of the flesh are diametrically opposed to the fruits of the Spirit* (Gal. 5¹⁷⁻²⁴; cp. Rom. 13¹⁴, Gal. 6^o, Eph. 2³, &c.). The unity of thought behind these phrases suggests forcibly that S. Paul believed the 'flesh' to be wholly evil.

But on closer examination this conclusion seems less than certain. We are to *mortify the deeds of the body* (here, in effect, the 'flesh', see note on 8¹³), or *cleanse ourselves from its defilements* (2 Cor. 7¹), but we are never told to attempt to extirpate it. A comparison of 2 Cor. 7⁵ and 2 Cor. 2¹³ shows that at times S. Paul is even able to use 'flesh' and 'spirit' interchangeably; and the words *carnal things* (of financial assistance or maintenance) in Rom. 15²⁷ and 1 Cor. 9¹¹ are used without a hint of blame. The fairest

¹ So also in 2 Cor. 3³ (referring to Ezek. 11¹⁸, 36²⁶) 'flesh' is used in effect of the 'upward' tendency on the soul.

summary of the case is that of Dr. Stevens: 'Metaphysically considered, the flesh is neutral; empirically considered, it is sinful.'¹ It is true that if the apostle had carried out this view consistently, he might have spoken of the flesh being 'redeemed', and this he never does.² But the reason is simply that he is, for the most part, speaking 'empirically', and concerned mainly to emphasize and warn against the evils which spring from the flesh when its desires are gratified indiscriminately.

Further evidence that S. Paul regarded the 'flesh' as, in essence, neutral may be drawn from the fact, already noticed, that he definitely refused to identify it with the body. At first sight this is highly disconcerting. The body, to S. Paul, is also neutral from the ethical point of view; indeed, he regards it as capable of subserving the needs of the spirit in a way which would never be possible to the 'flesh'. The body can be made a *living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God* (12¹); its members may be used as *instruments of righteousness* (6¹³); it is the *temple of the Holy Spirit* (1 Cor. 6¹⁹); it is *for the Lord, as the Lord is for the body* (1 Cor. 6¹³); it will share in the life of the resurrection (Phil. 3²¹). Thus, if the 'flesh' also is neutral, we might have expected S. Paul to have emphasized the association between 'flesh' and 'body' very forcibly indeed.

But, quite apart from the fact that this would have been psychologically misleading, it would have had one disastrous consequence. In the Greek world, to which S. Paul was primarily appealing, the body was regarded as essentially evil, and the source of all human sinfulness. This view, as has just been urged, is one that S. Paul will not admit either of the 'body' or the 'flesh'. Of the body he denies it explicitly in countless passages. Of the flesh he could not deny it explicitly; but he does so implicitly by refusing to identify it with the body of which the Greeks thought so badly.

The nearest approach to S. Paul's delicately finished doctrine of the 'flesh' is, in fact, to be found not in Greek thought, but in the rabbinic doctrine of the *yēçer ha-ra'*, or 'evil imagination'.

¹ *Theology of the New Testament*, p. 347.

² Though it can be 'cleansed from defilement', just as the 'spirit' can (2 Cor. 7¹).

Here, too, in spite even of the explicit adjective 'evil', it could be said, 'The evil imagination is very good, for without it a man would not build a house, nor marry, nor beget children, nor engage in trade.'¹ There is no evidence, however, that S. Paul was acquainted with these mitigations of the evil character of the *yēṣer* in rabbinic thought; and there can be no doubt that, in general, the 'evil imagination' is more intrinsically evil than is the 'flesh' to S. Paul.

It seems probable that S. Paul connected the universality of the weakness of the flesh, which gives sin its terrible advantage, with the sin of Adam.² The point is raised by the parallel between Adam and Christ in 5¹²⁻²¹. We have already noticed (p. 75) that the allusion to the influence of Adam's sin on his posterity is purely incidental and illustrative; we may now add that it cannot safely be regarded as more than hypothetical. There was a rabbinic theory on the subject (see Ecclus. 25³⁴, 'From a woman was the beginning of sin'; 4 Esdras 3²¹, Adam 'transgressed and all they also that are born of him'; 7⁴⁸ (118), 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee'; cp. *ibid.* 4³⁰), though even this some writers were inclined to deny (cp. 2 Baruch (Charles's translation) 54^{18, 19}: 'For though Adam first sinned, and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come. . . . Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul; but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul'). But in any case S. Paul does not positively endorse this rabbinic position. His argument amounts to no more than saying, 'If you hold that one man's sin affected the destiny of others, you cannot resent our doctrine that the righteousness of One had similar, though infinitely greater, influence.'

Even if we take the passage as positive doctrine, however, it does not imply that man must sin, of inevitable necessity, as the result of Adam's sin. The very phrases which have been quoted in support of such a view are seen, on inspection, merely to associate with Adam's

¹ N. P. Williams, *Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin*, p. 67, with other instances. The whole doctrine of the 'evil imagination' is discussed by Dr. Williams, *ibid.*, pp. 60-70; in relation to the 'flesh', pp. 150-4.

² On this see generally N. P. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-34; and for a similar connexion between the Fall and the *yēṣer ha-rā'* in unofficial Jewish speculation (4 Esdras), *ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

fall the human *tendency* to sin—a very different matter. They are as follows:

(a) 5¹²: *For that (ἐφ' ᾧ) all sinned* has occasionally been taken as meaning 'in whom (Adam) all sinned'. But this rendering is impossible (see larger commentaries). The reference is simply to the fact of experience (reinforced by the testimony of scripture which S. Paul has used throughout to such effect) that all men *do* sin.

(b) 5¹⁶: *The judgement (κρίμα) came of one unto condemnation (κατάκριμα)*; cp. 5¹⁸, *Through one trespass the judgement came unto all men to condemnation*. The translation is highly misleading. An examination of contemporary usage shows that κρίμα means the judge's 'sentence', κατάκριμα the penalties (fine, forfeiture, &c.) to be paid in consequence of the sentence (Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. *κατάκριμα*, from Deissmann). Thus S. Paul says, 'All men suffered disabilities as the result of the sentence passed upon Adam'. By these 'disabilities' he probably means no more here than the physical death which looms so largely throughout the entire section;¹ but even if this explanation be rejected the passage does not imply more than that a tendency to sin was inherited from Adam.

(c) 5¹⁹: *Through the one man's disobedience the many were made (κατεστάθησαν) sinners*: the most difficult phrase in the passage. But in contemporary Greek the word translated 'were made' means 'to be given rank as' (Moulton-Milligan, s.v.); and it does not imply that the person so given rank must necessarily, or will necessarily, perform the actions consonant with the rank. So S. Paul means that by Adam's sin all men were 'given facilities for sin', 'put in the way of sinning', 'made apt to sin'—he does not mean that they were *bound* to sin. He had little doubt that, as the result of the Fall, *sin* (personified) *entered into the world* (5¹²; cp. *supra*, p. 52). The passages just examined show further that he believed the Fall to have made all men *apt* to sin, and that to such an extent that until Christ came sin may be said to have *reigned* in the world (5²¹).² But nothing he has written suggests that Adam's transgression *compelled* his descendants to sin, and so doomed them inevitably to the penalties of sin.

(d) We may take in connexion with the above passages Eph. 2³: *We . . . were by nature (φύσει) children of wrath*, often quoted as evidence for the doctrine that men are in some way foredoomed by God to sin. But *children of wrath* (i.e. 'who arouse the wrath of God') is not

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 54.

² Though here it only reigns *in death* (cp. 5^{14, 17}), so that all we are really told is that *death* reigns (an admitted fact), though it may owe its ascendancy to sin (*supra*, p. 54).

so emphatic as the *vessels of wrath filled unto destruction* of Rom. 9²², and even this does not mean 'doomed to destruction because doomed to sin' (*infra*, p. 124). Again, *φύσει* (*by nature*) need mean little more than 'generally', 'normally'—cp. Rom. 2¹⁴, where *the Gentiles . . . do by nature the things of the law* does not imply that there is any inherent compulsion on them to be good; but rather that they are normally (though, no doubt, surprisingly) good, in spite of the fact that, as contrasted with the Jews, they have neither the incentive nor the illumination of the law.

In a vague, indefinite way, S. Paul believed that Adam's fall did predispose the human race to sin. Few are inclined nowadays to accept the narrative of Gen. 3 as unadorned, matter-of-fact history: consequently it is difficult to share S. Paul's conviction on the subject. But nothing results from rejecting it as a piece of mythology. It has no place in S. Paul's actual argument, though strange and terrible doctrines have, no doubt, been erroneously derived from it. Nevertheless, it enshrines at least one truth of considerable importance—that heredity is one of the influences which at times render men less able to resist the temptations of the flesh. Had S. Paul had our modern knowledge of human origins, he would no doubt have agreed that the story of the man, the woman, the serpent, and the apple, and their terrible consequences for the human race, was mythological. But he would have added that at the bottom of the myth there remained this element of sober fact.

For the higher principle in the soul, at all events so far as the natural man is concerned, S. Paul has no such clear-cut word as *flesh*. Sometimes he calls it the *mind* (*νοῦς*, 7^{23, 25}, 12², and elsewhere); sometimes *conscience* (2¹³, 9¹, and frequently); sometimes the *inward man* (7²²; cp. 2 Cor. 4¹⁶, Eph. 3¹⁶, and 1 Pet. 3⁴) or the 'good will' (implied¹ in 7¹⁹⁻²²). To his pessimistic view of human nature, it was obviously an element in no way as clearly marked as the 'flesh', and this weakness is reflected in the terminology used of it. But, just as the flesh gave sin its opportunity of entry into the human soul, so the higher principle gives the Spirit of God—the eternal opponent of sin—an opening. Reinforced by the Spirit, it may itself be dignified by the name of 'spirit'; and the man himself is entitled to be called spiritual (*πνευματικός*, 1 Cor. 2¹³, 3¹, 14³⁷, Gal. 6¹, &c.). So in countless passages where S. Paul

¹ e.g. ὁ θέλω ἀγαθόν: τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

used the word 'spirit' it is impossible to say whether he is speaking primarily of the natural higher tendency in man,¹ of that tendency as supernaturally reinforced by the Holy Spirit, or of the Holy Spirit Himself as dwelling in man. But the last two meanings easily merge into one another, and it is with this sense uppermost that he commonly uses the word.

Throughout S. Paul's writings, as we have seen, 'flesh' and 'spirit' are set in the most emphatic opposition to one another. As the 'fleshy' man is he who is steadily surrendering to the lower tendency, and consequently losing such spirituality as he had, so in the 'spiritual' man the upward tendency is gaining the victory, not thereby crushing out the flesh (in the sense of the natural instincts of man), but rather converting it to higher purposes. The whole section, 8¹⁻¹⁷ (to consider this epistle only), brings out this aspect of the matter so clearly that there is no need to dwell upon it. The way in which God's love manifests itself in sanctification is by the association of the Holy Spirit with the human 'spirit'—an association so close that it can be said that the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God or of Christ, *dwelleth in us* (8^{9. 11}). But to understand this conception we must know more of S. Paul's doctrine of the second and third Persons of the Trinity.

H. *The Redeemer* (8³, 9⁵): *the Holy Spirit: 'in the Spirit': 'in Christ'* (8⁹⁻¹⁷, 26-30).

There is no need to labour the point that S. Paul attributed full deity to Christ. Some of the most radical critics are so impressed by the evidence that they hold him to be the inventor of the doctrine. Even in this epistle, in which he is not concerned with Christology, he speaks of Christ as God's *own* Son (8³), thus distinguishing Him from men, who are at best God's sons by *adoption* only (8¹⁵, 23), and that in a manner as yet incomplete. In 10¹³, 1 Cor. 1² (cp. 10¹¹, the quotation from Isa. 28¹⁶, LXX (see note on 9³³)), again, S. Paul takes the familiar Old Testament phrase *Call upon the name of the Lord* from Joel 2³², and applies it

¹ This is the undoubted reference in 2 Cor. 7¹, where the 'spirit', like the 'flesh', can be defiled; cp. 1 Cor. 2¹¹, 5⁸—in each case the 'spirit' appears not to be divinely reinforced.

to the Christian; thus giving to Christ under the new dispensation the same dignity as was assigned to Jehovah under the old. And, as though to adapt the same device to the needs of Christians of pagan education, he uses of Christ the great formula (*of him and through him and unto him are all things*) by which the god-head was designated in Stoic thought¹ (1 Cor. 8⁶, Col. 1¹⁶, Acts 17²⁵, 28).

It is also generally agreed to-day that the title 'Lord' (*κύριος*) had a divine connotation both for Jews and pagans. This is of extreme significance alike for Pauline and indeed for the whole of early Christian thought. In the LXX the word is the invariable translation of 'Jehovah'; in popular Greek it was the title normally applied to the gods of the mystery cults. S. Paul's reference in 10⁹, with the parallel in 1 Cor. 12³ (cp. also 1 Cor. 8⁵, 6, 16^{2a}), suggests that 'Jesus is Lord' was the earliest Christian credal formula; and even if, as is possible, the title was not originally applied to Christ with a definite reference to His Godhead, the fact that this was a natural implication of the usage, and that S. Paul, so far from discountenancing it, gave it his full support, is a clear indication of his views on the subject.

If it were possible to ascertain S. Paul's exact meaning in 9^b we might be able to claim for him a much more explicit statement than those already quoted. Unfortunately, the absence of all punctuation marks in ancient MSS. gives no less than four main possible renderings of the Greek. R.V. (text and mg.) gives them as follows:

- (a) *Of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever* (text).
- (b) *... flesh. He who is God over all be (is) blessed for ever.*
- (c) *... flesh. He who is over all is God, blessed for ever.*
- (d) *... flesh, who is over all. God be (is) blessed for ever.*

It is difficult to choose between these renderings. There are four or five other passages in the New Testament which (like the present one) might be taken to ascribe deity explicitly to our Lord, but in not one of them (again as in the present passage) is the rendering certain. Rendering (a) would undoubtedly give this meaning; but

¹ In 11⁸⁶ and Eph. 4⁸ the formula is used of *God*. For Stoic parallels see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 240 ff., and Lietzmann on 11⁸⁶.

so understood it is a curiously crude statement of a great truth, and singularly unlike S. Paul's general manner of dealing with such profound questions. It is difficult to imagine that if he were content to speak so frankly here he should not have done so elsewhere in his epistles, where countless opportunities for such a course presented themselves.

The choice between the other renderings, each of which converts the final words of the passage into a tiny doxology or ejaculation, is relatively unimportant. A slight and plausible emendation of the Greek¹ would give another and quite attractive meaning: 'of whom (i.e. the Jews) is God over all, blessed for ever'—the reference being, of course, to the unique self-revelation of Jehovah to Moses (Exod. 3^{6f.}), and to His exclusive covenant with Israel. Another possibility is that the word 'God' is a scribal insertion; its omission would bring the passage into line with S. Paul's usual custom of speaking of Christ in language appropriate to the mention of God, without explicitly assigning deity to Him. There is no MSS. authority, however, for either of these conjectures.

Some doubt, however, has been expressed as to S. Paul's belief in our Lord's real humanity. So far as they go, what may be called the 'biographical' references in 1³, *born of the seed of David according to the flesh* (cp. 9⁵), and Gal. 4⁴, *born of a woman, born under the law*, are reassuring; whilst to the ordinary reader the *one man Jesus Christ* of 5¹⁵ is final. On the other hand, two very important passages seem to suggest that S. Paul came near to the heresy known in the early Church as Docetism—the view that Christ, so far from becoming real man, merely assumed the outward appearance of a man, but did not experience human limitations, temptations, and sufferings in their fullness. In technical language, it is sometimes held that, in S. Paul's mind, Christ's earthly life was a theophany (cp. Acts 14¹¹, *The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men*), not an incarnation. There is and always has been general agreement among theologians that any such mitigation of the doctrine that Christ assumed full and real manhood would be a disaster to Christian thought of the first magnitude. It is therefore important to discover whether S. Paul's language gives any colour whatever to the view.

¹ ὁ θεὸς ὑπερ πάντων.

The two passages must be treated together, though only one of them occurs in this epistle. They are:

Rom. 8³: *God sending his own Son in the likeness (ἐν ὁμοιώματι) of sinful flesh (mg.: Gk. flesh of sin) . . . condemned sin in the flesh.*

Phil. 2⁷: *Christ Jesus who being in the form (μορφή) of God . . . emptied himself, taking the form (μορφή) of a servant, being made in (mg.: Gk. becoming in) the likeness of men (ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων), and being found in fashion (σχῆμα) as a man.*

On the Romans passage it is to be observed that its form may to some extent at least have been determined by circumstances. It cannot be said with certainty that S. Paul's use of the word 'flesh' (*supra*, pp. 95-9) made it impossible for him to speak of Christ *coming in the flesh*' (the exact equivalent of our word *in-carnation*, cp. 1 John 4^a), though many writers take this view. But since the purpose of the passage is to emphasize that sin was 'condemned' *even in its stronghold*, the 'flesh', the point was brought out by the use of the Aramaic idiom which is rendered *sinful flesh* in English. To say, however, that Christ came in *sinful flesh* would have been highly misleading, if not actually shocking, suggesting as it would that Christ partook not merely of manhood, but of the sinfulness of man. The force of the expression therefore had to be mitigated by the insertion of the word 'likeness'.

But whether Rom. 8³ can thus be interpreted or not, it does not explain the use of the word 'likeness' in Philippians, where the idea conveyed is strengthened by the analogous words 'form' and 'fashion' which stand in close relation to it. It might further be suggested that the inappropriateness of ὁμοίωμα in Rom. 8³ should have led S. Paul in that passage also to adopt some less equivocal mode of speech. Here, however, we must allow for an important difference between English and Greek. To say that two things are 'alike' implies that in some respects (if only that they can be recognized apart from one another) they are 'unlike'. Now whereas in English the preponderant emphasis

¹ Col. 1²², *the body of his flesh*—an amazing phrase in view of the context in which it recurs in Col. 2¹¹—seems to prove its possibility.

of the word 'alike' is upon a superficial resemblance veiling an essential difference, in Greek it can equally well be interpreted as meaning an essential identity varied by minor and non-essential differences (hence the acceptance of the homoiousian formula in the Arian controversy by large numbers of Christian theologians who had no doubts as to the reality of our Lord's Godhead). Thus to say that our Lord came in the 'likeness' of man would not to a Greek throw any such doubt upon His true manhood as it does in English. (Robertson, *Athanasius*, pp. liv-lvi, is better on this point than Trench, *Synonyms of N.T.*, § xv; but see particularly Cremer, *Lexicon of N.T. Greek*, p. 802: *ὁμοίωμα* implies 'the greatest possible resemblance';—803: 'Never a mere similarity with a surmise of difference'.)¹

S. Paul in particular, is attached to this use of *ὁμοίωμα* as referring to 'identity in all that matters' and not to 'superficial resemblance'. Thus in Rom. 5¹⁴ the sins referred to (whether committed or not by post-Adamite men—see *supra*, pp. 54, 55 and note *ad loc.*) are obviously in every sense as real as Adam's; in 6⁶, *by the likeness of his death* means 'by a death to sin as real, final and excruciating as Christ's death on the cross'. The only other occasion on which he uses the word (apart from the two passages under discussion) is Rom. 1²³: *They changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image* (ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνας) *of corruptible man*. Here the reduplication of idea in the two words 'likeness' (which comes in as part of a quotation from Ps. 106²⁰, LXX) and 'image' is remarkable. The most probable interpretation (on the analogy of Ps. 106) is that S. Paul is heaping up words to emphasize the vanity of idol worship—an idol is not merely an image of a man, but the man is himself corruptible, and the image is so poor that it is the merest copy of a copy. But it is just possible that *ὁμοίωμα* here means 'an image of God' (= 'idol'), and that the phrase means 'for an idol, and that in the shape of a corruptible man, &c.' In any case, the word has no theological significance here.²

Christ, then, is true man and true God. S. Paul does not discuss

¹ It may be added that in the Philippians passage, *μορφή* = 'full embodiment', *σχῆμα* = 'endowed with specific characteristics'.

² What is true of S. Paul's use of *ὁμοίωμα* is equally true of his use of *εἰκών*. Wherever he employs it theologically, it means 'essential identity' (see note on 8²⁰); the present (non-theological) passage (1²³) is the only one in which it means 'mere likeness'.

the manner of the Incarnation in this epistle, and only gives vague hints of his thought about it even in the classic passage in Philippians. Nor has he anything to say as to the mode of union of the two natures in one Person. It is generally recognized nowadays that he was very well informed as to many details of Christ's earthly life and teaching, and placed great store upon them. But it is with the exalted, heavenly Christ that the Christian has to do. Of Him he could, of course, know nothing, had it not been for His earthly manifestation; but Christianity is something very different from the sentimental worship of an historical memory.

There remains one Christological passage in Romans which deserves attention, if only because it stands so completely outside the sphere of S. Paul's normal usages. It occurs in 1³. 4: *The gospel of God . . . concerning his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared* (mg.: Gk. *determined*) *to be the Son of God with* (mg.: or, *in*) *power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead.* There are other uncertainties of interpretation beside those noted in the R.V. margin. Thus it might be right to omit the definite article before *spirit of holiness* (there is none in the Greek); and *after the resurrection* would represent the original as fairly as *by*. The word translated *declared* or *determined* (*ἀποθελίς*) could also be rendered *separated, set apart, appointed, or installed*. Thus three main senses can be given to the passage:

(i) an assertion both of Christ's true manhood (as of David's line *by natural descent*) and of His true Godhead, manifested or *declared* by His resurrection;¹

(ii) an assertion of His true Godhead (spoken of by the curious phrase *the spirit of holiness*), with a suggestion that He shared manhood only as far as the *flesh* (here = 'bodily manifestation') was concerned.

(iii) an assertion of His true manhood, with the implication that divine rank was only conferred upon Him (by the agency of the *spirit of holiness*—i.e. the Holy Spirit) after the resurrection.

The only objection to interpretation (i) lies in the fact that *according to the spirit of holiness* seems both superfluous and confusing. The other two suggestions (the one docetic or 'Monophysite', the

¹ S. Paul actually says *the resurrection of the dead*, and not as we might have expected, *his resurrection from the dead*. The reason is probably simply to avoid the cacophony *ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ἐκ νεκρῶν*.

other 'Adoptionist' in tendency) are attempts to give due weight to this clause, even at the expense of S. Paul's orthodoxy. But no such extreme measures are necessary. The difficulty arises solely from the fact that, although *according to the flesh* here means no more than it does in 4¹ and 9⁶, S. Paul's ingrained inability to think of *flesh* except as in opposition to *spirit* introduces the word *spirit* into a context in which it is scarcely at home. Since, therefore, *according to the flesh* here means simply 'so far as His natural human descent was concerned', we can best render *according to the spirit* by contrast as 'in respect of His essential and individual personality'. That this 'essential personality' will be recognized by his readers as at once fully human and fully divine, S. Paul tacitly assumes; but he adds the note, *of holiness*, to remind them that, both as human and as divine, it was *holy* throughout.

This exalted Christ extends His love to us to-day. It has already been pointed out (*supra*, p. 92) that love has an 'immediate' influence upon the loved one, as well as an effect mediated by conscious communion and discursive reflection upon the lover's goodness. Conscious communion with Christ is asserted frankly by S. Paul as part of the Christian's prerogative. He himself had had 'visions and revelations of the Lord' (2 Cor. 12¹), and was often aware of Christ's present nearness. But no Christian would be content to say that God is near us and influencing us *only when we are conscious of the fact*; that would deny to Him the power of 'immediate' influence which we do not hesitate to attribute even to our human friends. The influence of God, through Christ, upon the Christian here and now is not exhausted by the occasions on which we are aware of it.

This influence—inspiring, invigorating, recreating, whether we are aware of it or not—S. Paul habitually connects with the word 'Spirit', often in one of the phrases 'Spirit of God' (8⁹, 14, &c.) or 'Holy Spirit'¹ (5⁵, 9¹, 14¹⁷, &c.). ('Spirit of Christ' is not a favourite phrase of his (8⁹ and Phil. 1¹⁹ seem to be the only instances), nor indeed of any New Testament writer.) He is not afraid of using 'tonic' language of the Spirit (*supra*, p. 91)—the Christian is *led* by the Spirit (8¹⁴, 'forcibly' is implied); he 'seethes'

¹ Where he uses 'the spirit' or 'the holy spirit' he may at times be thinking of the spirit of man as influenced by the Spirit of God; but the difference is one of emphasis and no more (*supra*, pp. 101, 102).

or 'bubbles over' (*fervent*—*ζέοιρες*) under the Spirit's influence (12¹¹); he *abounds in the Spirit's power* (15¹³). Compare similarly 1 Cor. 12¹³, we are *bathed* (baptized) in the Spirit, and *drink* thereof; Eph. 1¹⁷, the Spirit is a 'Spirit of revelation', cp. *ibid.* 3⁵; Eph. 5¹⁸, *we are filled with the Spirit* (as opposed to being *drunken with wine*), and so forth. In all this he falls into line with Old Testament language, which, however, as we have seen, has its proper place in Christian thought (*supra*, pp. 91, 92).

In one fundamental respect, however, he makes a startling advance upon Old Testament thought. In the Old Testament the presence or operation of the Spirit of God was attested, according to the common view, by abnormal, ecstatic, or pathological phenomena—trances, visions, cryptic or prophetic utterances, inarticulate cries (cp. Num. 24³, 1 Sam. 10^{6, 10}, 19^{23, 24}, 2 Kings 3¹⁵, Ezek. 1^{1, 9, 2, 3^{12, 24}}, &c.), and occasionally by exceptional artistic or administrative gifts (Gen. 41³⁸, Exod. 28³, 31³⁻⁶, Deut. 34⁹). S. Paul's discussions of 'spiritual gifts' (1 Cor. 12^{1-14³³}) show that he has by no means dissociated himself from this point of view. But alongside it he lays always equal and often greater weight upon another view, which looks for the presence of the Spirit in moral phenomena. So *love* is a more excellent way of manifesting the Spirit than prophecy, 'tongues', the 'interpretation of tongues', and the like (1 Cor. 12³¹, 13¹); and the fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance (Gal. 5²²⁻³). So, in Romans, *righteousness, peace, and joy* (14¹⁷) and *hope* (15¹³) are all vouchsafed *in the holy Spirit*; and *the love of God* is shed abroad *in our hearts* by the same means (5⁵). The importance of this contribution to Christian thought cannot be over-estimated.

Is the Spirit a Person in the Godhead? Here we meet with exceptional difficulties, for S. Paul never betrays a trace of his views on the problem of the Trinity. In the opening verses of Colossians, and less noticeably elsewhere, he uses philosophical or quasi-philosophical phrases to designate the relation subsisting between Christ and the Father. But the difficulty of reconciling the idea of unity with the idea of plurality in the Godhead is one upon which he throws no light. The later discussions, in which the propriety of the formula 'Three Persons in one Substance'

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

was finally established, are wholly foreign to his thought. Nor is the language used of the Spirit free from ambiguity. The 'tonic' expressions mentioned above would be satisfied by a doctrine of the Spirit as an impersonal force—God's love, grace, or influence. On the other hand, there are expressions which will not fit easily into any other framework than that of 'personal' doctrine: e.g. the spirit *groans* (8²⁶), *intercedes* (8²⁷), *searches, works as he will, teaches* (I Cor. 2¹⁰, 12¹¹, 2¹³), can be *grieved* (Eph. 4³⁰). And the frequent hints of a Trinitarian formula, e.g. 5⁶⁻⁸, 8¹¹ (cp. 2 Cor. 13¹⁴ (the most explicit), I Cor. 12⁴⁻⁶, Eph. 4⁴⁻⁶, 2 Thess. 2¹³⁻¹⁴), fit in well with this.

No doubt some of the 'personal' expressions could be regarded as metaphorical personalizations of what was thought of essentially as something impersonal. But most careful readers will come to the conclusion that there are too many of them to make this interpretation sufficient. If we have to choose between the two definitions of the Spirit as 'God's loving activity among men' and 'God in loving activity among men', it is the latter and not the former which most fully expresses S. Paul's meaning. What he is concerned to assert is that, through the Spirit, God is in the world here and now as fully and powerfully as He has been at any other period of its history—even during the period of the Incarnation. And no one can read S. Paul without reaching this conclusion.

It is at least possible that the thought of the personality of the Holy Spirit had developed to some extent in later Jewish teaching; if so there is less reason than is sometimes supposed for doubting that S. Paul affirmed the doctrine. The possibility is based not merely upon specific passages (Isa. 63¹⁰⁻¹⁴, Hag. 2⁶, &c.), but also upon the close analogy between the Spirit of God and the evil spirits (which were undoubtedly thought of as personal), and upon the selective activity attributed to the Spirit. See (ed.) A. E. J. Rawlinson, *Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation*, pp. 185-93, with references there. This passage also discusses the propriety of using 'tonic' language of the divine operations in man (cp. *supra*, pp. 91, 92).

It is sometimes said, mainly on the basis of a mistaken interpretation of 2 Cor. 3¹⁷ (see on this Rawlinson, *N.T. Doctrine of the Christ*, p. 155, n.6) that S. Paul 'identified the Spirit and Christ'.

No doubt there is truth in this if it means that within the scope of an unswerving monotheism he attributed deity to both. But there can be no real doubt that he also kept them as distinct in his mind as was compatible with monotheism. The Risen Christ is on the Father's right hand—the Spirit is operative here and now among men.

The relation between the Christian and the Spirit—a relation analogous to that of the loved one and the lover among men—is expressed by S. Paul by the metaphorical use of the preposition 'in': 'I am in the Spirit' and 'the Spirit is in me' (e.g. 8⁹, 11, 9¹, 1 Cor. 3¹⁶, 6¹¹, 2 Cor. 1²², 4¹³, 5⁵, 1 Thess. 1⁵, 4⁸, &c.). By virtue of the equal divinity, within the one Godhead, of Christ and the Spirit, he has no hesitation in using also the phrases 'I in Christ' and 'Christ in me' (e.g. 6¹¹, 8¹, 10, 12⁵, Gal. 2²⁰, 4¹⁹, 1 Cor. 1², 30, 2 Cor. 5¹⁷, 12², 13³, Col. 1²⁷, 28, 3⁴, Eph. 2⁶, 3¹⁷, Phil. 1²¹, &c.). The most careful analysis has always failed to elicit any clear distinction of meaning between these various phrases. They are not of course without analogies. Thus all of them equally imply 'under the influence of' or 'possessed by' (in a 'tonic' or psychological sense) the divine power; as we speak of a person being 'in a trance' or 'in an ecstasy'. 'I in Christ' and 'I in the Spirit' have the additional ethical meaning of 'being wrapped up in devotion to' or 'in worship of'.¹ S. Paul uses identical metaphors of fallen man's relation to sin (6¹², 7¹⁴, 17, 20, 1 Cor. 15¹⁷, &c.), and approaches near to them in speaking of man and the 'flesh'.

As regards the 'flesh', S. Paul is too much influenced by its association with the body to be wholly at ease in applying metaphors of this kind to it. He never speaks of 'the flesh in me', and, although he uses 'I in the flesh' fairly freely in an ethical sense (e.g. 7⁵, 8⁹), the apparent reference to bodily existence (for which he uses the same phrase, 2 Cor. 10³) often leads him to prefer 'after the flesh' or 'according to the flesh' (8⁴, 5, 12, 13, 2 Cor. 10³, 8).

We shall probably find it best to say that each and all of these phrases cover all the aspects of the relation existing between the lover and the object of his love, with special emphasis upon the fact that *if the lover is the stronger character of the two, he inevitably*

¹ Cp. J. Weiss, *Urchristentum*, p. 358, for pagan examples of this usage.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

forces the loved one's character into a steadily increasing likeness to his own. Thus by the love of God, manifested in Christ and mediated here and now by the Spirit, the Christian is steadily conformed to the image of his Son (8²⁹), or transformed into the same image from glory to glory (2 Cor. 3¹⁸). But we must always remember that by the Pauline paradox, borne out by the experience of human love, this 'conformation' or 'transformation' does not in the least exclude the exercise of moral effort.

I. *Baptism: The Church: Love of the Brethren* (6¹⁻¹¹, 11¹⁶⁻²⁴, 12³⁻⁸).

In the earlier chapters of Romans, S. Paul seems almost to imply that all that is needed, on the Christian's side, for partaking of the blessings of justification, and the new life in Christ which springs from it, is *faith*. In 6^{3, 4}, however, baptism is introduced apparently as a *sine quâ non*: and baptism, of course, implies baptism into the Church (cp. 1 Cor. 12¹³, *In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body*) and by the Church. The contrast is analogous to the difference between what may be called, entirely without prejudice, the 'Protestant' and the 'Catholic' conceptions of Christianity respectively. In the 'Protestant' view justification and the new life are blessings bestowed upon faith alone; to the 'Catholic', faith is as necessary as to the Protestant, but faith leads naturally to the Church, and through the Church the blessings of justification, sanctification, and communion with Christ are mediated to the believer.

As far as Romans is concerned, the problem of interpretation is simple. Is the language of 6³⁻⁴, in so far as it establishes some kind of relation between baptism and resurrection with Christ, a mere metaphor, or does it express an essential relation? We have already seen that the preponderant emphasis in 6¹⁻¹¹ is on the fact that something (called a 'death to sin', and a 'resurrection to newness of life') has happened to the Christian, which no efforts of his own could have acquired for him. An impartial study of the passage makes it clear that this new event has happened to him *at his baptism and by reason of his baptism*. *Are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death* (6^{3, 4}). The remainder of the passage fills out

The Main Ideas of the Epistle 113

the ideas of 'death to sin' and 'newness of life'; but verses 3 and 4 are implied throughout. Taken by itself, therefore, the passage 6¹⁻¹¹ is impressive testimony to the view that S. Paul held the 'Catholic' position.

The section has always been a stumbling block to 'Protestant' writers; and very reasonably so. The remainder of the epistle



An early representation of Christian baptism. A fresco in the cemetery of Callixtus in one of the Roman catacombs.

lays so much emphasis upon faith (without reference to baptism) as to make it almost a 'Protestant' stronghold; and in such an environment chapter 6 appears to be a surprising anomaly. To the 'Catholic', on the other hand, the only problem about the section is the relative lack of support that it receives from the rest of the epistle, together with the fact that it appears at an unexpectedly late point in the development of the theological argument. Nevertheless, the difficulty thus presented is not an insoluble one.

Comparison with other passages in the epistle suggests that S. Paul's original line of attack has deflected him from his main objective. He was not writing a text-book of theology; and for reasons best known to himself chose to begin that partial exposition of his thought which he sent to Rome by attacking the question 'Works or faith?' Had he, on the other hand, decided

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

to write first of all a comprehensive account of the divine dispensation inaugurated for man's sake, he would have passed in review the love of God, the sacrifice of Christ, the offer of communion with the risen Lord through the Spirit; and all these would have preceded any reference to the condition (i.e. 'faith') requisite on man's side for the realization of these benefits. The difference between 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' thought is just here. The Catholic view is that immediately after the passage about the Spirit would have come an account of the Church and its ordinances, regarded as part of the divine dispensation. Thus 'faith' would imply belief in God, acceptance of the saving merits of Christ, earnest longing for communion in the Spirit, *and* adherence to the Church by baptism. On the Protestant view, the section on the Church—regarded not as a divine institution, but as a voluntary association of the faithful (no doubt in obedience to God's ordinance, and productive of great spiritual benefits to its members) for mutual edification and corporate witness—would have been relegated to a secondary position after the section on faith.

Romans, as we have seen, is anything but a formal theological treatise, and inferences from it are bound to be uncertain. But when we turn to the twin epistles to Colossae and Ephesus, in which S. Paul comes nearest to systematic exposition of his theology, we find overwhelming evidence on the 'Catholic' side. This will be seen at once from a rough analysis of their opening paragraphs:

	Col. i		Eph. i and ii
1-11	Greetings, &c.	I.	1-2 Greetings
12	God the Father		3-4 The Father and His purposes.
13	God the Son		5, 6 The Son
14	Redemption through the Son		7-12 Redemption through the Son
15-17	Christology		... [Christology]
	... [The Spirit]		13, 14 The Spirit
		15-22 God's purposes more fully considered
18	The Church		22, 23 The Church
19-22	Redemption more fully considered	II.	1-7 Redemption more fully considered
23	Christians to continue in (the) faith		8, 9 Grace through faith.

It is obvious that, when allowance has been made for variations

such as would naturally occur where a writer had no intention of repeating himself verbatim, the two passages summarized correspond exactly with what, on the 'Catholic' view, was to have been expected. The reference to the Church occurs immediately after the sections on the Persons of the Trinity, as a part of the divine dispensation inaugurated for man's salvation. S. Paul clearly held the view that the Church is not a voluntary and optional association of faithful Christians, but a supernaturally appointed institution mediating through its sacramental rites the benefits of the divine activity of love towards men. The Church is, in fact, one phase of that activity. The same conclusion is implied in the analogies of the 'city', 'household', 'building', 'temple' (all already existing entities, not voluntary associations) which he employs in Eph. 2¹⁹⁻²².

This enables us to give 6^{3, 4} its obvious meaning, even while we recognize that in Romans S. Paul's attention is no more directed to the problem of the Church than to the problem of Christology. Further considerations support the same conclusion. In 12⁵ S. Paul says: *We who are many are one body in Christ*. This again, taken by itself, might be no more than a metaphor, akin to the popular usage of contemporary rhetoricians (see Lietzmann, *HZNT*, on 1 Cor. 12¹² for refs.). But the emphatic assertions of 1 Cor. 12^{13, 13, 27}, Eph. 1^{21, 4^{15, 16}}, Col. 1¹⁸, and perhaps Rom. 7⁴ (though the rendering there is doubtful—see notes), that the Church is the *Body of Christ* make it natural here also to regard the phrase as very much more than a metaphor. The Church is the *Body of Christ* because it is the place where His Spirit dwells and is with certainty to be found. It is the instrument whereby God transmits His redemptive activity to individuals.

This conception, which we now see to be essentially Pauline, throws light upon the parable of the olive-tree in 11¹⁶⁻²⁴; and this, in its turn, illuminates the doctrine of the Church. There has been from the beginning a *root* (11¹⁶⁻¹⁸) or *good olive tree* (11²⁴), from which, in the process of history, *the natural branches* (the Jews, 11²¹⁻⁴) were broken off, and branches of a *wild olive tree* (11^{17, 24}) were grafted in. If this means anything at all, it means that the Christian Church is a direct continuation of a prior institution, of which the Jews were 'natural' members. In essence, this institution

is the eternal Church of God; *per accidens*, under the old law, it was coterminous with the Jewish Church. This strengthens the view that the Church (now conceived of as existing through all time, but always as a visible organized body) is no random association of believers, but an integral part of the dispensation planned out from the beginning by God for the salvation of man.

Perhaps the parable of the olive-tree could not sustain the full weight of this conclusion if it stood alone. But once more it receives confirmation from other Pauline epistles. In Phil. 3³ we meet the emphatic phrase, *We are the circumcision*; in Gal. 6¹⁶ the Christians are the *Israel of God*; Gal. 3⁷⁻⁹ and Rom. 4¹¹ both claim Abraham as the father of those who live by faith alone, even though they are not circumcised. In Gal. 4²¹⁻³¹—the very complicated allegorism of the story of Hagar and Sarah—the significant words are the quotation, *Cast out the handmaid and her son, for the son of the handmaid shall not inherit with the son of the freewoman*. Here Abraham's household is the Church; Hagar and her son (*answering to Jerusalem that now is . . . with her children*) are the Jews, now cast out from what they thought to be their place of unique privilege in the Church, and supplanted by the Christians who, *as Isaac was, are children of promise* (Gal. 4²⁸). This gives added point to Rom. 2²⁸, *He is not a Jew (i.e. a member of the Church), which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision (the sign of membership of the true Church), which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart*. This bold statement leads on naturally (3²) to an enumeration of the privileges of the Jews, which have been the privileges of the true Church from the beginning, and are now inherited by Christians; though the enumeration is not completed till we reach 9^{4, 5}.

It is beside the question here to decide between the 'Protestant' and the 'Catholic' view of the Church as a piece of Christian theology. The important point is that, despite the first impression which Romans sometimes conveys, S. Paul was a convinced 'Catholic' on the matter. The section 6¹⁻¹¹, therefore, no longer presents any difficulties. Baptism, the rite by which we are included in the Church, is the gateway to the new life embraced by faith. It can therefore fitly be spoken of as the means by which

we died to sin, are buried (so complete is the 'death') with Christ, and rise again, to live in him unto God. S. Paul makes very happy use of the fact that the symbolism of baptism is peculiarly fitted to illustrate this theological truth. The total immersion of the catechumen in the water is pictorially akin to death and burial, his re-emergence and clothing in white garments express vividly his new life of regeneration. But the last possible inference that can be drawn from this pictorial element in baptism is that S. Paul thought of it as no more than a symbol. Not its symbolism, but its efficacy as ushering the would-be Christian into the community of the redeemed, is what concerns him.

This emphasis upon the corporate character of the environment in which the Christian finds redemption makes *love to man* the decisive note in Pauline ethics (13⁸⁻¹⁰, 14¹⁵; cp. Eph. 4¹⁶, 5², Gal. 5^{6, 13}, 1 Thess. 3¹², &c.). The notes on chapters 12-14 deal with some of its salient characteristics. *Love* (*ἀγάπη*) was a definite addition by Christianity to the moral code of mankind. The noun itself was practically unknown outside biblical circles (see Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.); the verb *ἀγαπᾶν* and the adjective *ἀγαπητός* were little more than poetical synonyms for other words (e.g. *φιλεῖν* and *ἐρᾶν*) implying 'affection', and commonly used of sexual passion. In the LXX both verb and noun (the latter, apparently, an invention of the LXX translators) have a very wide sense and cover all aspects of 'affection', including that between man and woman; though it is to be noticed that 'where the love which belongs to the sphere of divine revelation is spoken of' (Cremer, *Lexicon*, p. 11; cp. *ibid.*, p. 592) it is always by these words. It is possible that Alexandrian Judaism began to give both verb and noun a meaning from which all sexual implications were definitely excluded. But it is in the New Testament that this usage becomes universal, and that the word *ἀγάπη* is popularized.

S. Paul, however, the first New Testament writer to make extensive and systematic use of the word, defined it even more closely. Unlike the author of 1 John, for example, he very rarely used it of the relation of the Christian to God, but only of that of God to the Christian, and that of Christians to one another.¹

¹ Cp. 1 John 2^{6, 14}, 3¹⁷, 4¹⁹, 5³ (some of these not conclusive); and for the

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

He agrees with the synoptists in quoting the command of Lev. 19¹⁸, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (13⁹, Gal. 5¹⁴); but will not preface it, as they do, with the Deuteronomic injunction to love God (Deut. 6⁵). The inference is obvious and important. 'Love' is not an attitude that such as man can adopt to such as God; it is only the love of God *shed abroad in our hearts* (5⁵) which makes it possible for us even to love our neighbours. Love confers benefits, and man has none to confer upon God. But, as far as is possible, the Christian's love to his neighbour, animated by God's love to himself, will resemble the love of God for man. Thus it will be

(a) *universal: one toward another and toward all men* (1 Thess. 3¹²), just as God's love shown in Christ's self-offering was *unto all men to justification of life* (5¹⁸; cp. 8³², 11³², 1 Cor. 15²², &c.);

(b) and yet *individual*, each *neighbour* receiving his own share of it (13⁹, 15², Gal. 5¹⁴). Again this depends upon a characteristic of the divine love, for S. Paul frequently uses *ἀγάπη* of God in close connexion with the idea of *election* (9^{13, 25}, 11²⁸, Col. 3¹², 1 Thess. 1⁴, and *infra*, p. 121);

(c) *compassionate and self-sacrificing* (12¹⁰⁻²⁰, 15¹⁻³, 1 Cor. 13⁴⁻⁶, Eph. 4², &c.), for *Christ loved us and gave himself up for us* (Eph. 5², Gal. 2²⁰; cp. 5⁸, 15³, Eph. 2⁴);

(d) and, finally, a firm *direction of the will*, as distinct from natural affection or passing sentiment. S. Paul never says this in so many words. But it is implicit in his total avoidance of *φιλεῖν*, a word charged with emotional significance; as also in his constant injunctions to Christians to love one another. Feeling and affection cannot be produced to order. They depend upon factors over which man has very little control. But the will to treat all men as we naturally treat those for whom we have a sentimental affection, if not actually an absorbing and passionate love, can be summoned into activity where the soul has been taken hold of by grace. It is this, then, which is commanded when we are commanded to love one another; and it is by this constant mutual

verb 4^{20, 21}, 5^{1, 2}. It is possible that S. Paul has this usage of the noun *once*, in 2 Thess. 3⁹, though even here the meaning is not quite clear if account be taken of the parallelism with the next phrase, 'and into the patience of Christ'. He uses the verb *ἀγαπᾶν* for 'to love God' in 8⁸, 1 Cor. 2⁹, 8³, Eph. 6⁸.

direction of the will to seek *not our own but each our neighbour's good* (1 Cor. 10²⁴) that the whole body of the Church is *built up of itself in love* (Eph. 4¹⁶).¹

J. Predestination: Election: the Remnant: the Problem of Jewish Apostasy (8²⁰, 28-30, 9⁶⁻³³, 10¹⁴⁻²¹, 11¹⁻¹⁵, 25-36).

We pass on to a group of problems more strictly theological than those which have been considered hitherto. They are connected with S. Paul's conception of the grace of God as a love which will have its way, however recalcitrant man may be, and yet which only secures its 'way' by eliciting the free and glad surrender of man (*supra*, pp. 90, 91). Except when he is uttering special warnings or reproofs, S. Paul invariably seems to assume that his readers are all, by this love of God, being irresistibly led forward on the path to salvation. But since God is omniscient and omnipotent, He must from all eternity have both planned and known that these individuals would be saved. It is appropriate, therefore, to speak of their salvation as *foreknown* or *foreordained* ('predestined') by God (cp. *supra*, p. 87).

S. Paul has no hesitation in using language of this kind. *Whom he foreknew, he also foreordained . . . and whom he foreordained, them he also called; and whom he called them he also justified; and whom he justified them he also glorified* (8^{29, 30}). The great verbs spring up one after the other as though they were so many milestones on a road along which the Christian is being carried by forces over which he has no control. *We were foreordained unto adoption as sons . . . according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his will* (Eph. 1^{5, 11}). We may think of ourselves as *vessels of mercy afore prepared unto glory* (9²³; cp. for the verb the curious phrase in Eph. 2¹⁰); and even Israel, despite its enigmatic place in history (*infra*, p. 128), is still entitled to be called God's people *which he foreknew* (11²). For God has His *purposes* (8²⁸, 9¹¹, Eph. 1⁹, 3¹¹), a *wisdom foreordained* (1 Cor. 2⁷); and, whether expressed in open *promises* or

¹ An important, but occasionally somewhat fanciful, study of the Christian idea of love will be found in A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros*. See particularly chapter 3 for S. Paul's teaching.

not, it is certain that they cannot be of *none effect* (4¹⁴; cp. 3³, 9⁶, Gal. 3¹⁷).

The verbs in 8²⁹, 30, *foreknew, foreordained, called* (προέγνω, προώρισεν, ἐκάλεσεν), obviously represent a temporal sequence. From this two conclusions follow:

(1) The 'calling' here (though not as a rule elsewhere—see p. 121) must be the 'invitation' addressed by God to individuals to become Christians, as in the parable of the Supper (Matt. 22³). The idea of 'command' or 'summons', however, is present as well (cp. 4¹⁷, 1 Thess. 4⁷, Mark 3³¹, Matt. 25¹⁴). But it is not, in this passage, a summons to special work, as for example in 1¹, 1 Cor. 1¹, 7¹⁷. The conception of 'giving a new name', as a mark of special or individual favour (cp. 9²⁵, 26, Rev. 2¹⁷, and John 1⁴²), cannot be excluded from the connotation of the word.

(2) The distinction between 'foreknew' and 'foreordained' is not at all clear, though the former evidently represents an earlier stage in the divine purpose than the latter. Probably S. Paul is using an anthropomorphic metaphor in an attempt to emphasize the overwhelming graciousness of God's love towards Christians. In that case 'foreknew' means 'cast His eyes upon them with a view to conferring special favour upon them'; and 'foreordained', 'decided that the favour should take the shape of causing them to be *conformed to the image of his Son*'. Such a discrimination between the two words gives to 'foreknowledge' a sense closely bound up with the biblical use of the word γινώσκειν, 'to know' (cp. 1 Cor. 8³, Gal. 4⁹, Matt. 7²³, John 10³⁷, Ps. 1⁶, 144³, Hos. 13⁵, Amos 3²).

This language, though no doubt too academic for modern modes of thought, is intelligible and allowable enough, so long as we bear in mind that we must translate it back into the language of God's *love*. But the questions which it raises are obvious. Are all men predestined to salvation, or only a few? And if a few only, what is to be said of the remainder? Two answers have been given to the latter question—a stern one and a milder one; but in fact the milder one is only an evasion. The stern answer divides men into two classes only—those who are predestined to salvation, and those who are predestined to damnation. And although the milder answer shrinks from the idea of 'predestination to damnation', it can put nothing in its place except the vague assertion that those who are not 'predestined to salvation' are 'simply left' to work out their own salvation—if they can—by their own efforts.

How evasive S. Paul would have thought this reply becomes evident if we recall his main principle that man cannot achieve salvation by his own efforts. The corollary is clear. Unless we deny God's omniscience we must add that God *foreknew* that those whom He had not predestined to salvation would fail to secure it; and unless we deny His omnipotence we must add that, in effect, this means that He *foreordained* them to failure. S. Paul was the last person to deny either of these fundamental attributes to God. Hence only two possibilities remain. Either the apostle believed that some at least are predestined to damnation, or else he believed that all will in the end be saved, however greatly they may have sinned against God.

Another group of words in his vocabulary might at first sight seem to throw light on this question. As we have seen, he repeatedly speaks of Christians as those who are *called* of God (1¹. 6. 7, 8²⁸. 30, 9¹¹. 24. 25. 26, and frequently). The word occurs so constantly in connexion with the 'predestination' cycle of ideas that it obviously means very much more than merely 'invited' (as, for example, in Matt. 9¹³, 22³⁷; Luke 14¹³). There would be no injury to the sense if the word *elect* ('elected', 'chosen') were substituted for it wherever it occurs (contrast Matt. 22¹⁴, where the two words are opposed to one another). And the idea of the *election* (or 'choice') of the Christian by God, which occurs in practically every writer of the New Testament, is as congenial to S. Paul as to any of his colleagues (8³³, 9¹¹, 11⁵. 7. 26, 16¹³, and frequently).

Now it would, of course, be meaningless to speak of the Christian as 'elected' unless thereby it were implied that others were *not* elected. This has been taken by many to involve the conclusion that S. Paul believed that Christians are 'elected' to salvation, whilst those who fail to embrace the gospel when it is offered to them, so far from being 'elected', must be predestined to damnation.¹ But there is still a gap in the argument. It may be that what the Christian is 'elected' to is not a special *privilege*, but a special *responsibility*—the responsibility, in fact, of carrying the gospel to all the world. If this were S. Paul's meaning, his use of the word *election* would not by itself involve the doctrine

¹ For, as we have just seen, the idea of their being 'pretermitted' ('simply left') merely evades the real problem.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

of the predestination to damnation of the non-elect. It might still be God's effective purpose to save all men—and that by the particular method of 'electing' some to be the vehicles of His message and grace.

Setting this problem on one side for the moment, we shall find it easier to approach the question from another angle, and ask whether S. Paul ever did commit himself to the doctrine of eternal damnation. The relevant passages are well known; and the briefest consideration will prove that no such conclusion can be deduced either from 1^{24, 26, 28} (*God gave them up unto sin*) or from 8²⁰ (*the creation was subjected to vanity—'man', of course, being comprised under the term 'creation'*). None of the words employed (*παρέδωκεν, υπετάγη, &c.*) is sufficiently emphatic to imply that the persons thus *subjected* to an alien power are thereby debarred to all eternity from all participation in the grace of God. S. Paul does not for a moment suggest that the subjection is either total or eternal. Indeed, 8^{20, 21} makes it clear that it is neither, for *the creation was subjected to vanity . . . in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.* (On the view of history here implied, *infra*, pp. 130–3.)

Chapter 9, however, is more difficult. The problem is that of the rejection of the Jews by God, the proof of which, to S. Paul, is to be found in the acceptance of Christianity by the Gentiles. Superficially this would appear to be a breach by God of His covenant with Israel. But we may not attribute such a changeableness to God—it is not as though the word of God hath come to naught (9⁶). In so far, then, as the Jews have been rejected, it must be of God's deliberate purpose; and S. Paul is careful to show that the covenant did not automatically guarantee salvation to every Israelite by descent (9^{7-13, 24-9}). The usual imaginary objector, however, proceeds to voice two criticisms: (a) it is *unrighteous* of God to make any discrimination whatsoever between His creatures (9¹⁴); (b) it is specially unrighteous of Him to threaten with punishment those who, because they have not been 'elected to grace', cannot but commit sin. God has not given them grace, so they are *not withstanding his will* when they sin. *Why, then, doth he still find fault?* (9¹⁸).

Some such criticism as this may even be involved in the confusion of 3⁵⁻⁸. The objection there is, perhaps, not entirely free from the suspicion that *our unrighteousness*, which *commendeth the righteousness of God*, is an involuntary unrighteousness forced upon us by God *in order to commend His righteousness*; and this gives a more valid ring to the cry, *Is God unrighteous who visiteth with wrath?*¹ The idea is not, indeed, the primary one in the passage, or S. Paul would have dealt with it in a more considerate fashion. But we cannot say that it is not present in some dim form.

S. Paul deals with these questions in a very disconcerting fashion. He has in reserve an answer which should completely satisfy the inquirer, at all events on the particular point in dispute—*God did not cast off his people . . . and so all Israel shall be saved* (II². 26). It is only *a hardening in part* (or, as we might alternatively say, a temporary desertion by God) that *hath befallen Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in* (II²⁵). This seems to imply a doctrine of universal salvation, and so will come before our notice again very shortly (*infra*, p. 124). But the most perplexing point in the passage is that, although S. Paul is thus prepared whole-heartedly to deny any thought of predestination to damnation, he does not do so in his immediate reply to the two questions which he imagines to have been put to him, but instead uses language of a very different kind.

Thus in answer to the first question he says curtly that God has always discriminated in the bestowal of His blessings, and that in a wholly arbitrary fashion, without regard to merit. *It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy* (9¹⁶)—as is witnessed, for example, by His dealings with Moses and Pharaoh respectively (9¹⁴⁻¹⁸). And when the second, and even more pointed question, arises, he appears to add that God has a perfect right to make such a difference, even to the extent of something which looks very like the predestination of some to damnation. *The potter has a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour* (9²¹); *a fortiori* God has the same right over the beings whom He has created. *Nay, but O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus?* (9²⁰).

¹ Cp. *supra*, p. 82.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

But when we have said this, we have said the worst. For S. Paul is very careful not to say that God has ever exercised or will ever exercise this right. The argument is purely hypothetical: 'If God were to do so, no one could blame Him.' In fact, by a judicious choice of language he suggests very forcibly that God never would emulate the potter and deliberately make a *vessel of wrath* capable only of being destroyed. Of even the worst men it can only be said that they are *fitted for destruction*, not that they are *doomed* to it; and, in fact, God, so far from destroying them, *endures them with much longsuffering* (9²²). Even in this grim discussion the apostle avoids every phrase that could commit him to the doctrine of predestination to damnation.

This makes it all the more surprising that he should argue God's rights in the matter with such emphasis. But we do not have to look far for the reason. The more God's abstract right to do what He will with His creation is emphasized, the more astounding does the thought of His actual grace to all men become. The contrast between the two affects S. Paul so much that it permeates even to his mode of presentation. He asserts God's rights with cold academic pedantry. But as he reverts, in chapters 10 and 11, to the thought of universal mercy his tone grows warm and lyrical, till it reaches its climax in the inspired outburst, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God . . . To him be the glory for ever. Amen.* (11³³⁻⁸), which fitly brings the doctrinal section of the epistle to a close.

If, then, S. Paul scrupulously avoids all language that might seem to endorse the doctrine of predestination to damnation, we appear to be reduced to the other alternative. The apostle, on this view, must have been a 'universalist'—one, that is, who holds that in the love of God all men will be saved at the last. Sooner or later that constraining love will induce in them first faith and then that triumphant striving for perfection of which salvation is the ultimate reward. The obviously hypothetical character of 9¹⁹⁻²⁴, just mentioned, tends to bear out this view. Still more do the *All Israel shall be saved* and *That he might have mercy on all* of 11²⁶.³² (cp. 1 Tim. 2⁴, *God willeth that all men should be saved*, and 1 Cor. 3¹⁵, *If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as through fire*; cp. also

1 Cor. 5^b). It is unnatural to take the words *all Israel* and so forth (as some commentators do) in the sense of 'Israel as a continuous entity, regardless of the fate of particular individuals'. In his most inspired and inspiring moments, it seems true to say, the apostle did not contemplate the final and irretrievable loss of a single soul that God has created.

But we must not forget the paradox of love on which we have been building throughout. Even were the salvation of all men a certainty, and not at best a hope, S. Paul's emphatic demands for human endeavour, and his equally emphatic warnings against rejecting the appeal of God, would make it clear that the temporary gratification of the lusts of the flesh which the sinner might enjoy would not in any way counterbalance the pangs of *fire* through which (if at all) he is to be saved. Universalist S. Paul may be, but it in no way leads him to abandon his insistence upon human responsibility.¹

Once this has been established, it is not difficult to show that when S. Paul speaks of the *election* of Christians, it is almost always as an *election to responsibility*, and so does not carry with it (as the idea of election to *privilege* does) any suggestion of the eternal punishment of those who are not 'elected'. Here he makes a spectacular advance from the Old Testament conception that the election of Israel as a 'peculiar people' was an election to special privileges. That this was the general view of the later Old Testament writers cannot be disputed (cp., e.g., Deut. 7⁶⁻⁸, Ps. 135⁴, Isa. 41⁸⁻²⁰, and constantly). But here and there occurs the idea of election to a special mission or duty. Thus the Levites are *chosen out of all the tribes, to stand to minister in the name of the Lord* (Deut. 18⁵, 1 Chron. 15²); David, to be king (1 Sam. 16¹² (the word 'chosen' occurs in vv. 8-10), 1 Kings 8¹⁶); Solomon, *to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel* (1 Chron. 28⁵), and so forth. Even of the nation as a whole the second Isaiah can write, *Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen* (Isa. 43¹⁰); and in 42¹ the

¹ Thus, even in the section under discussion, S. Paul includes two passages which throw the blame for their rejection upon the Jews (9^{30-10¹³}, 10¹⁴⁻²¹), and one which warns the Gentiles against the dangers of spiritual arrogance (11¹²⁻²⁴).

title *My chosen* is applied to the 'servant of Jahweh' in the distinctive sense of the 'servant' songs.

S. Paul reverses the emphasis of these ideas. Occasionally *election* with him refers to privilege alone (e.g. 117.²⁸), but far more frequently to responsibility. The *elect* are persons against whose characters no one can *lay anything to the charge* (8³³). Despite their *folly, weakness*, and (in a social sense) *baseness* of position, *God chose them to put to shame them that are wise and the things that are strong* (1 Cor. 127.²⁸). We are chosen, again, *that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love* (Eph. 14). As *God's elect*, we are to *put on a heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, longsuffering* (Col. 3¹²), and are *called in one body that the peace of Christ may rule in our hearts* (Col. 3¹⁵). He does not use the word 'election' of any special mission or individual duty. But the idea is clearly present (with the words 'separated' and 'called') in Gal. 115.¹⁶, and other New Testament writers use 'election' ('choice') in this sense (Luke 6¹³, John 15¹⁶, Acts 124, 65, 9¹⁵ (of S. Paul himself)).¹ 'Call' and 'calling' he uses frequently of a command either to special work or to moral and spiritual responsibility (see references above, p. 121; and cp. further 1 Cor. 19, 7¹⁵, Gal. 5¹³, Eph. 4^{1.4}, 1 Thess. 2¹², 2 Thess. 2^{14.15}). Thus there can be no doubt as to the primacy of this aspect of 'election' in his thought.

The same seems to be the case with the Old Testament doctrine of the 'Remnant of Israel',² of which S. Paul makes use in 9^{27.29}, 11⁵. Here, even in the Old Testament, though the idea of privilege or selection for salvation or restoration was no doubt primary (Isa. 19, Amos 9^{8.9}, Mic. 2¹², 5³, Jer. 23³, Ezek. 14²²), the thought of responsibility is by no means absent. It is generally agreed, for example, that the phrase *A remnant shall return* ('Shear-jashub', the name which Isaiah gave to one of his two sons—

¹ To this sphere of ideas may also be referred the title of the 'elect one' as applied to Christ: Luke 9³⁵, 23³⁵, John 1⁸⁴ (where important early authorities read 'the chosen one of God' for (R.V.) 'the Son of God'). The title was probably derived from *the Similitudes of Enoch* (94-64 B.C.), where it is constantly used of the Messiah (cp. *Enoch* 40⁸, 45^{3.4}, 46³, 49^{1.4}, 51^{8.9}, &c.); it may also refer to the words in the first servant-song of deuterio-Isaiah (Isa. 42¹).

² On this doctrine see Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 274, 275; G. A. Smith, *Book of Isaiah*, i. 126-30.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

127

Isa. 7³; cp. Isa. 10²⁰⁻² and possibly Mic. 5³) does not mean 'shall be brought back from exile' but 'shall be converted', or 're-assume moral responsibility'. Similarly in Zephaniah 3^{12, 13} the distinguishing characteristic of the *afflicted and poor people*, who are to be *left in the midst* of Jerusalem, is that they shall *trust in the name of the Lord, shall not do iniquity nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth*. And even in Ezek. 14^{22, 23}, where the Remnant are promised their return from exile, they have a mission to perform as well: *They shall comfort you when you see their way and their doings*. It is exceptionally worthy of notice that S. Paul discards all reference to the majority of the passages in which the idea of *privilege* is to the fore (9²⁹ from Isa. 1⁹ is the only exception; though in 9²⁷ he uses 'shall be saved' from the LXX instead of 'shall return' (i.e. 'shall be converted') from the Hebrew, and concentrates on those in which responsibility or service is primary, particularly (11³⁻⁴) on the narrative of 1 Kings 19¹⁴⁻¹⁸, in which the loyalty of the *seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal* is emphasized.

The purpose of S. Paul's references to the doctrine of the Remnant in chapters 9 and 11 is not quite clear. In 9^{17, 19} he seems to employ it as scriptural support for the truth mentioned in passing in ver. 24, that *Jews as well as Gentiles are among the called*. But the allusion must be by way of afterthought, for what is actually emphasized in 24 is that *Gentiles as well as Jews* are called, and so far as this is concerned the quotations in verses 27 and 29 are irrelevant. S. Paul has evidently glanced aside, parenthetically, to the actual situation in the Roman Church, in which the Gentiles were showing themselves *highminded* (11³⁰) to the Jewish Christians, and perhaps even denying them the right to membership in the Church.

In 11¹⁻⁷ the thought is similar: *God did not cast off* (utterly) *his people whom he foreknew . . . So then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace* (vv. 2, 5). But no sooner is the sentiment uttered than it is ignored; for in ver. 7 the *election* which *obtains grace* is dramatically opposed to *Israel*, which *obtained it not*. Here S. Paul reverts to the main idea of these chapters, that in general the *Jews as a whole* have been *disobedient and gainsaying* (10¹¹). It follows that both references to the doctrine of the Remnant are parenthetic; their purpose being, first, to warn Gentile Christians not to treat their Jewish brothers arrogantly; second, to make it

clear that God has never wholly lost sight of the Jews, and thus to prepare the way for the triumphant *So all Israel shall be saved* of 11²⁶. Such a consummation, he suggests, can surprise no one who is familiar with the prophetic teaching about the Remnant.

There remains the enigma of Jewish history. S. Paul had no doubt that the refusal of the Jews to hear the gospel, like the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (9¹⁷), was foreseen in the purposes of God (9^{32, 33}, 10¹⁴⁻²¹, 11⁸⁻¹¹). Its object was to bring *salvation unto the Gentiles* (11¹¹) *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in* (11²⁵, cp. 9^{25, 26}). Here S. Paul is standing upon the firm ground of personal experience. Even he, and still more the other apostles, had delayed to *turn to the Gentiles* until the gospel was rejected by the Jews (Acts 13⁴⁶, 18⁶, 28²⁸). Taking into account, on the one hand, the fact that circumstances had left him no alternative here, and on the other the eagerness with which the Gentiles had pressed through the *great door and effectual* thus *opened* (1 Cor. 16⁹, 2 Cor. 2¹²; cp. Acts 14²⁷), he could not fail to see the hand of God in what had happened. For his own part he held that God had *separated him even from his mother's womb . . . to preach among the Gentiles* (Gal. 1^{15, 16}, 2^{7, 8}; cp. Rom. 1¹³, 11¹³, Eph. 3⁸, Acts 9¹⁵, 13⁴⁷, 22²¹, 26^{17, 18}). As a mere matter of history it might well be supposed that had the Jews received the gospel with acclamation, it would no more have spread to the Gentile world than Judaism itself had done; and the pious inference that God had intended this sequence of cause and effect lay ready to hand.

S. Paul had less warrant for his anticipation that, *when the fulness of the Gentiles had come in*, it would *provoke to jealousy* (i.e. zealous rivalry in accepting the gospel, 10¹⁹, 11¹⁴) the recalcitrant Jews, so that in the end *all Israel should be saved* (11²⁶). For each of these two convictions he can quote nothing but a single Old Testament proof-text (Deut. 32²¹ and Isa. 59²⁰). Against them he was bound to set the facts of his own day, which gave no support to the suggestion, and the consideration that, judged by all human standards, such a method of healing the breach between Jew and Gentile must seem unutterably ridiculous. Perhaps he felt these difficulties; for the concluding paragraph of the discussion, while it acclaiming in no measured terms *the depths of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God*, insists with equal

emphasis that *his judgements are unsearchable, and his ways past tracing out* (II³³). Human intelligence is incapable of *knowing the mind of the Lord*; human ingenuity cannot aspire for a moment to *be his counsellor* (II³⁴). All that we can be sure of is the conviction of faith that *of him and through him and to him are all things*; but that is enough to evoke the final doxology which must rise from every Christian's lips, *To him be the glory for ever. Amen* (II³⁶).

Rightly or wrongly, modern thought has little interest in the problem set by Jewish unbelief; and even were it a matter as urgent for us as it was for S. Paul we should not necessarily accept his view that the ultimate stimulus to bring the Jews to Christ would be the spirit of honourable rivalry with the Gentiles. Nevertheless, S. Paul's conspectus of Jewish history remains of permanent importance, for two reasons, if no more:

(a) It emphasizes the cardinal tenet, both of Judaism and of Christianity, that human history has a meaning even for God. It is not a mere welter of disconnected and chaotic events. The reverent mind may expect to find in history the traces of a divine providence at work; and if man's vision of spiritual things were clearer he would see the guiding hand of God everywhere. But if history has a purpose, and we are figures in history, then our business is to discover that purpose as far as we are able, and to identify ourselves with it by resolute Christian activity. The hermit who turns his back upon contemporary events, till he will not spare for them even a moment's passing intercession; the cynic, who treats all movements of life and thought as equally valueless and nugatory; the captious critic, who is ready enough to find fault with the endeavours of others, but refuses to put forth any constructive efforts of his own; these, and others of their sort, are wholly disloyal to the spirit of the gospel as S. Paul understood it. And we cannot doubt that S. Paul was right, and they are wrong. Christ himself had no lack of sympathy for men's temporal needs; and however much religion looks to the world to come as the goal of its endeavour, it must see in this life the prelude to life eternal, and devote itself, in part at least, to ordering that prelude so that it may be worthy of all that is to follow.

(b) As we saw at an earlier stage,¹ the gulf between Gentile and Jew represented to S. Paul the acme of all animosity that can exist between men. Once more, no doubt, we look on things with different eyes, and are more concerned with other and, to us, more urgent animosities. But his conviction that this, the greatest wound from which organized humanity could suffer, could be healed by the power of Christ, is the climax of his doctrine of justification. If we view the gulfs of our own time with the same heroic confidence that God will bridge them all, we cannot but be confirmed in that life of Christian endeavour which the true view of history demands of us. It is no accident, therefore, that S. Paul passes straight from this final expression of confidence in God to the moral exhortations of chapters 12-14: because (in so far as moral progress depends upon ourselves) there is no such stimulus as the conviction that nothing is impossible with God. It is easy, therefore, to translate his impassioned affirmations about the reunion of Jew and Gentile into terms of the disunions of our own day; and when we have done so, and have accepted his faith that out of these disastrous hatreds and suspicions shall come the *reconciling of the world and life from the dead* (11¹⁵), there is nothing in the world left for us to fear.

K. *God's ultimate purposes* (8¹⁸⁻²⁵, 13¹¹⁻¹⁴).

Behind S. Paul's great exposition of the mode and means of man's salvation, there are hints of an even deeper purpose of God. The whole *creation, subjected to vanity* at some unknown prehistoric date, *is in hope that it shall itself be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now* (8²⁰⁻²). Within this sphere of the *creation* there are incorporeal beings, some at least of them hostile to God and His purposes (*supra*, p. 52)—*thrones, angels, principalities, powers* (8³⁸; cp. 1 Cor. 15²⁴, Eph. 1²¹, 3¹⁰, 6¹², Col. 1¹⁶, 2^{10, 15}, Phil. 2¹⁰)—who are to be *reconciled* (Col. 1²⁰), by being brought (as the Christian already is) into *the fulness of Christ* (Col. 1¹⁹, Eph. 1¹⁰, 3¹⁰), *when Christ shall be all and in all* (Col. 3¹¹; cp. 1 Cor. 15²⁸).

The method by which S. Paul believes the consummation will be brought about is the *revelation of the sons of God* (8¹⁹). To-day

¹ *Supra*, p. 79.

an inconsiderable and despised body, their *glory* (8²¹, Col. 3⁴) shall some day be made manifest, at the *appearing of Christ* (Col. 3⁴), bearing with it proof of the *manifold wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus* (Eph. 3^{10, 11}). Into the *liberty* of that glory¹ the creation shall be ushered (8²¹). There are obvious connexions here with the thought of Jewish apocalyptic literature, in which the appearance of Messiah and his saints would break down the last barrier of resistance to the rule of God in the universe. In that tradition, also, the renovation of creation was a commonplace (see the numerous references in Sanday and Headlam, pp. 206-8, 210-12), and it may well be the case that S. Paul is dependent to some extent upon '2 (4) Ezra' and the 'Apocalypse of Baruch'. Two points, however, are of importance:

(a) S. Paul's attitude to the primitive Christian belief in the imminence of the Parousia, or appearance of Christ in the fullness of His Messianic glory, which was derived from apocalyptic, seems to have changed as he advanced in years. In his teaching at Thessalonica he must have laid considerable emphasis upon the thought that the consummation would come within the lifetime of himself or his contemporaries (1 Thess. 4¹⁷, 2 Thess. 2²; cp. also 1 Cor. 7²⁹⁻³¹, Phil. 3²⁰, 4⁵). In his later epistles, however, he contemplates the possibility of an extended delay (2 Cor. 5¹⁻¹⁰, Phil. 1²³, 3¹¹). In any case, the question of the exact date of the Parousia has no particular bearing upon his theology; for, as we must once more remind ourselves, his primary interest is centred upon the great act of deliverance which God has *already* performed in the Incarnation and Atonement. So in Romans he uses the conception of an immediate second coming once only, and then as a stimulus to moral activity: *Now it is high time for you to awake out of sleep: for now is salvation nearer to us than when we first believed. The night is far spent, and the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light* (13^{11, 12}). In general, he is not interested in chronological speculations on this subject; it is enough for him to know that the universal reign of God is assured.

(b) In Jewish apocalyptic, a large role was played by the ideas of the destruction of God's enemies and of final judgement upon

¹ For the meaning of the word *glory* see note on 3¹².

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

sinner. S. Paul is as clear as any Christian teacher could be that persistent wilful sin must be visited with punishment (cp. 2⁵⁻¹², 14^{10, 12}, 1 Cor. 4⁵, 2 Cor. 5¹⁰, Col. 3²⁵, and *supra*, p. 36); and he speaks of the occasion of this punishment as *the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgement of God* (2⁵). But the phrase *the day of the Lord* itself, which was synonymous with the second coming of Christ, he uses only in passages from which the idea of punishment of sin is absent (see note on 2⁵), as though to suggest that *joy*, and not *terror*, will be the dominant emotion in that day. So, too, whereas in Jewish apocalyptic the appearance of Messiah and his saints connoted the destruction of all who had opposed or persecuted them, to S. Paul it means their conversion and redemption. As in the pagan world he had seen opponents and critics of the gospel converted by the testimony of Christian lives and lips, so in the end the entire universe is to undergo a similar experience.

From the one to the many (*supra*, p. 75) was S. Paul's epigram for expressing the mode by which God's saving grace came to the world. Now, however, we may expand it and say *From the one, through the few, to the many*. God has never left Himself without a witness. At one time it was the Jewish race, whose privileges S. Paul has enumerated so feelingly. Even in the days of national apostasy there was still a *Remnant* (*supra*, p. 126) to carry on the testimony. Later still comes the Church of the new covenant, the *saints* (1⁷) or persons 'set apart' for this service by God. In the last day the saints still living shall *be caught up with the dead in Christ in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air* (1 Thess. 4^{10, 17}), and the vision of this reunited host, clad now in their *spiritual bodies* (1 Cor. 15^{44, 62}), shall complete the transformation of the universe.

All this constitutes a *mystery* which has now been made clear (16^{25, 26}). Even so it is not very clear. We may ask why God *subjected the creation to vanity*¹ (8²⁰—see note), or *shut up all unto disobedience* (11³²), or *gave them up to uncleanness* (1²⁴), or *hardened their hearts* (9¹⁸), or bore with them as *vessels fitted unto destruction*

¹ The view that it was man who subjected the creation to vanity can be decisively rejected. As far as this earth is concerned, we may presume that it was 'subjected to futility' by the 'curse' of Gen. 3¹⁷, but this leaves the problem of the rest of the universe unsolved.

(9²²). S. Paul's answer would appear to take the form that only against such a background of historic drama could the glory of the consummation be sufficiently displayed. This is one reason for his constant insistence both upon the supersession of Jew by Gentile in God's favour, and upon their future *reconciliation into one*. There must be an element of tension and tragedy in history—that is to say, there must be history itself; for there is no history where there is no tension or tragedy—if the glory of God's unchanging and eternal character is to be revealed.

Similarly, S. Paul insists upon the dramatic propriety of the Incarnation coming when it did rather than at any other moment of history. It happened *in due season* (5⁶), *at an acceptable time* (2 Cor. 6²), *when the fulness of the time came* (Gal. 4⁴; cp. Eph. 1¹⁰, 1 Tim. 2⁶, 6¹⁵, Titus 1³). Why *this present season* (3²⁶) should have seemed to S. Paul more appropriate than any other for the moment of the Incarnation we can only guess. But it is difficult to believe that he could not point to some grounds for a doctrine which he reiterated with such emphasis. Later writers have suggested that nothing but the establishment of the 'Pax Romana' and the 'Roman unity of power and organization'¹ could have made possible that rapid spread of the gospel which ensured its ultimate success; or that the concurrence of Greek philosophy, with its 'spontaneity, its full development, conditioned only by its own instincts of taste and beauty', and of Roman law, 'seeking strength by discipline, by subordination, by distrust of novelty, by sacrifice of individuality to the corporate life', with the Old Testament proclamation of 'those mighty truths . . . which brooded over the history of the Jews and came forth into the world with the gospel',² provided a seed plot the like of which the world has never known at any other time.

We may suspect views of this kind of being of the nature of rationalizations after the event. In any case, there is no sign that they ever occurred to the apostle. He approached the question by a wholly different route. There is ample evidence from non-Christian sources to attest the truth of the New Testament picture, that Judaism at this period was permeated with a sense of

¹ *Lux Mundi*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 107; cp. D. Stone, *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, p. 53.

The Main Ideas of the Epistle

crisis—an expectation of some imminent and spectacular act of God which should inaugurate a new era in the history of the nation, if not of the whole world. The popular welcome accorded to the Baptist's preaching, the vogue of apocalyptic, the ease with which successive claimants to Messianic rank secured a following, are explicable on no other hypothesis.

As a devout Jew, S. Paul inherited this sense of crisis. The new gospel presented itself to him for acceptance as the expected act of God.¹ At first he resisted its pretensions and persecuted its adherents; his conversion involved the unreserved admission that it was that which it claimed to be. Thenceforward it was impossible for him to think or speak of it in any other terms.

How far, then, were he and his contemporaries, Jewish and Christian alike, justified in regarding their own day as a period of special, indeed of unique, crisis? This question, obviously, could be fully answered only if we were able to look out upon world-history with the eyes of God. But recent developments in theology have reminded us that any generation which fails to regard its own period in such a light has lost its grip upon one of the cardinal tenets of Christianity. Without this sense of crisis, and the consequent anticipation of divine interventions in human affairs, we should be in danger of forgetting that at all points of history God's purposive direction of events must be acknowledged.

This, as we have seen repeatedly, is a principle from which S. Paul never departs. God is not an absentee landlord, nor a capricious ruler who plays with humanity as a cat does with a mouse. At every moment His providence exercises direct control over events, even though it does not impinge upon human freedom. This fundamental conviction the apostle brought over with him from Judaism to Christianity. But it was confirmed a thousandfold by his reflection upon the miracle of the spread of Christianity to the Gentiles; and it remains a principle without which the problems of thought and religion must be insoluble, and life itself be meaningless until the end.

¹ Cp. Lietzmann, *HZNT*, on Gal. 4¹ (the *προθεσμία*).

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THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE
ROMANS
SALUTATION

1 PAUL, a ¹servant of Jesus Christ, called *to be* an apostle,
2 separated unto the gospel of God, which he promised afore
3 ²by his prophets in the holy scriptures, concerning his Son, who
4 was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was
5 ³declared *to be* the Son of God ⁴with power, according to the
6 spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead; *even* Jesus
7 Christ our Lord, through whom we received grace and apostle-
8 ship, unto obedience ⁵of faith among all the nations, for his
9 name's sake: among whom are ye also, called *to be* Jesus
10 Christ's: to all that are in Rome, beloved of God, called *to be*
11 saints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the
12 Lord Jesus Christ.

THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER

13 First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all,
14 ⁶that your faith is proclaimed throughout the whole world.
15 For God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel
16 of his Son, how unceasingly I make mention of you, always in
17 my prayers making request, if by any means now at length I
18 may be prospered ⁷by the will of God to come unto you. For
19 I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual
20 gift, to the end ye may be established; that is, that I with you
21 may be comforted in you, each of us by the other's faith, both
22 yours and mine.

A PERSONAL NOTE

23 And I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that often-
24 times I purposed to come unto you (and was hindered hitherto),
25 that I might have some fruit in you also, even as in the rest
26 of the Gentiles. I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians,
27 both to the wise and to the foolish. So, as much as in me is,
28 I am ready to preach the gospel to you also that are in Rome.

¹ Gr. *bondservant.* ² Or, *through* ³ Gr. *determined.*
⁴ Or, *in* ⁵ Or, *to the faith* ⁶ Or, *because* ⁷ Gr. *in.*

THE JUSTIFICATION OF GOD—HIS HOSTILITY TO SIN

1¹⁶⁻¹⁸. *The righteousness of God revealed by the gospel.*

16 For I am not ashamed of the gospel: for it is the power of
 God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew
 17 first, and also to the Greek. For therein is revealed a righteous-



'I am ready to preach the gospel to you also that are in Rome.' A Roman relief believed to represent an early Christian preacher.

ness of God ¹by faith unto faith: as it is written, But the righteous shall live ¹by faith.

18 For ²the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who ³hold down the truth in unrighteousness;

¹ Gr. *from*.

² Or, *a wrath*

³ Or, *hold the truth*

1¹⁹-2²¹. *Human sin without excuse, both among Gentiles (1¹⁹-3²) and among Jews (2¹-2⁹).*

- 19 because that which may be known of God is manifest in them ;
 20 for God manifested it unto them. For the invisible things of
 him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being
 perceived through the things that are made, *even* his ever-
 lasting power and divinity ; ¹that they may be without excuse :
 21 because that, knowing God, they glorified him not as God,
 neither gave thanks ; but became vain in their reasonings, and
 22 their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to
 23 be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the in-
 corruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible
 man, and of birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.
 24 Wherefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts
 25 unto uncleanness, that their bodies should be dishonoured
 among themselves : for that they exchanged the truth of God
 for a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than
 the Creator, who is blessed ²for ever. Amen.
 26 For this cause God gave them up unto ³vile passions : for
 their women changed the natural use into that which is against
 27 nature : and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of
 the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with
 men working unseemliness, and receiving in themselves that
 recompense of their error which was due.
 28 And even as they ⁴refused to have God in *their* knowledge,
 God gave them up unto a reprobate mind, to do those things
 29 which are not fitting ; being filled with all unrighteousness,
 wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness ; full of envy, murder,
 30 strife, deceit, malignity ; whisperers, backbiters, ⁵hateful to
 God, insolent, haughty, boastful, inventors of evil things, dis-
 31 obedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers,
 32 without natural affection, unmerciful : who, knowing the ordi-
 nance of God, that they which practise such things are worthy
 of death, not only do the same, but also consent with them that
 practise them.

2 Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whosoever thou
 art that judgest : for wherein thou judgest ⁶another, thou
 condemnest thyself ; for thou that judgest dost practise the

¹ Or, so that they are
 of dishonour.

⁶ Gr the other.

² Gr. unto the ages.

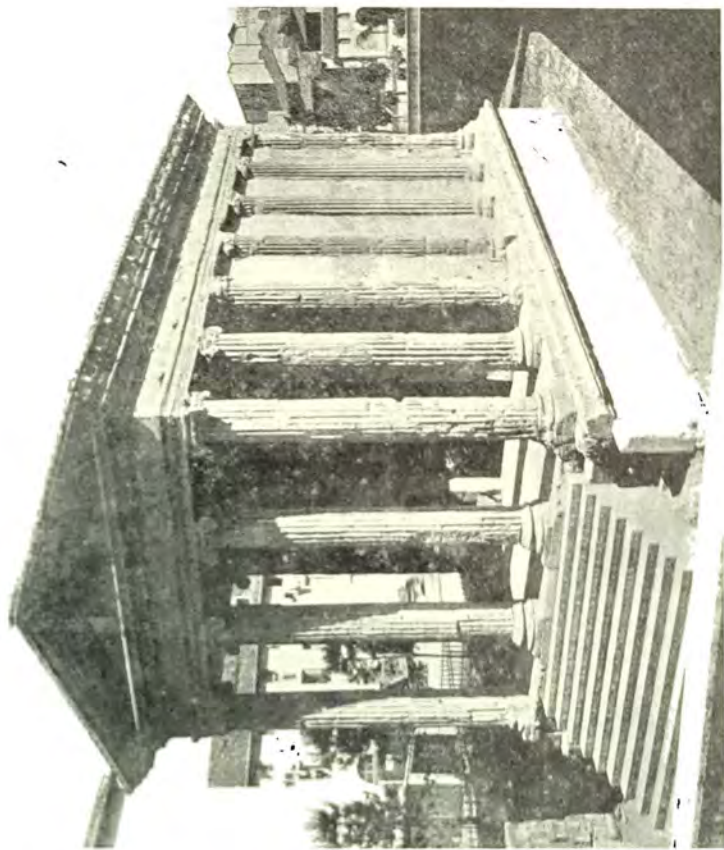
⁴ Gr. did not approve.

³ Gr. passions
 Or, haters of God

2 same things. ¹And we know that the judgement of God is
 3 according to truth against them that practise such things. And
 reckonest thou this, O man, who judgest them that practise
 such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the
 4 judgement of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his good-
 ness and forbearance and longsuffering, not knowing that the
 5 goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? but after thy
 hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up for thyself wrath
 in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgement
 6 of God; who will render to every man according to his works:
 7 to them that by patience in well-doing seek for glory and
 8 honour and incorruption, eternal life: but unto them that are
 factious, and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness,
 9 *shall be* wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon
 every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also
 10 of the Greek; but glory and honour and peace to every man
 11 that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for
 12 there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have
 sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many
 13 as have sinned under law shall be judged by law; for not the
 hearers of a law are ²just before God, but the doers of a law
 14 shall be ³justified: for when Gentiles which have no law do by
 nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law
 15 unto themselves; in that they shew the work of the law written
 in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and
 their ⁴thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing
 16 *them*; in the day when God ⁵shall judge the secrets of men,
 according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ.

17 But if thou bearest the name of a Jew, and retest upon ⁶the
 18 law, and gloriest in God, and knowest ⁷his will, and ⁸approvest
 the things that are excellent, being instructed out of the law,
 19 and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a
 20 light of them that are in darkness, ⁹a corrector of the foolish,
 a teacher of babes, having in the law the form of knowledge
 21 and of the truth; thou therefore that teachest another, teachest
 thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal,
 22 dost thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit
 adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest

¹ Many ancient authorities read *For*. ² Or, *righteous* ³ Or,
accounted righteous ⁴ Or, *reasonings* ⁵ Or, *judgeth* ⁶ Or,
a law ⁷ Or, *the Will* ⁸ Or, *provost the things that differ*
⁹ Or, *an instructor*



A ROMAN TEMPLE RECENTLY EXCAVATED AND RESTORED

23 idols, dost thou 'rob temples? thou who gloriest in ²the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonourest thou God?
 24 For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because
 25 of you, even as it is written. For circumcision indeed profiteth, if thou be a doer of the law: but if thou be a transgressor of
 26 the law, thy circumcision is become uncircumcision. If therefore the uncircumcision keep the ordinances of the law, shall
 27 not his uncircumcision be reckoned for circumcision? and shall not the uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who with the letter and circumcision art a trans-
 28 gressor of the law? For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the
 29 flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.

3¹⁻⁸. *Two captious objections considered and dismissed.*

3 What advantage then hath the Jew? or what is the profit
 2 of circumcision? Much every way: first of all, that they
 3 were intrusted with the oracles of God. For what if some were without faith? shall their want of faith make of none effect the
 4 faithfulness of God? ³God forbid: yea, let God be found true, but every man a liar; as it is written,

That thou mightest be justified in thy words,

And mightest prevail when thou comest into judgement.

5 But if our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who visiteth with
 6 wrath? (I speak after the manner of men.) God forbid: for
 7 then how shall God judge the world? ⁴But if the truth of God through my lie abounded unto his glory, why am I also still
 8 judged as a sinner? and why not (as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say), Let us do evil, that
 good may come? whose condemnation is just.

3⁹⁻²⁰. *The theme of universal sinfulness re-emphasized.*

9 What then? ⁵are we in worse case than they? No, in no
 wise: for we before laid to the charge both of Jews and Greeks,
 10 that they are all under sin; as it is written,

There is none righteous, no, not one;

11 There is none that understandeth,

There is none that seeketh after God;

¹ Or, *commit sacrilege* ² Or, *a law* ³ Gr. *Be it not so: and so elsewhere.*

⁴ Many ancient authorities read *For*. ⁵ Or, *do we excuse ourselves?*

- 12 They have all turned aside, they are together become unprofitable;
 There is none that doeth good, no, not so much as one:
 13 Their throat is an open sepulchre;
 With their tongues they have used deceit:
 The poison of asps is under their lips:
 14 Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness:
 15 Their feet are swift to shed blood;
 16 Destruction and misery are in their ways;
 17 And the way of peace have they not known:
 18 There is no fear of God before their eyes.
 19 Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it speaketh to them that are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may be brought under the
 20 judgement of God: because ¹by ²the works of the law shall no flesh be ³justified in his sight: for ⁴through the law *cometh* the knowledge of sin.

THE JUSTIFICATION OF MAN—THE ATONEMENT

- 21 But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets;
 22 even the righteousness of God through faith ⁵in Jesus Christ
 23 unto all ⁶them that believe; for there is no distinction; for
 24 all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in
 25 Christ Jesus: whom God ⁷set forth ⁸to be a propitiation, through
⁹faith, by his blood, to shew his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of
 26 God; for the shewing, *I say*, of his righteousness at this present season: that he might himself be ¹⁰just, and the ¹⁰justifier of him
 27 that ¹¹hath faith ¹²in Jesus. Where then is the glorying? It is excluded. By what manner of law? of works? Nay: but by a
 28 law of faith. ¹³We reckon therefore that a man is justified by
 29 faith apart from ¹⁴the works of the law. Or is God *the God* of
 30 Jews only? is he not *the God* of Gentiles also? Yea, of Gentiles

¹ Gr. *out of*. ² Or, *works of law* ³ Or, *accounted righteous*
⁴ Or, *through law upon all*. ⁵ Or, *of* ⁶ Some ancient authorities add *and*
in his blood ⁷ Or, *purposed* ⁸ Or, *to be propitiatory* ⁹ Or, *faith*
¹⁰ Or, *of* ¹⁰ See ch. ii. 13, margin. ¹¹ Gr. *is of faith*.
¹² Or, *of works of law* ¹³ Many ancient authorities read *For we reckon*. ¹⁴ Or,

also: if so be that God is one, and he shall justify the circum-
 31 cision ¹by faith, and the uncircumcision ²through faith. Do
 we then make ³the law of none effect ²through faith? God
 forbid: nay, we establish ³the law.

THE PLACE OF FAITH IN SALVATION—THE EXAMPLE OF ABRAHAM

4 What then shall we say ⁴that Abraham, our forefather
 2 according to the flesh, hath found? For if Abraham was
 justified ¹by works, he hath whereof to glory; but not toward
 3 God. For what saith the scripture? And Abraham believed
 4 God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness. Now to
 him that worketh, the reward is not reckoned as of grace, but
 5 as of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him
 that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteous-
 6 ness. Even as David also pronounceth blessing upon the man,
 unto whom God reckoneth righteousness apart from works,
 7 *saying,*

Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven,
 And whose sins are covered.

8 Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not reckon sin.
 9 Is this blessing then pronounced upon the circumcision, or upon
 the uncircumcision also? for we say, To Abraham his faith was
 10 reckoned for righteousness. How then was it reckoned? when
 he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumci-
 11 sion, but in uncircumcision: and he received the sign of circumci-
 sion, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had
 while he was in uncircumcision: that he might be the father of
 all them that believe, though they be in uncircumcision, that
 12 righteousness might be reckoned unto them; and the father
 of circumcision to them who not only are of the circumcision,
 but who also walk in the steps of that faith of our father
 13 Abraham which he had in uncircumcision. For not ⁵through
 the law was the promise to Abraham or to his seed, that he
 should be heir of the world, but through the righteousness of
 14 faith. For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made
 void, and the promise is made of none effect: for the law work-
 15 eth wrath; but where there is no law, neither is there trans-

¹ Gr. *out of*.

² Or, *through the faith*

³ Or, *law*

⁴ Some ancient authorities read *of Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh?*

⁵ Or, *through law*



A RENAISSANCE REPRESENTATION OF ABRAHAM
A relief from Ghiberti's gates of the Baptistery at Florence.

16 gression. For this cause *it is* of faith, that *it may be* according to grace; to the end that the promise may be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all
 17 (as it is written, A father of many nations have I made thee) before him whom he believed, *even* God, who quickeneth the dead, and calleth the things that are not, as though they were.
 18 Who in hope believed against hope, to the end that he might become a father of many nations, according to that which had
 19 been spoken, So shall thy seed be. And without being weakened in faith he considered his own body ¹now as good as dead (he being about a hundred years old), and the deadness of Sarah's
 20 womb: yea, looking unto the promise of God, he wavered not
 21 through unbelief, but waxed strong through faith, giving glory to God, and being fully assured that, what he had promised, he
 22 was able also to perform. Wherefore also it was reckoned unto
 23 him for righteousness. Now it was not written for his sake
 24 alone, that it was reckoned unto him; but for our sake also, unto whom it shall be reckoned, who believe on him that
 25 raised Jesus our Lord from the dead, who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification.

THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE CHRISTIAN

5¹⁻⁵. *A sketch of the sanctified life.*

5 Being therefore justified ²by faith, ³let us have peace with
 2 God through our Lord Jesus Christ; through whom also we have had our access ⁴by faith into this grace wherein we
 3 stand; and ⁵let us ⁶rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but ⁷let us also ⁶rejoice in our tribulations: knowing
 4 that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, probation;
 5 and probation, hope: and hope putteth not to shame; because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the ⁸Holy Ghost which was given unto us.

5⁶⁻¹¹. *The hymn of the crucified Jesus.*

6 For while we were yet weak, in due season Christ died for
 7 the ungodly. For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: for peradventure for ⁹the good man some one would even dare

¹ Many ancient authorities omit *now*. ² Gr. *out of*. ³ Some authorities read *we have*.
⁴ Some ancient authorities omit *by faith*.
⁵ Or, *we rejoice* ⁶ Gr. *glory*. ⁷ Or, *we also rejoice* ⁸ Or, *Holy Spirit*: and so throughout this book. ⁹ Or, *that which is good*

8 to die. But God commendeth his own love toward us, in that,
 9 while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then,
 being now justified ¹by his blood, shall we be saved from the
 10 wrath of God through him. For if, while we were enemies, we
 were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much
 more, being reconciled, shall we be saved ¹by his life; and not
 11 only so, ²but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus
 Christ, through whom we have now received the reconciliation.

5¹²⁻²¹. *A theological digression: the life of one can affect many.*

12 Therefore, as through one man sin entered into the world,
 and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for
 13 that all sinned:—for until the law sin was in the world: but
 14 sin is not imputed when there is no law. Nevertheless death
 reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them that had not
 sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression, who is a
 15 figure of him that was to come. But not as the trespass, so
 also *is* the free gift. For if by the trespass of the one the many
 died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace
 16 of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many. And
 not as through one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judge-
 ment *came* of one unto condemnation, but the free gift *came* of
 17 many trespasses unto ³justification. For if, by the trespass of
 the one, death reigned through the one; much more shall they that
 receive the abundance of grace and ⁴of the gift of righteousness
 18 reign in life through the one, *even* Jesus Christ. So then as
 through one trespass *the judgement came* unto all men to con-
 demnation; even so through one act of righteousness *the free*
 19 *gift came* unto all men to justification of life. For as through
 the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even
 so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made
 20 righteous. And ⁵the law came in beside, that the trespass
 might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did abound
 21 more exceedingly: that, as sin reigned in death, even so might
 grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life through
 Jesus Christ our Lord.

6¹⁻¹⁴. *The way of sanctification: union with Christ in the risen life.*

6 **6** What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that
 2 grace may abound? God forbid. We who died to sin, how
 3 shall we any longer live therein? Or are ye ignorant that all

¹ Gr. in.

² Gr. but also glorying.

³ Gr. an act of righteousness.

⁴ Some ancient authorities omit of the gift.

⁵ Or, law

we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his
 4 death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism
 into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through
 the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of
 5 life. For if we have become ¹united with *him* by the likeness
 of his death, we shall be also *by the likeness* of his resurrection;
 6 knowing this, that our old man was crucified with *him*, that
 the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no
 7 longer be in bondage to sin; for he that hath died is justified
 8 from sin. But if we died with Christ, we believe that we shall
 9 also live with him; knowing that Christ being raised from the
 dead dieth no more; death no more hath dominion over him.
 10 For ²the death that he died, he died unto sin ³once: but ²the
 11 life that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Even so reckon ye also
 yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ
 Jesus.

12 Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should
 13 obey the lusts thereof: neither present your members unto sin
 as ⁴instruments of unrighteousness; but present yourselves unto
 God, as alive from the dead, and your members as ⁴instruments
 14 of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have dominion over
 you: for ye are not under law, but under grace.

6¹⁵⁻⁷. *The release from sin: two illustrations—the ransomed slave*
 (6¹⁵⁻²³), and the emancipated widow (7¹⁻⁶).

15 What then? shall we sin, because we are not under law, but
 16 under grace? God forbid. Know ye not, that to whom ye
 present yourselves as ⁵servants unto obedience, his ⁵servants
 ye are whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedi-
 17 ence unto righteousness? But thanks be to God, ⁶that, whereas
 ye were ⁵servants of sin, ye became obedient from the heart to
 18 that ⁷form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered; and being
 19 made free from sin, ye became ⁵servants of righteousness. I
 speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your
 flesh: for as ye presented your members as servants to un-
 cleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now present
 your members as servants to righteousness unto sanctification.
 20 For when ye were ⁵servants of sin, ye were free in regard of

¹ Or, *united with the likeness . . . with the likeness*

² Or, *in that*

³ Gr. *once for all*.

⁴ Or, *weapons*

⁵ Gr. *bondservants*.

⁶ Or, *that ye were . . . but ye became*

⁷ Or, *pattern*



ROMAN MARRIAGE

The ceremony portrayed on a Roman relief.



ROMAN MARRIAGE

The ceremony portrayed on a Roman relief.

21 righteousness. What fruit then had ye at that time in the things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things 22 is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto sanctification, and the 23 end eternal life. For the wages of sin is death; but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

7 Or are ye ignorant, brethren (for I speak to men that know 1 the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man for so 2 long time as he liveth? For the woman that hath a husband is bound by law to the husband while he liveth; but if the hus- 3 band die, she is discharged from the law of the husband. So then if, while the husband liveth, she be joined to another man, she shall be called an adulteress: but if the husband die, she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress, though 4 she be joined to another man. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also were made dead to the law through the body of Christ; that ye should be joined to another, *even* to him who was raised from the dead, that we might bring forth fruit unto God. 5 For when we were in the flesh, the 2sinful passions, which were through the law, wrought in our members to bring forth fruit 6 unto death. But now we have been discharged from the law, having died to that wherein we were holden; so that we serve in newness of the spirit, and not in oldness of the letter.

7⁷⁻²⁵. *The anatomy of sin: a sinner's experience.*

7 What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. Howbeit, I had not known sin, except through 1the law: for I had not known 3coveting, except the law had said, Thou shalt not 8 3covet: but sin, finding occasion, wrought in me through the commandment all manner of 3coveting: for apart from 1the 9 law sin is dead. And I was alive apart from 1the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died; 10 and the commandment, which *was* unto life, this I found 11 *to be* unto death: for sin, finding occasion, through the com- 12 mandment beguiled me, and through it slew me. So that the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and righteous, 13 and good. Did then that which is good become death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might be shewn to be sin, by working death to me through that which is good;—that through the commandment sin might become exceeding sinful.

¹ Or, *law*

² Gr. *passions of sins.*

³ Or, *lust*



ROMAN SLAVERY

A fragment of a Roman bas-relief showing the ceremony of manumission. The kneeling slave is being touched by the lictor's rod in token of freedom. The slave standing on the left has just been freed and is shaking his master's hand.

14 For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold
 15 under sin. For that which I ¹do I know not: for not what I
 16 would, that do I practise; but what I hate, that I do. But if
 what I would not, that I do, I consent unto the law that it is
 17 good. So now it is no more I that ¹do it, but sin which dwelleth
 18 in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth
 no good thing: for to will is present with me, but to ¹do that
 19 which is good *is* not. For the good which I would I do not:
 20 but the evil which I would not, that I practise. But if what I
 would not, that I do, it is no more I that ¹do it, but sin which
 21 dwelleth in me. I find then ²the law, that, to me who would
 22 do good, evil is present. For I delight ³in the law of God after
 23 the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring
 against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity
 24 ⁴under the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man
 that I am! who shall deliver me out of ⁵the body of this death?
 25 ⁶I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then I myself
 with the mind serve the law of God; but with the flesh the
 law of sin.

8¹⁻⁴. *Theological recapitulation: the freedom brought by Christ.*

8 There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are
 2 **8** in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ
 3 Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death. For what
 the law could not do, ⁷in that it was weak through the flesh,
 God, sending his own Son in the likeness of ⁸sinful flesh ⁹and
 4 *as an offering* for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the
¹⁰ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not
 after the flesh, but after the spirit.

8⁵⁻¹⁷. *The old life and the new: their principles contrasted.*

5 For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the
 flesh; but they that are after the spirit the things of the spirit.
 6 For the mind of the flesh is death; but the mind of the spirit
 7 is life and peace: because the mind of the flesh is enmity against
 God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can
 8 it be: and they that are in the flesh cannot please God. But
 9 ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit
 of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of

¹ Gr. *work*. ² Or, *in regard of the law* ³ Gr. *with*. ⁴ Gr.
 in. Many ancient authorities read *to*. ⁵ Or, *this body of death*
⁶ Many ancient authorities read *But thanks be to God*. ⁷ Or, *wherein*
⁸ Gr. *flesh of sin*. ⁹ Or, *and for sin* ¹⁰ Or, *requirement*

10 Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies ¹through his Spirit that dwelleth in you.

12 So then, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh: for if ye live after the flesh, ye must die; but if by the spirit ye ²mortify the ³deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God. For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, 16 Abba, Father. The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with *him*, that we may be also glorified with *him*.

8¹⁸⁻³⁰. *The goal of the sanctified life, and its assurance in the foreknowledge of God.*

18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed 19 to us-ward. For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth 20 for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who 21 subjected it, ⁴in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of 22 the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain ⁵together until now, 23 And not only so, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting 24 for *our* adoption, *to wit*, the redemption of our body. For by hope were we saved: but hope that is seen is not hope: ⁶for 25 who ⁷hopeth for that which he seeth? But if we hope for that which we see not, *then* do we with patience wait for it.

26 And in like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for *us* with groanings which cannot be 27 uttered; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is

¹ Many ancient authorities read *because of*. ² Gr. *make to die*.

³ Gr. *doings*. ⁴ Or, *in hope; because the creation &c.* ⁵ Or, *with us*

⁶ Many ancient authorities read *for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?* ⁷ Some ancient authorities read *awaiteth*.

the mind of the Spirit, ¹because he maketh intercession for
 28 the saints according to *the will of God*. And we know that to
 them that love God ²all things work together for good, *even*
 29 to them that are called according to *his purpose*. For whom he
 foreknew, he also foreordained to *be conformed to the image*
 of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren:
 30 and whom he foreordained, them he also called: and whom
 he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them
 he also glorified.

8³¹⁻⁹. *A hymn of Christian confidence.*

31 What then shall we say to these things? If God *is* for us,
 32 who *is* against us? He that spared not his own Son, but de-
 livered him up for us all, how shall he not also with him freely
 33 give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of
 34 God's elect? ³It is God that justifieth; who is he that shall con-
 demn? ⁴It is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was
 raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who
 35 also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from
 the love ⁵of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecu-
 36 tion, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Even as it
 is written,

For thy sake we are killed all the day long;
 We were accounted as sheep for the slaughter.

37 Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through
 38 him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death,
 nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor
 39 things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any
 other ⁶creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of
 God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

THE PROBLEM OF JUDAISM

9¹⁻³. *S. Paul's longing for the salvation of the Jews.*

9 I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing
 2 witness with me in the Holy Ghost, that I have great sorrow
 3 and unceasing pain in my heart. For I could ⁷wish that I
 myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake, my
 kinsmen according to the flesh: who are Israelites;

¹ Or, *that* ² Some ancient authorities read *God worketh all things with them for good.* ³ Or, *Shall God that justifieth?* ⁴ Or, *Shall Christ Jesus that died, . . . us?* ⁵ Some ancient authorities read *of God.*
⁶ Or, *creation* ⁷ Or, *pray*

9⁴⁻⁵. *The privileges which the Jews appear to have lost.*

4 whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises: 5 whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, ¹who is over all, God blessed ²for ever. Amen.

9⁶⁻¹³. *Not all Jews by birth are children of Abraham in the sense of the promises.*

6 But *it is* not as though the word of God hath come to nought. 7 For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel: neither, because they are Abraham's seed, are they all children: but, In Isaac 8 shall thy seed be called. That is, it is not the children of the flesh that are children of God; but the children of the promise 9 are reckoned for a seed. For this is a word of promise, According to this season will I come, and Sarah shall have a son. 10 And not only so; but Rebecca also having conceived by one, 11 *even* by our father Isaac—for *the children* being not yet born, neither having done anything good or bad, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but 12 of him that calleth, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve 13 the younger. Even as it is written, Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.

9¹⁴⁻¹⁸. *There is always a purpose behind God's apparent arbitrariness.*

14 What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with 15 God? God forbid. For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I 16 have compassion. So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of 17 him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, For this very purpose did I raise thee up, that I might shew in thee my power, and that my name 18 might be published abroad in all the earth. So then he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth.

9¹⁹⁻²⁰. *God's unlimited rights as Creator.*

19 Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? 20 For who withstandeth his will? Nay but, O man, who art

¹ Some modern interpreters place a full stop after *flesh*, and translate, *He who is God over all be (is) blessed for ever: or, He who is over all is God, blessed for ever.* Others punctuate, *flesh, who is over all. God be (is) blessed for ever.* ² Gr. *unto the ages.*

thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to
 21 him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus? Or hath
 not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to
 22 make one part a vessel unto honour, and another unto dis-
 honour? What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make
 his power known, endured with much longsuffering vessels of
 23 wrath fitted unto destruction: ¹and that he might make known
 the riches of his glory upon vessels of mercy, which he afore
 24 prepared unto glory, *even* us, whom he also called, not from
 25 the Jews only, but also from the Gentiles? As he saith also
 in Hosea,

I will call that my people, which was not my people;
 And her beloved, which was not beloved.

26 And it shall be, *that* in the place where it was said unto
 them, Ye are not my people,
 There shall they be called sons of the living God.

9²⁷⁻⁹. *Introduction of the idea of the 'Remnant', which is to recur
 in II¹⁻¹⁰.*

27 And Isaiah crieth concerning Israel, If the number of the
 children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, it is the remnant
 28 that shall be saved: for the Lord will execute *his* word upon the
 earth, finishing it and cutting it short.

29 And, as Isaiah hath said before,

Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed,
 We had become as Sodom, and had been made like unto
 Gomorrah.

9^{30-10¹³}. *First parenthesis: the Jews are responsible for their own
 apostasy—they cannot blame it upon God.*

30 What shall we say then? That the Gentiles, which followed
 not after righteousness, attained to righteousness, even the
 31 righteousness which is of faith: but Israel, following after a law
 32 of righteousness, did not arrive at *that* law. Wherefore? ²Be-
 cause *they sought it* not by faith, but as it were by works.
 33 They stumbled at the stone of stumbling; even as it is written,
 Behold, I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of
 offence:

And he that believeth on ³him shall not be put to shame.

¹ Some ancient authorities omit *and*.
 by faith, but as it were by works, they stumbled

² Or, *Because*, doing it *no*
³ Or, *it*

1 **10** Brethren, my heart's 'desire and my supplication to
 2 God is for them, that they may be saved. For I bear
 them witness that they have a zeal for God, but not according
 3 to knowledge. For being ignorant of God's righteousness, and



'Hath not the potter a right over the clay?' The painted sign over a potter's shop at Pompeii.

seeking to establish their own, they did not subject themselves
 4 to the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law
 5 unto righteousness to every one that believeth. For Moses
 writeth that the man that doeth the righteousness which is of
 6 the law shall live thereby. But the righteousness which is of
 faith saith thus, Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend into
 7 heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down:) or, Who shall descend
 into the abyss? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead.)
 8 But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and
 in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach:

¹ Gr. *good pleasure*.

9 ¹because if thou shalt ²confess with thy mouth Jesus *as* Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the
 10 dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth
 11 unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made
 12 on him shall not be put to shame. For there is no distinction
 between Jew and Greek: for the same *Lord* is Lord of all, and
 13 is rich unto all that call upon him: for, Whosoever shall call
 upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.

10¹⁴⁻²¹. *Second parenthesis: further evidence as to the Jews' responsibility for their own condition.*

14 How then shall they call on him in whom they have not
 believed? and how shall they believe in him whom they have
 15 not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and
 how shall they preach, except they be sent? even as it is writ-
 ten, How beautiful are the feet of them that bring ³glad tidings
 of good things!

16 But they did not all hearken to the ⁴glad tidings. For Isaiah
 17 saith, Lord, who hath believed our report? So belief *cometh* of
 18 hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ. But I say, Did
 they not hear? Yea, verily,

Their sound went out into all the earth,
 And their words unto the ends of ⁵the world.

19 But I say, Did Israel not know? First Moses saith,
 I will provoke you to jealousy with that which is no nation,
 With a nation void of understanding will I anger you.

20 And Isaiah is very bold, and saith,
 I was found of them that sought me not;
 I became manifest unto them that asked not of me.

21 But as to Israel he saith, All the day long did I spread out
 my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

11¹⁻¹². *There is hope for the Jews in the doctrine of the Remnant.*

11 I say then, Did God cast off his people? God forbid. For
 I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the
 2 tribe of Benjamin. God did not cast off his people which he
 foreknew. Or wot ye not what the scripture saith ⁶of Elijah?
 3 how he pleadeth with God against Israel, Lord, they have killed

¹ Or, *that*
⁵ Or, *the inhabited earth.*

² Some ancient authorities read *confess the word with thy mouth, that Jesus is Lord.*

³ Or, *a gospel*

⁴ Or, *gospel*

⁶ Or, *in*

- thy prophets, they have digged down thine altars: and I am
 4 left alone, and they seek my life. But what saith the answer
 of God unto him? I have left for myself seven thousand men,
 5 who have not bowed the knee to Baal. Even so then at this
 present time also there is a remnant according to the election
 6 of grace. But if it is by grace, it is no more of works: otherwise
 7 grace is no more grace. What then? That which Israel seeketh
 for, that he obtained not; but the election obtained it, and the
 8 rest were hardened: according as it is written, God gave them
 a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see, and ears that
 9 they should not hear, unto this very day. And David saith,
 Let their table be made a snare, and a trap,
 And a stumblingblock, and a recompense unto them:
 10 Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see,
 And bow thou down their back away.
 11 I say then, Did they stumble that they might fall? God forbid:
 but by their ¹fall salvation *is come* unto the Gentiles, for to
 12 provoke them to jealousy. Now if their fall is the riches of
 the world, and their loss the riches of the Gentiles; how much
 more their fulness?
- 11¹³⁻²⁴. *Third parenthesis: the Gentiles not to boast of God's apparent
 preference for them, but to take warning by the apostasy of the Jews.*
- 13 But I speak to you that are Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I
 14 am an apostle of Gentiles, I glorify my ministry: if by any
 means I may provoke to jealousy *them that are* my flesh, and
 15 may save some of them. For if the casting away of them *is*
 the reconciling of the world, what *shall* the receiving of *them be*,
 16 but life from the dead? And if the firstfruit is holy, so is the
 17 lump: and if the root is holy, so are the branches. But if some
 of the branches were broken off, and thou, being a wild olive,
 wast grafted in among them, and didst become partaker with
 18 them ²of the root of the fatness of the olive tree; glory not
 over the branches: but if thou gloriest, it is not thou that
 19 bearest the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then,
 20 Branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; by
 their unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by thy
 21 faith. Be not highminded, but fear: for if God spared not the
 22 natural branches, neither will he spare thee. Behold then the
 goodness and severity of God: toward them that fell, severity;
 but toward thee, God's goodness, if thou continue in his

¹ Or, *trespass* ² Many ancient authorities read *of the root and of the fatness*.

23 goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they continue not in their unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God
 24 is able to graft them in again. For if thou wast cut out of that which is by nature a wild olive tree, and wast grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree: how much more shall these, which are the natural *branches*, be grafted into their own olive tree?

II²⁵⁻³². *The purpose of the hardening of the Jews—to open the door to the Gentiles.*

25 For I would not, brethren, have you ignorant of this mystery, lest ye be wise in your own conceits, that a hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come
 26 in; and so all Israel shall be saved: even as it is written,

There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer;
 He shall turn away ¹ungodliness from Jacob:

27 And this is ²my covenant unto them,
 When I shall take away their sins.

28 As touching the gospel, they are enemies for your sake: but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sake.

29 For the gifts and the calling of God are ³without repentance.

30 For as ye in time past were disobedient to God, but now have

31 obtained mercy by their disobedience, even so have these also now been disobedient, that by the mercy shewn to you they

32 also may now obtain mercy. For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all.

II³³⁻⁸. *A doxology.*

33 O the depth ⁴of the riches ⁵both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgements, and

34 his ways past tracing out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? or who hath first

35 given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?

36 For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things. To him *be* the glory ⁶for ever. Amen.

MORAL EXHORTATIONS

II¹⁻². *Introductory.*

12 I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, ⁷acceptable to God, *which is* your ⁸reasonable ⁹service. And be not

¹ Gr. *ungodlinesses*. ² Gr. *the covenant from me*. ³ Gr. *not repented of*.

⁴ Or, *of the riches and the wisdom &c.* ⁵ Or, *both of wisdom &c.*

⁶ Gr. *unto the ages*. ⁷ Gr. *well-pleasing*. ⁸ Or, *spiritual* ⁹ Or, *worship*



A GROVE OF OLIVE-TREES IN GREECE

fashioned according to this ¹world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is ²the good and ³acceptable and perfect will of God.

12³⁻²¹. *First sermon: on brotherhood in the Church.*

3 For I say, through the grace that was given me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but so to think as to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to each man a measure of faith.

4 For even as we have many members in one body, and all the 5 members have not the same office: so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another.

6 And having gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether prophecy, *let us prophesy* according to the pro- 7 portion of ⁴our faith; or ministry, *let us give ourselves* to our 8 ministry; or he that teacheth, to his teaching; or he that exhorteth, to his exhorting: he that giveth, *let him do it* with ⁵liberality; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth 9 mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be without hypocrisy. Ab- 10 hor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. In love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another; in honour 11 preferring one another; in diligence not slothful; fervent in 12 spirit; serving ⁶the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribula- 13 tion; continuing stedfastly in prayer; communicating to the 14 necessities of the saints; ⁷given to hospitality. Bless them that 15 persecute you; bless, and curse not. Rejoice with them that 16 rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another. Set not your mind on high things, but ⁸con- descend to ⁹things that are lowly. Be not wise in your own 17 conceits. Render to no man evil for evil. Take thought for 18 things honourable in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as 19 much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men. Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto ¹⁰wrath: for it is writ- 20 ten, Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of 21 fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

¹ Or, age ² Or, the will of God, even the thing which is good and acceptable and perfect ³ Gr. well-pleasing. ⁴ Or, the faith ⁵ Gr. singleness.

⁶ Some ancient authorities read the opportunity. ⁷ Gr. pursuing.

⁸ Gr. be carried away with.

⁹ Or, them

¹⁰ Or, the wrath of God



'Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers.' Roman magistrates accompanied by lictors carrying *fasces* on their shoulders.

13¹⁻⁷. *Second sermon: on submission to secular powers.*

13 Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God: and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgement. For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. And wouldest thou have no fear of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same: for ¹he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for ¹he beareth not the sword in vain: for ¹he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be in subjection, not only because of the wrath, but also for conscience sake. For for this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing. Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute *is due*; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.

13⁸⁻¹⁰. *All obligations comprehended in the obligation of love.*

8 Owe no man anything, save to love one another: for he that loveth ²his neighbour hath fulfilled ³the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: love therefore is the fulfilment of ³the law.

13¹¹⁻¹⁴. *An appeal for immediate surrender to the claims of love.*

11 And this, knowing the season, that now it is high time for you to awake out of sleep: for now is ⁴salvation nearer to us than when we *first* believed. The night is far spent, and the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in revelling and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and jealousy. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

¹ Or, it

² Gr. the other.

³ Or, law

⁴ Or, our salvation nearer than when &c.

14¹-15¹³. *Third sermon: on the scruples of weaker brethren.*

14 But him that is weak in faith receive ye, yet not ¹to
 2 doubtful disputations. One man hath faith to eat all
 3 things: but he that is weak eateth herbs. Let not him that
 eateth set at nought him that eateth not; and let not him that
 eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him.
 4 Who art thou that judgest the ²servant of another? to his own
 lord he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be made to stand;
 5 for the Lord hath power to make him stand. One man esteem-
 eth one day above another: another esteemeth every day *alike*.
 6 Let each man be fully assured in his own mind. He that
 regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord: and he that
 eateth, eateth unto the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and
 he that eateth not, unto the Lord he eateth not, and giveth
 7 God thanks. For none of us liveth to himself, and none dieth
 8 to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or
 whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live there-
 9 fore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ died, and
 lived *again*, that he might be Lord of both the dead and the
 10 living. But thou, why dost thou judge thy brother? or thou
 again, why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall
 11 all stand before the judgement-seat of God. For it is written,
 As I live, saith the Lord, to me every knee shall bow,
 And every tongue shall ³confess to God.
 12 So then each one of us shall give account of himself to God.
 13 Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge
 ye this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock in his brother's
 14 way, or an occasion of falling. I know, and am persuaded in
 the Lord Jesus, that nothing is unclean of itself: save that to
 him who accounteth anything to be unclean, to him it is un-
 15 clean. For if because of meat thy brother is grieved, thou
 walkest no longer in love. Destroy not with thy meat him for
 16 whom Christ died. Let not then your good be evil spoken of:
 17 for the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteous-
 18 ness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that herein
 serveth Christ is well-pleasing to God, and approved of men.
 19 So then ⁴let us follow after things which make for peace, and
 20 things whereby we may edify one another. Overthrow not for
 meat's sake the work of God. All things indeed are clean;

¹ Or, for decisions of doubts

² Gr. household-servant.

³ Or, give praise

⁴ Many ancient authorities read *we follow*.

21 howbeit it is evil for that man who eateth with offence. It is good not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor *to do anything* whereby thy brother stumbleth.¹ The faith which thou hast, have thou to thyself before God. Happy is he that judgeth not himself in that which he ²approveth. But he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because *he eateth* not of faith; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin.³

15 Now we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let each one of us please his neighbour for that which is good, unto edifying. For Christ also pleased not himself; but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell upon me. For whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have hope. Now the God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of the same mind one with another according to Christ Jesus: that with one accord ye may with one mouth glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore receive ye one another, even as Christ also received⁴ you, to the glory of God. For I say that Christ hath been made a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, that he might confirm the promises *given* unto the fathers, and that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy; as it is written,

Therefore will I ⁵give praise unto thee among the Gentiles,
And sing unto thy name.

10 And again he saith,

Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.

11 And again,

Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles;
And let all the peoples praise him.

12 And again, Isaiah saith,

There shall be the root of Jesse,
And he that ariseth to rule over the Gentiles;
On him shall the Gentiles hope.

13 Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, in the power of the Holy Ghost.

¹ Many ancient authorities add *or is offended, or is weak.* ² Or, *putteth to the test* ³ Many authorities, some ancient, insert here ch. xvi. 25-7. ⁴ Some ancient authorities read *us.* ⁵ Or, *confess*

SOME PERSONAL NOTES

15¹⁴⁻¹⁶. *An apology for the tenor of the epistle.*

14 And I myself also am persuaded of you, my brethren, that
ye yourselves are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge,
15 able also to admonish one another. But I write the more
boldly unto you in some measure, as putting you again in
remembrance, because of the grace that was given me of God,
16 that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles,
ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the
Gentiles might be made acceptable, being sanctified by the
Holy Ghost.

15¹⁷⁻²¹. *The success of the mission to the Gentiles.*

17 I have therefore my glorying in Christ Jesus in things per-
18 taining to God. For I will not dare to speak of any ²things
save those which Christ wrought through me, for the obedience
of the Gentiles, by word and deed, in the power of signs and
19 wonders, in the power of ³the Holy Ghost; so that from Jerusa-
lem, and round about even unto Illyricum, I have ⁴fully
20 preached the gospel of Christ; yea, ⁵making it my aim so to
preach the gospel, not where Christ was *already* named, that
21 I might not build upon another man's foundation; but, as it
is written,

They shall see, to whom no tidings of him came,
And they who have not heard shall understand.

15²²⁻⁹. *Present and future plans.*

22 Wherefore also I was hindered these many times from com-
23 ing to you: but now, having no more any place in these
regions, and having these many years a longing to come unto
24 you, whensoever I go unto Spain (for I hope to see you in my
journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if
first in some measure I shall have been satisfied with your
25 company)—but now, *I say*, I go unto Jerusalem, ministering
26 unto the saints. For it hath been the good pleasure of Mace-
donia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor
27 among the saints that are at Jerusalem. Yea, it hath been
their good pleasure; and their debtors they are. For if the
Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things,

¹ Gr. *ministering in sacrifice.*
wrought not through me.

² Gr. *of those things which Christ*
³ Many ancient authorities read *the Spirit of*
God. One reads *the Spirit.*

⁴ Gr. *fulfilled.*

⁵ Gr. *being ambitious.*

they owe it *to them* also to minister unto them in carnal things.
 28 When therefore I have accomplished this, and have sealed to
 29 them this fruit, I will go on by you unto Spain. And I know
 that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the
 blessing of Christ.

15³⁰⁻³. *A request for prayer.*

30 Now I beseech you, brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and
 by the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in
 31 your prayers to God for me; that I may be delivered from them
 that are disobedient in Judæa, and *that* my ministration which
 32 *I have* for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints; that I
 may come unto you in joy through the will of God, and
 33 together with you find rest. Now the God of peace be with you
 all. Amen.

GREETINGS AND CONCLUSION

16¹⁻². *Commendation of Phœbe, a deaconess of Cenchreæ.*

2 **16** I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a ¹servant
 of the church that is at Cenchreæ: that ye receive her in
 the Lord, worthily of the saints, and that ye assist her in whatso-
 ever matter she may have need of you: for she herself also
 hath been a succourer of many, and of mine own self.

16³⁻¹⁶. *Greetings.*

3 Salute Prisca and Aquila my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus,
 4 who for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not
 only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles:
 5 and *salute* the church that is in their house. Salute Epænetus
 6 my beloved, who is the firstfruits of Asia unto Christ. Salute
 7 Mary, who bestowed much labour on you. Salute Andronicus
 and ²Junias, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are
 of note among the apostles, who also have been in Christ
 8 before me. Salute Ampliatus my beloved in the Lord. Salute
 9 Urbanus our fellow-worker in Christ, and Stachys my beloved.
 10 Salute Apelles the approved in Christ. Salute them which are
 11 of the *household* of Aristobulus. Salute Herodion my kins-
 man. Salute them of the *household* of Narcissus, which are
 12 in the Lord. Salute Tryphæna and Tryphosa, who labour in
 the Lord. Salute Persis the beloved, which laboured much in the

¹ Or, *deaconess*

² Or, *Junia*



THE BAY OF CENCHREÆ

13 Lord. Salute Rufus the chosen in the Lord, and his mother
 14 and mine. Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas,
 15 Hermas, and the brethren that are with them. Salute Philolo-
 gus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all the
 16 saints that are with them. Salute one another with a holy kiss.
 All the churches of Christ salute you.

16¹⁷⁻²⁰. *A final exhortation.*

17 Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which are causing
 the divisions and occasions of stumbling, contrary to the 'doc-
 18 trine which ye learned: and turn away from them. For they
 that are such serve not our Lord Christ, but their own belly;
 and by their smooth and fair speech they beguile the hearts of
 19 the innocent. For your obedience is come abroad unto all
 men. I rejoyce therefore over you: but I would have you wise
 unto that which is good, and simple unto that which is evil.
 20 And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.
 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

16²¹⁻³. *An afterthought: personal greetings.*

21 Timothy my fellow-worker saluteth you; and Lucius and
 22 Jason and Sosipater, my kinsmen. I Tertius, ²who write the
 23 epistle, salute you in the Lord. Gaius my host, and of the
 whole church, saluteth you. Erastus the treasurer of the city
 saluteth you, and Quartus the brother.³

16²⁵⁻⁷. *Doxology.*

25 ⁴Now to him that is able to stablish you according to my
 gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the
 revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence
 26 through times eternal, but now is manifested, and ⁵by the
 scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of
 the eternal God, is made known unto all the nations unto
 27 obedience ⁶of faith; to the only wise God, through Jesus
 Christ, ⁷to whom be the glory ⁸for ever. Amen.

¹ Or, *teaching* ² Or, *who write the epistle in the Lord, salute you*
³ Some ancient authorities insert here ver. 24 *The grace of our Lord Jesus*
Christ be with you all. Amen, and omit the like words in ver. 20. ⁴ Some
 ancient authorities omit vv. 25-7. Compare the end of ch. xiv. ⁵ Gr.
through. ⁶ Or, *to the faith* ⁷ Some ancient authorities omit *to*
whom. ⁸ Gr. *unto the ages.*



The tomb mosaic of an early Christian, Victoria, found in N. Africa. She is represented in the attitude of prayer. The man above is seated at a desk, writing

COMMENTARY

ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE

I. INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPHS (1¹⁻¹⁵).

- (A) 1¹⁻⁷: Salutation.
- (B) 1⁸⁻¹²: Thanksgiving and prayer.
- (C) 1¹³⁻¹⁵: A personal note.

II. THE MAIN THEME (1^{16-8³⁹}).

- (A) 1^{16-3²⁰}: The justification of God—His hostility to sin.
- (B) 3²¹⁻³¹: The justification of man—the Atonement.
- (C) 4¹⁻²⁵: The place of faith in salvation—the example of Abraham.
- (D) 5^{1-8³⁹}: The sanctification of the Christian.

III. SPECIAL TOPICS (9^{1-15¹³}).

- (A) 9^{1-11³⁶}: The problem of Judaism.
- (B) 12^{1-15¹³}: Moral exhortations.

IV. CONCLUSION (15¹⁴⁻¹⁶).

- (A) 15¹⁴⁻³³: Some personal notes.
- (B) 16^{1-end}: Greetings and conclusion.

I. 1¹⁻¹⁵. INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPHS

(A). 1¹⁻⁷. SALUTATION

All letters of S. Paul's time began with a routine formula mentioning (a) *the writer*, (b) *the recipient*, (c) *the greeting* (cp. Acts 23²⁶—Claudius Lysias' letter to Felix). So here we have: (a) *The writer*, of whom we learn that he is (i) *a slave of Jesus Christ*, (ii) *called to be an apostle*, (iii) *separated unto the gospel of God* (1¹). The *grace* and *apostleship* thus received issue in a mission (iv) to preach *obedience to the faith* (so, rightly, marg.) *among all nations, for his Name's sake* (1⁶). (b) *The recipients: all that are in Rome* (1⁷). They have already been included in the *nations* as called to be *Jesus Christ's* (1⁶), and are now further designated as *beloved of God*, and called to be *saints*. (c) *The salutation: grace and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ* (1⁷).

But S. Paul uses his paragraph of greeting to introduce a special feature: (d) *a summary of the gospel*, which was *promised afore by God's prophets in the holy scriptures* (1²), and is centred upon *his*

Son (I³), even *Jesus Christ our Lord*, who was (i) *born of the seed of David according to the flesh*, (ii) *declared the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness* (iii) *by the resurrection of the dead* (I⁴).

This salutation should be compared with others in the New Testament. In them, if we include the Pastoral Epistles, S. Paul mentions his *slavery to Christ or God*, twice elsewhere; his *apostleship* six times, adding on five occasions that this is *through the will*, or *according to the appointment, of God*, or *through Christ, and not through man* (see Gal. I¹). His *calling* occurs only once elsewhere (I Cor. I¹). Only in the Thessalonian letters (where Silvanus and Timothy join in the greeting) does he omit to give any description of himself. In five other letters he uses the word *saints* of his correspondents; in two (Gal. I⁴, Tit. I³. 3) there are brief summaries of aspects of the gospel; the invariable salutation is *grace and peace*, except in the two letters to Timothy, where we have *grace, mercy, peace*.

I¹. *a servant* (δούλος, R.V. mg. 'bond-servant'): i.e. a 'slave'.

The 'slave of God' or 'of the Lord' was a familiar Old Testament formula for the loyal adherent of Jahweh (e.g. Abraham and Moses, Ps. 105⁶. 20; Joshua, Judges 2⁹; David, Ps. 89³. 30; Zerubbabel, Hag. 2²³); there was a similar usage in the Oriental mystery religions. For the New Testament cp. Acts 4¹⁰, I Thess. I⁹, Rom. 6¹⁸, Rev. I¹, 2²⁰, 11¹⁸, &c. S. Paul, however, prefers to speak of 'slaves of *Jesus Christ*'; so here and Gal. I¹⁰, Phil. I¹. The natural implication of the phrase is, of course, 'undeviating obedience', and as such it is of vital importance for S. Paul's ethical teaching (cp. 6^{18ff.}). But the 'slaves' *par excellence* of an Oriental monarch were 'his courtiers that are in personal attendance on him' (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 69), and so persons of wide powers and high responsibilities. So S. Paul, in the same breath in which he says *Ye are Christ's*, says also *All things are yours* (I Cor. 3²¹⁻³).

called: so continually of the prophets and leaders of the nation in the Old Testament (cp. *supra*, pp. 121, 125), with whom S. Paul thus ranks himself and his readers (I^{6,7}), as in the next word he does with the twelve apostles.

apostle: originally an 'envoy', 'messenger', so literally in 2 Cor. 8²³, Phil. 2²⁵. In the gospels the word is restricted to the Twelve, but the general usage in primitive Christianity was to apply it to any distinguished evangelist (Rom. 16⁷; cp. I Cor. 12²⁸, Eph. 4¹¹); although from Gal. I¹ it appears that in all normal cases such an 'apostle' would have to have a commission from the Church.

separated: 'set apart' from the general body of believers for a



WRITING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Roman portrait of a lady (probably a poetess) writing with stylus and tablets.

particular task (cp. Acts 13², Gal. 1¹⁵), as Aaron (1 Chron. 23¹³) and the Levites (Num. 8¹⁴) were set apart.

1². *promised afore by his prophets*: cp. 3²¹, and *supra*, pp. 47, 76.

1⁸.⁴. On S. Paul's Christology, *supra*, pp. 102-8.

1⁵. *grace*: *supra*, pp. 75, 90.

unto obedience of faith: cp. 16²⁶. In view of Acts 6⁷, most commentators render 'obedience to the faith' (cp. R.V. mg.)—'the faith' being regarded as a synonym for 'the Christian gospel'; and, despite the fact that S. Paul habitually uses 'faith' for a subjective quality of the Christian, and that there is no definite article here, this would

still seem to be the best translation, for otherwise, 'obedience' would be left without mention of anything or any one to whom it was to be rendered. See note on 6¹⁶.

1⁷. *all that are in Rome*: on the text, *supra*, pp. 12-14; and on the Roman Church, *supra*, p. 22.

saints: *supra*, pp. 87, 88.

Grace and peace: S. Paul dexterously adapts the familiar Greek salutation (*χαίρειν*) into a wish that his correspondents may be endowed with grace (*χάρις*). For *peace* cp. 5¹.

the Lord Jesus Christ: *supra*, p. 103.

(B) 1⁸⁻¹². THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER

A *thanksgiving* to God for the faith and good renown of his correspondents follows the salutation in every epistle, except Gal. and 2 Cor., written on occasions when S. Paul was dissatisfied with their behaviour. This usually leads up to a *prayer* for those to whom he is writing, or at all events a mention of his prayers for them, as here. Here also S. Paul is elaborating a theme common even in the secular letters of his day; but with the delicacy of one addressing a Church whose *faith is proclaimed throughout the world* (ver. 8—cp. 1 Thess. 1⁸), and in the foundation of which he had had no share. The main subject of his prayer is that he may *now at length be prospered by the will of God to come unto them* (ver. 10). He is certain that he will be *comforted* ('strengthened'—ver. 12) by such a meeting, but is not without hope that this comfort will be mutual. He may be able to *impart unto them some spiritual gift, to the end that they may be established* (ver. 11), and so he will *have some fruit in them also* (ver. 13). *Greeks and barbarians* (ver. 14) have both put him in their debt by receiving him kindly when he *preached the gospel* (ver. 15) to them (on the play on words here see note on ver. 14); now he hopes that *Rome* will show him the like kindness.

1^{10, 12}. *now at length . . . oftentimes I purposed*: *supra*, p. 24, and cp. 15^{22, 23}.

1¹¹. *some spiritual gift*. When *charisma* (*gift*) is used by S. Paul in passages such as this, where the primary emphasis is upon its reception by the Christian (as distinct from his use where the primary reference is to its bestowal by God—e.g. 5^{16, 18}, 6²³, 11²⁰), it always means a distinct personal endowment, the outcome of the grace of the Lord (cp. 12⁶), which can be put at the service of others. In 12⁶⁻⁸ many of these 'gifts' are what we should call normal activities or virtues (cp. 1 Cor. 7⁷), but in 1 Cor. 12-14, where they are specially

connected with the *Spirit* (as here) they are mostly of an abnormal kind—eloquence, prophecy, speaking with tongues, healings, &c. (1 Cor. 12^{6-11, 28, 30}). He is probably hinting gently that he himself possesses gifts of this kind (cp. 1 Cor. 14¹⁶), whereas most of them do not; he may therefore be able to do something towards *establishing* them.

(C) I¹³⁻¹⁵. A PERSONAL NOTE

I¹⁴. *I am debtor*: pleasantly ambiguous—'I owe the Gentiles everywhere gratitude for the way they have received me and made it possible for me to *have fruit* in them; consequently I look forward confidently to the same kindness from you'; but also 'I have a duty to preach throughout the Gentile world, and will discharge it even in Rome'.

Greeks and Barbarians: 'civilized and uncivilized' Gentiles.

I¹⁵. Although *Greeks and Barbarians* probably covers the entire Gentile world (including Rome), and *wise and foolish* the whole of mankind, in ver. 15 S. Paul ignores these distinctions, and makes *Rome* stand out proudly over against all other localities, 'Greek and Barbarian' alike. But underneath this emphasis there are the facts that Rome is Gentile (vv. 6, 13), whilst he is the apostle of the Gentiles (cp. 11¹³, 15¹⁶, Acts 9¹⁵, 22²¹, Gal. 2^{7, 8}, 1 Tim. 2⁷); hence he has both a duty to them and a claim upon them.

II. I¹⁶⁻³². THE MAIN THEME

(A) I¹⁶⁻³². THE JUSTIFICATION OF GOD

The gospel reveals God's hostility to sin, and thus eliminates any suspicion of divine indifference.

For this section see Introduction, pp. 33-7. The passage is involved and continuous, but its main points are as follows:

- (i) The gospel reveals that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, God is righteous, in that He cannot endure sin (I¹⁶⁻¹⁸);
- (ii) for human sin is without excuse (I^{19, 20, 21-5}), and comes under divine condemnation (2⁶⁻¹⁶);
- (iii) both among the Gentiles (I²¹⁻³²);
- (iv) and among the Jews (2¹⁷⁻²⁹);
- (v) who are in as bad a case as the Gentiles, though not indeed any worse (3¹⁻¹⁹);
- (vi) for 'works' (the best solution of the problem of sin that law can offer) can never 'justify' (3²⁰).

At this point S. Paul changes his line of approach and begins to consider the second problem—the justification of sinful man. But we can discern from the next ten verses that, if his argument

had not in this way been interrupted, it would have continued as follows:

(vii) This hostility of God to sin was indeed proclaimed by the law and the prophets (3²¹), though not to such a degree as to erase the impression of His indifference (3²⁵);

(viii) but He has now revealed it by an entirely new method (3²¹)—it is to be seen, not so much in the punishment of sin, as in the redemption of sinners by the blood of Jesus (3²⁴⁻⁵);

(ix) the proclamation of the law (and the prophets (3²¹)) being thus confirmed (3³¹).

These ideas are grouped by S. Paul into four main paragraphs:

(a) I¹⁶⁻¹⁸. *The righteousness of God revealed by the gospel.*

I¹⁶. He is not ashamed of the gospel, although recent experience at Corinth has taught him that it is *unto Jews a stumblingblock, and unto Gentiles foolishness* (I Cor. I²³). Actually it is the *power of God* (cp. I Cor. I^{18, 24}) *unto salvation*. By *power* is meant an 'active manifestation of power'; for *salvation* see *supra*, p. 47. *To the Jew first and also to the Greek*; cp. 2^{9, 10}, 9³⁴—the exigencies of the situation at Rome (*supra*, p. 27) no doubt account for the repeated appearances of this phrase; here, however, it states no more than the historical fact that the gospel was first preached to the Jews. Marcion's version did not have the word *first* here, and he might well have omitted it on theological grounds; but MSS. evidence suggests that its absence may be original, and that it has crept in by assimilation from 2^{9, 10}.

I^{17, 18}. On the connexion between these two verses, *supra*, pp. 34, 36.

I¹⁷. *a righteousness of God: supra*, pp. 33-7, 46, 89. *From* (as mg.) *faith unto faith*: perhaps mainly rhetorical (= 'revealed to faith'—similar expressions in Ps. 84⁷, 2 Cor. 2¹⁶, 3¹⁸, 4¹⁷ (Gk.—the English version paraphrases)), but certainly implying the idea of a progressive revelation grasped by deepening faith. On S. Paul's use of 'faith', *supra*, pp. 71-4.

the righteous shall live by faith: from Hab. 2⁴. Probably a Christian proof-text, since it is also quoted in Gal. 3¹¹, Heb. 10³⁸; and it is not very appropriate here, where S. Paul's main purpose might be expressed in the words 'The *unrighteous* or *ungodly* (cp. 4⁸) shall receive (spiritual) life by faith'. But he may have taken the prophecy to mean, 'He that is righteous (i.e. justified) by faith shall live'—a rendering of which the Greek is capable: cp. *τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ* in 3²⁷. In the original, 'faith' means 'loyalty', 'fidelity', and 'steadfastness', rather than the 'faith' which S. Paul will later describe.

I¹⁸. *the wrath of God: supra*, p. 35; *who hold down* ('hinder', 'repress', 'suppress') *the truth*: whether expressed by the insight of natural religion (1²⁰) and conscience (2¹⁶), or by the Mosaic law (2¹⁷).

(b) 1¹⁹-2²¹. *Human sin without excuse, both among Gentiles (1¹⁹⁻²²) and among Jews (2¹⁻²⁰).*

1^{19a}. *manifest in them*; i.e. manifest both *to* them (see 19^b) and also *in* them, because the truth should have been learnt from their progressive degradation (vv. 24-32).

1²⁰. *the invisible things of him*. That 'the invisible things are eternal' (2 Cor. 4¹⁸—but with τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα instead of τὰ ἀόρατα), and conversely that 'God is invisible' (John 1¹⁸, 6⁴⁶, Col. 1¹⁵, 1 Tim. 1¹⁷, Heb. 11²⁷), were primary religious convictions of the ancient world; hence the desire to 'see God' (despite this limitation) was a universal aspiration. To see the 'invisible things of God' came nearest to seeing God in His essence; and S. Paul shows himself a true Jew in insisting that these 'invisible things' can be discerned by the thoughtful and earnest scrutiny of the course of history; though he insists less upon the evidence from God's providential dealings with the Chosen People than he would have done if his upbringing had been more narrowly Jewish. His statement shows the influence of Greek thought in its appeal to universal natural religion; and of his Christian experience, in his making the centre of revealed religion not Jewish national history, but the gospel of Christ. On the limitations of his appreciation of natural religion, *supra*, pp. 38, 39.

since the creation of the world: or perhaps 'from the created universe'. *power and divinity*: 'God in action' and 'God in essence'; following the order of discovery, since from His operations His character is inferred.

1²¹. The first stage in man's downfall—he makes his own opinions (*reasonings*) and desires (*heart*) the supreme standard of his actions, abandoning the attempt to discover the nature and will of God. Cp. Wisd. 11¹⁵ with this and the following verse.

became vain: better 'were reduced to futility'—cp. note on 8²⁰.

1^{23, 25}. The second stage—idolatry. S. Paul here expresses that inner relationship between idolatry and hedonism or self-seeking (1²¹) which justified the Jew in his undying polemic against idol-worship. Idolatry is naturally polytheistic; and the essence of polytheism, which admits deities of every kind and character, is to placate those gods who seem most likely to gratify the worshippers' own desires and lusts. The point is put even more concisely in Col. 3⁵.

the likeness of an image: *supra*, p. 106.

1^{24, 26, 28}. The third stage—*God gives them up* (*supra*, pp. 41-3). The threefold repetition of the phrase seems to be merely rhetorical. On the catalogues of vices, *supra*, p. 40. S. Paul here gives two catalogues, (a) 1^{24, 26, 27}—sins against nature; (b) 1²⁸⁻³²—sins against society. Unnatural vice was rare in Judaism, hence S. Paul connects it specifically with pagan idolatry. On S. Paul's use of the Book of Wisdom, *supra*, p. 40.

1²⁸. A play on words here (οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν . . . ἀδόκιμον νοῦν) lost in the

English version. We might paraphrase: 'As they recked nothing of God, He gave them over to recklessness.'

those things which are not fitting (τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα): a definite allusion to the Stoic conception of τὸ καθήκον, 'duty'.

I²⁹⁻³². In the Greek there is a certain amount of rhyme and alliteration in this catalogue, which the English has lost. There are some curious MS variations in the verses, but they do not affect their main purport in any way.

I³². *not only do the same, but also consent with* (= 'applaud') *them that practise them*: not an anti-climax; wicked actions may be no more than occasional moral lapses, but cynical approval of evil can never be condoned.

2¹. *whosoever thou art that judgest*. The official indictment of the Jews does not open until 2¹⁷, but it has already begun to influence S. Paul's train of thought. It was the Jew especially who *judged and condemned the pagan world*.

2⁴. The real explanation of God's apparent indifference to sin; but in so far as the Jew is specially in S. Paul's mind, it is a reply to the unspoken argument: 'We as a race have not suffered the moral degradation which you say is the punishment of sin; hence there can be nothing of which we ought to repent' (cp. Wisd. 15¹⁻⁶ for an expression of this sentiment in a nobler form). 'On the contrary', S. Paul says, 'in so far as you have been exempted from punishment which you deserve as much as any other, you ought to be all the more eager to repent' (cp. Wisd. 11^{23-12²}).

2⁵. *wrath in the day of wrath*, *supra*, p. 35. The *day of wrath* is S. Paul's equivalent for the Old Testament *day of the Lord*, *supra*, p. 132; he uses the latter (or a paraphrase, e.g. *day of our Lord Jesus Christ*) only in passages from which the idea of 'wrathful judgement' is wholly or almost wholly absent (e.g. 1 Cor. 1⁸, 5⁸, 2 Cor. 1¹⁴, Phil. 1⁶, 1¹⁰, 2 Thess. 2⁸, but contrast 1 Thess. 5⁸), thus remaining true to his principle that 'anger' should not be predicated of God unless it is absolutely necessary (as in 1¹⁸⁻¹⁹) to the argument.

2⁶. *Supra*, p. 36.

2⁷. *patience* includes also the idea of *perseverance*.

eternal life. This favourite Johannine phrase is used by S. Paul only in this epistle (5²¹, 6²⁸, 23) and once in Galatians (6⁸). It occurs in the Pastorals. S. Paul prefers the thought of the Christian's resurrection and reign with Christ in glory (*supra*, pp. 63, 64, 131).

2⁸. *factions* (ἰδίαιτης): a difficult word to translate—perhaps 'unscrupulously self-seeking' gives the full meaning. See Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.

2⁹. *the Jew first*: cp. 1¹⁸. Here the Jew has precedence because of the greater responsibilities laid upon him by the law: the repetition of the phrase in the next verse is purely rhetorical, for the Jew has no precedence in respect of 'working good'.

2¹¹. Cp. Acts 10³⁴, Col. 3²⁵, Eph. 6⁹, 1 Pet. 1¹⁷.

2¹². The reference throughout this verse is to the Mosaic law; *those who have sinned without the law* are the Gentiles, and *they shall perish without the law*—i.e. on the basis of natural justice, apart from any special denunciations of sin in the Mosaic law.

2¹³. *a law*: here also *the Mosaic law*. Though the fact of his *having heard the law* gives the Jew special responsibilities (cp. note on 2⁹), it does not—as so many Jews claimed by virtue of the covenant relationship (see on 3¹)—give him any special exemption from the punishment due to an evil life.

justified: in the specific sense of 'legitimately acquitted', not the more general Pauline sense of 'relieved from despair' (*supra*, pp. 48–56).

2^{14, 15}. The context shows clearly when the word *law* means *the Mosaic law* and when it means *the natural law*. On the 'natural law of conscience', *supra*, pp. 38, 39. The purpose of these verses is twofold:

(a) to suggest against the Jew that some Gentiles at least, though without the privilege of the Mosaic law, may *do by nature the things of the law*, and so to strike a blow at Jewish complacency (cp. 2^{1, 17});

(b) to checkmate a possible excuse which the Gentiles might put forward: 'We had not the privilege of knowing the law, and therefore our guilt is not so heinous' (*supra*, p. 38). Neither here nor in 2^{7, 10, 26}, does S. Paul actually assert that any Gentile *has* perfectly fulfilled the will of God; indeed, since his main purpose is to prove that no one at all has ever done so, any such statement would be wholly repugnant to him.

2¹⁵. *the work of the law*: i.e. 'the precepts of the law as to the actions (*works*) we ought to perform'.

one with another: either of the thoughts, 'in inward debate'; or of the thinkers, 'in their reciprocal judgements of each other's moral worth'.

2¹⁶. This verse belongs closely to 13; hence 14, 15 must be read as a parenthesis, unless we transpose the order, and put 16 before 14, 15 (so Moffatt, but there is no MS. authority for this). But the purpose of the verse is not clear. Is the essence of S. Paul's *gospel* that the historic *Jesus* is the Messiah who (according to common belief) should act as God's vicegerent in the *day* of judgement; or should we interpret 'even according to my gospel, which by its proclamation of free grace seems at first sight to contradict the doctrine of judgement by works'? On the basis of 16²⁵, the second is perhaps the better interpretation. In this case the words 'by Jesus Christ' mean 'committed to me by Jesus Christ'.

2¹⁷. The specific indictment of the Jews (cp. note on 2¹). Here the enumeration of Jewish privileges (vv. 17–20) is ironical, as may be seen from the repeated ambiguities of the words used; later (3³, 9^{4, 5}) S. Paul will show how real the privileges are. Behind the catalogue

of privileges, however, lies the scarcely veiled suggestion (as in 2¹, and openly in 3²⁷) that what the Jew really 'rests' and 'glories' in is his own personal righteousness—like that of the Pharisee (Luke 18^{9-11, 12}), or even of S. Paul himself in his Jewish days (Phil. 3⁸, Gal. 1¹⁴).

restest (ἐπανάσῃ). The verb implies 'to rely, but to rely indolently or complacently'.

gloriest (καυχᾶσαι): 'to find glory in God, but also to boast about it'.

2¹⁸. *approve the things that are excellent*: cp. Phil. 1¹⁰. The phrase is a compact one: *approve* (δοκιμάζεις) may also be translated *discern*, and *the things that are excellent* (τὰ διαφέροντα) might mean *the difference between right and wrong*. In the present context (though not in Phil. 1¹⁰), the pregnant character of the words may perhaps suggest the attitude of unctuous self-satisfaction which the Jew adopted towards his manifold privileges.

2¹⁹. *art confident*: 'art persuaded, with or without good reason' (cp. 2 Cor. 10⁷).

2²⁰. *the form* (μόρφωσις): 'the full embodiment'; cp. *supra*, p. 106 n., and notes on 8²⁹, 12².

2²¹⁻⁴. A catalogue of Jewish sinfulness. S. Paul must have had chapter and verse for his accusations; in ver. 24 (*The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you*) he adapts Isa. 52⁵ with an assurance only possible to one who knew his opponents dared not reply that the Gentiles' inference was unwarranted. The sin of *robbing* (*heathen*) *temples* (ver. 22) consisted not so much in the theft, as in touching 'the accursed thing'. Acts 19³⁷ shows that it was a Jewish offence of which the Roman courts had often to take cognizance. But even if a Jew claimed to be guiltless of any of the specific sins mentioned, there was a metaphorical sense in which he might be said to have committed them all (*supra*, p. 44).

2²⁵⁻⁹. Throughout this chapter S. Paul has in mind an imaginary Jewish opponent, whose main thesis is, 'We are not in so bad a plight as the Gentiles'. The evidence adduced in support of this thesis may be inferred from the text; in ver. 4 (see above) it is, 'We have not suffered the same degradation, and therefore cannot be so wicked'; in ver. 13, 'We have heard the law, and so possess it as a kind of talisman which will protect us whether we obey it or not'—the same thought underlies verses 17, 18. Defeated in this plea (for there was no covenant by which the mere 'hearing of the law' conferred impunity) the Jew takes refuge in his strongest argument: 'We have received the seal of circumcision, and this by God's ordinance and covenant protects us from the full force of His anger.' Any such magical plea S. Paul rejects, as he does equally in respect of the Christian sacraments (1 Cor. 10¹⁻¹³); it runs counter to the primary nature of a God whose character, even in the Old Testament revelation, is that of holiness.

2²⁵. *circumcision indeed profiteth*. We are not told how. Throughout the epistle S. Paul allows that the Jew has privileges which are denied to the Gentile (cp. 3², 9^{4, 5}, 11^{16, 28}), but he nowhere deals fully with the obvious question (cp. 3¹): 'In what sense are these privileges of any value, if—on the one hand—all men are to be judged by works, and—on the other—all require the supreme gift of justification by faith?' See, however, note on 3¹⁻⁴.

2^{26, 27}. He insinuates again (cp. 2¹⁴) the unwelcome truth that *some* Gentiles at least are better than *some* Jews. The reward of virtuous Gentiles is that they are to be treated with the full favour which the Jew supposed God to have reserved for the Chosen People (cp. 4¹², 15^{8, 9}); the punishment of wicked Jews that they shall be deprived of any privileges to which their descent and circumcision seem to entitle them. As in 2¹⁴, he does not state explicitly that any Gentiles are in fact sufficiently virtuous to obtain the reward.

2^{28, 29}. Conclusion. The privileges promised to the Jew by virtue of circumcision cannot be claimed by those who are Jews only by outward descent, by *circumcision in the flesh*, or by obedience to the *letter* of the law; they are reserved for those who *inwardly* strive after the ideals, or *spirit* of the law, and of whom it may be said, in a favourite metaphor of the prophets (Deut. 10¹⁶, 30⁶, Jer. 4⁴, 9²⁶, Ezek. 44⁷), that their *circumcision is that of the heart*. Cp. *supra*, p. 116.

(c) 3¹⁻⁸. *Two captious objections considered and dismissed*.

3¹⁻⁴. A petulant outburst by the objector: 'Then of what value are these privileges which you admit were given to the Jew, if he is no more exempt from punishment at God's hands than are the Gentiles?' (Cp. note on 2²⁵). What follows is of the nature of a dramatized discussion, and the violence of the objector shows that he is relying on the rabbinic doctrine that God is so tied to His promises to the Chosen People that no Israelite, however sinful, can fail to attain salvation (Sanday-Headlam, p. 249, for examples; cp. *ibid.*, p. 330, and *supra*, p. 69). This position, however, S. Paul will not admit. He replies (2-4): 'The Jews have the *oracles* ('promises', cp. 9⁴) of God, and however faithless *they* may be, *He* abides by His promises.' This is only the first of many privileges (others are enumerated in 9^{4, 5}, and cp. 11^{16, 28}), which all together went to make up an organic religious system. Every one who belonged to that system, even those who proved to be *without faith*, had a source of inspiration denied to the Gentiles, in having heard the promises of God. But the promises did not guarantee salvation to every Jew, however sinful. S. Paul does not pursue the question here, but takes it up again in 4¹³, where we shall learn that what was promised was exactly that *justification by faith* which the gospel has brought into operation.

3². *oracles* (λόγια): especially used in the Greek Old Testament of prophetic utterances, or 'promises'.



THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL

Two figures from Rheims Cathedral representing (on the left) the Synagogue, blindfolded and with crown slipping off, and the Church.

3³. *some were without faith*: better perhaps, *proved faithless*. The word *some* is curious, in view of the sweeping condemnation of the Jews which has preceded. But the final apostasy of Judaism, in the minds of the New Testament writers, did not occur until they rejected the Christian message; *then* both privileges and promises were taken from the Jewish Church and handed over to the Christian community (cp. Gal. 4²¹⁻³¹, 6¹⁶, Phil. 3³, *supra*, pp. 115, 116). S. Paul is here thinking of a period prior to this complete loss of its inheritance by Judaism (it still has the *oracles*), and so for a moment he avoids the use of words which seem to imply its total defection from God.

3⁴. *but every man*: 'even though every man be found untrustworthy'. The quotation is from Ps. 51⁴.

3⁵⁻⁸. A very compressed and difficult passage, in which two¹ separate questions are really confused (*supra*, p. 82). The imaginary objector grants the fact of universal sinfulness, and admits that the privileges of the Covenant do not put the sinful Jew in any better case than the sinful Gentile; but meets the main force of S. Paul's case with the objection, twice stated (vv. 5, 7): 'You say that the wrath of God against sin demonstrates His righteousness. But does it not demonstrate His unrighteousness? Surely our sin does Him a service in manifesting by contrast His righteousness,² just as the Jewish defection from the covenant (as you have rightly said) throws into relief His fidelity to His promises. Hence our sin is, to say the least, fully justified, because (as you yourself say) "the end justifies the means", or "it is legitimate to *do evil that good may come*". Indeed, we might go further and say that God ought to be grateful to us for sinning, because of the opportunities it has given Him. Hence *he is unrighteous who visiteth (me) with wrath*; it is ungrateful of Him to *judge me still as a sinner*.' All this, of course, is purely captious, and has no real bearing upon S. Paul's thesis. So he contents himself with saying (in answer to the first point) that he has never countenanced the maxim, *Let us do evil that good may come* (see note on ver. 8); and (to the second), *Then how shall God judge the world?*—i.e. any such extenuation of sin, on the ground that God can bring good out of it, destroys the entire distinction between right and wrong. A similar perverse sophistry occurs in 6¹. For the real problem at issue (the place of evil in a universe created by an all-powerful and beneficent God) see 8¹⁰, with note there, and *supra*, pp. 128-30, 132, 133.

3⁵. *commendeth* (συνιέναι): 'puts above all question'. *I speak after the manner of men*: as in 6¹⁰ (where the Gk. phrase is slightly different), this means both 'I speak crudely', and 'I use an anthropomorphic metaphor about God'. He is apologizing either for the very

¹ For a possible third see *supra*, p. 123.

² Cp. the context of the words from Ps. 51⁴ which S. Paul has just quoted: 'Against thee, thee only, have I sinned . . . *that thou mayest be justified*. . .'

strong phrase, *who visiteth with wrath*, or else for his apparent, though momentary, acceptance of the suggestion that God can be 'unrighteous'.

3⁷. *why am I also still judged*: better, 'Why even so am I judged'.

3⁸. The objector suggests that S. Paul himself at times has asserted 'Let us do evil that good may follow', and that he must therefore accept the conclusion that where evil is done, and good follows (even if the purpose of the 'evil' was not to produce 'good'!), the evil ought not to be punished. S. Paul might very well have pointed out that the conclusion did not follow from the premises; but he cuts at the root of the argument by denying that he had ever said anything of the kind. It is possible that the objector had some actual practical maxim of S. Paul's in view; for the rule 'Do evil that good may follow' (like 'The end justifies the means') is morally sound if the 'good' to be produced is a matter of absolute obligation, if it outweighs the evil caused in producing it, and if there is no possible alternative course of action.¹ But more probably it is merely a travesty of S. Paul's doctrine of grace, similar to that implied in 6¹: 'Let us sin that grace may abound', to which some of his phraseology (e.g. 4⁸ 'him that worketh not', 4⁶ 'apart from works') gave a certain colour of truth.

(d) 3⁹⁻²⁰. *The theme of universal sinfulness re-emphasized.*

3⁹. *are we in worse case than they?* (*πρωτόχρονετα*—passive): probably the best translation. S. Paul has shown that the Jews are no better off than the Gentiles; he returns to his main theme of *universal* sinfulness by saying casually that they are no worse off: there is nothing to choose between them. Both text and interpretation, however, are very uncertain (see the larger commentaries for details). But the verse is purely transitional, and R.V. gives the only translation which adds anything at all to the argument.

3¹⁰⁻¹⁸. The theme of universal sinfulness clinched by a series of scriptural quotations from Ps. 14¹⁻³ (abridged and adapted), 5⁹, 140⁵, 10⁷, Isa. 59⁷.⁸ (abridged), Ps. 36¹. By some copyist's error S. Paul's anthology of texts at this point was inserted *en bloc* into the 14th Psalm in some LXX manuscripts, and thence has passed into the version of the psalm in the P.B. Psalter.

3¹⁰. A final reminder to the Jew that the passages of scripture (the *law*) just quoted refer primarily to him, and that his sinfulness is therefore proved.

3²⁰. Conclusion of the whole argument, introducing three phrases which are to be of particular importance—the *works of the law, justified*, and *through the law cometh the knowledge of sin*. This last sentence is definitely a new point, and looks forward to 4¹⁵, 5¹⁸, 5²⁰, 7⁷.

¹ See my *Threshold of Ethics*, pp. 35, 36.

(B) 3²¹⁻³¹. THE JUSTIFICATION OF MAN

The gospel reveals God's mercy towards sinners in the Atonement.

See Introduction, pp. 45-57. This section overlaps the previous one; S. Paul has combined the answers to two questions in one. The first question was 'How shall God be vindicated from the (untrue) charge of indifference to sin?' The second question is, 'How shall man be justified from actual sin?' So important is this second question that S. Paul leaves the first all but unanswered. In 3²⁵ he asserts emphatically that it *has* been answered by the death of Christ, but makes no real effort to tell us how (*supra*, p. 45). Instead he devotes himself to the consideration of the second question. The section as a whole, though continuous, may be analysed thus:

[(i) Though the law prescribed *works*, or moral effort, as the means by which man might justify himself, such effort as we are capable of making is insufficient for the purpose; the best that the law can do is to make us sensible of our need of justification (3¹⁹⁻²⁰).]

(ii) The 'law', however (i.e. the Pentateuch, with its story of Abraham), and the prophets together predicted that God would supply our deficiencies by another method (3²¹);

(iii) which is the method of redemption, or propitiation, wrought by Jesus (3²⁴);

(iv) at one and the same time vindicating God from the charge of indifference to sin (3²⁵);

(v) and justifying freely by grace, through faith (3^{22, 24, 26}), both Jew and Gentile (3^{29, 30}), apart from works (3²⁸) and the 'boasting' which works evoke (3²⁷);

(vi) whereby the predictions of the 'law' (and the prophets) are fulfilled (3³¹).

In this section, as is clear from the allusions to it in 4⁶⁻⁸, the primary meaning of 'justification' is 'acquittal': but the secondary meaning of 'relief from anxiety and oppression' is not absent (cp. 3²⁴, ἀπολύτρωσις: 'redemption' or 'ransom'). Similarly, 'righteousness of God' here combines the different meanings the phrase can have—'vindication from the charge of indifference', 'mercy', and probably 'grace' as well; and it is difficult to say which of these is primary (*supra*, pp. 33-7, 46, 89).

3²¹. *a righteousness of God: supra*, pp. 33-7, 46, 89.

the law and the prophets: supra, pp. 47, 76, 77.

manifested (πεφάνερωται): 'revealed as in a flash' by the whole

gospel, as distinct from the progressive revelation (*ἀποκαλύπτεται*) 'from faith to faith' in the Christian's developing apprehension of the gospel's meaning (1¹⁷).

3²² *through faith . . . them that believe* (i.e. 'have faith'). The reduplication is emphatic (as in 1¹⁷), because the words express the very core of S. Paul's gospel.

there is no distinction. He corrects the impression which might have been retained from the passages immediately preceding that his gospel is specially concerned with the Jews only. The same phrase is used of grace in 10¹².

3^{23, 24}. *for all have sinned . . . being justified*: an awkward construction; the sense is obviously 'for *although* all have sinned, they are now justified'. On justification, *supra*, pp. 47-57; on *grace*, p. 75; on *redemption* (ransom), p. 51.

3²³. *fall short of the glory of God.* The 'glory' of God was the visible manifestation of God's presence among men—in the O.T. the *Kaboth* or *Shekinah*, the blaze of light which accompanied a theophany—cp. 9⁴, and Exod. 16¹⁰, 24^{16, 17}, 29⁴³, 33^{18, 22}, &c., Jer. 17¹³, Ezek. 1²⁸, 9³, 10⁴, and constantly; in the N.T. the manifestation of God in the incarnate life of Christ (John 1¹⁴, 2 Cor. 3¹⁸, 4⁶), which is a foretaste of the final vision of God reserved for the life of heaven (5⁸). Even man was created in a sense to be the 'glory of God' (1 Cor. 11⁷), and may become so by the grace of Christ (Rom. 8^{18, 21, 30}, 9²³, and perhaps 5²; 2 Cor. 3¹⁸, 4¹⁷). S. Paul here echoes a well-known rabbinic thought, that man before the Fall was, or possessed, the 'glory of God', and has now lost it by sin.

3²⁴. *propitiation*: better 'means of cleansing' or even 'of forgiveness', *supra*, pp. 65, 66.

through faith, by his blood: certainly right—the marginal 'through faith in his blood' is not to be commended.

to shew his righteousness . . . because of the passing over . . . in the forbearance, *supra*, pp. 34, 35.

3²⁷. *glorying*: 'boasting', see notes on 2¹⁷ and 5⁴; and for the sentiment cp. 1 Cor. 1³⁰, 3²¹, 4⁷, 2 Cor. 11¹³, Eph. 2⁹, &c. *Law* in this verse means 'principle' or 'system'. The system of justification by faith excludes any possibility of a man's priding himself on securing justification by his own moral effort (works). But S. Paul's desire to make an epigram out of this clear statement has led him to the verge of a paradox; as a fact, glorying was equally excluded by the 'law of works', since (as he has been at some pains to show) no one has been able to produce the 'works' which the 'law of works' requires. Nevertheless, in practice the Pharisee, living by a 'law of works', prided himself on having kept the whole law; hence there was a sense in which the 'law of works' did not exclude glorying (*supra*, p. 43).

3²⁸⁻³⁰. A summary recapitulation of the whole position.

3²⁸⁻³⁰. *by faith . . . through faith*: probably a rhetorical antithesis only.
 3³¹. *we establish the law*: by showing (as in the following chapter) that the ultimate purpose of *law* (i.e. the Pentateuch) as of *prophets* (3²¹; cp. 1²) was to foretell the régime of grace through faith (cp. 10⁴). But in a deeper sense, the régime of grace *establishes the principle of law* by showing its true place in the divine economy, both before the coming of Christ (5³⁰, and *supra*, pp. 71, 78) and after it (*supra*, pp. 92, 93).

(C) 4¹⁻²⁵. THE PLACE OF FAITH IN REGARD TO HUMAN SALVATION ILLUSTRATED BY THE EXAMPLE OF ABRAHAM

See Introduction, pp. 71-3. This passage is inserted by S. Paul both to illustrate and emphasize his general assertion of the efficacy of faith, for which he has already prepared the way by repeated references (1¹⁷, 3²², 25ff.); and also to *establish the 'law'* (3³¹)—i.e. to vindicate his assertion (3²¹) that the doctrine of justification by faith was adumbrated in the Pentateuch itself, where the Jew, with his spiritual vision obscured (cp. 2 Cor. 3^{14, 15}), could only read the doctrine of justification by works. The key words are the quotation from Gen. 15⁶: *Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness* (4³). To this S. Paul knits a further proof of his contention (*supra*, p. 78) that Jews and Gentiles are equally intended to receive the blessings of Christ's intervention—it was while he was yet uncircumcised (4¹⁰) that Abraham's faith was blessed (4⁹⁻¹²); and the blessing explicitly made him *heir*, not merely of the dispensation allotted to the Jews, but of *the world* (4¹³), and *the father of us all, . . . of many nations* (4¹⁶⁻¹⁸). The section ends (4²⁴⁻⁵) with a fuller statement of the content of Christian faith. With the whole of this section the parallel argument of Gal. 3 should be compared.

4¹. The reading here is uncertain (see larger commentaries), but the uncertainty does not affect the development of thought. Probably R.V. mg. is most original: *What then shall we say of Abraham, our forefather after the flesh? Our forefather*: the argument of this particular chapter is specially addressed to Jews (or Jewish Christians), and the phrase recalls the idea of the special privileges of the Jew (2¹⁶, 3¹⁻⁴), without adding anything to the solution of the problem involved.

4². Unnecessarily complicated, because S. Paul wished to lay supreme emphasis upon the words *not before God*. The meaning is, 'If Abraham (as some people say) had been justified by works, he would have had a ground for boasting even before God. But according to Scripture even he had to be justified by grace through faith, and therefore in God's

sight had no such ground.' The doctrine of Abraham's exceptional righteousness was a popular one (e.g. Ecclus. 44²⁰), consequently the inference that he was *justified by works* (cp. Jas. 2^{21B}. and refs. *supra*, p. 72) was not inexcusable.

4³. From Gen. 15⁶. *Reckoned (for) righteousness* in this and the following verses is an equivalent for *justification* in the narrower sense of 'acquittal'.

4^{4, 5}. The purpose of the verses is obvious, but the train of thought obscure. Perhaps what was intended was, 'A workman earns what he gets; Abraham was no "workman" (otherwise the scripture would have said that he earned justification by works); therefore the justification which he got was of *grace* (i.e. unearned, unmerited).' Even so the argument is unsound; why should not faith *deserve* (and so earn) justification (*supra*, pp. 83 ff.)?

4⁴. *him that worketh not*: an extraordinary description of Abraham into which S. Paul is betrayed by his desire for a rhetorical contrast. It must mean 'him of whom Scripture records that faith, even more than works, was his dominant characteristic'; and so, in a general application, 'any one who recognizes that, whatever the value of moral effort may be, it can never attain the ideal it sets out to pursue'.

that justifieth the ungodly. In a daring paradox S. Paul here uses of God a phrase which in the O.T. is used of an unrighteous judge (Isa. 5²², Prov. 17¹⁸).

4⁴⁻⁵: Ps. 32^{1, 2}.

4⁶. *apart from works*. This was the sort of phrase (cp. 4⁵, *him that worketh not*) which enabled S. Paul's opponents to accuse him of saying, 'Let us do evil that good may come' (3⁸), or, 'Let us continue in sin that grace may abound' (6¹). Strictly, of course, God's forgiveness will only avail where those who embrace it attempt to make reparation for sin by good works.

4⁸⁻¹⁰. A highly rabbinic argument by which S. Paul parenthetically supports his previous contention that the Gentile stands on the same plane as the Jew in respect of justification (cp. 1¹⁶, 2²⁰, 3²⁰, 9²⁴, &c.), just as the Jew stands on the same plane as the Gentile in respect of sin (2⁹, 3^{9, 20}). The points are simply: (a) Abraham was himself a Gentile (being still uncircumcised) when his *faith was reckoned for righteousness* (4¹⁰); (b) the blessing that was uttered upon him at that time made him *heir of the world* (4¹³) and *the father of us all* (4¹⁴). Hence the principles upon which God dealt with him apply equally to Jew and Gentile. On the reconciliation of this view with the passages which speak of the enduring privileges of the Jew (3², 9^{4, 6}, 11¹⁶) *supra*, p. 116.

4¹¹. *the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness, &c.* Here S. Paul is merely explaining why Abraham was circumcised; the sentence has no bearing on the problem—*What is the profit of*

circumcision to the Jew of later ages?—which he raised in 2²⁸, 3¹ (see notes there). *The seal of circumcision* is a Jewish phrase, though perhaps it was not in common use in S. Paul's day.

that he might be. This follows closely on the last words of 4¹⁰, the first half of ver. 11 being a parenthesis.

4¹². *the father of circumcision to them who*: an awkward phrase. It would have been enough to say *and also the father of them who*. But since a perverse Gentile might perhaps have argued that, because Abraham was justified while he was uncircumcised, he is the father of Gentiles only, the *of circumcision* is presumably thrown in as a reminder that Abraham was ultimately circumcised, and therefore is beyond question the father of Jew as well as of Gentile. Furthermore, the work of Christ has not abolished the privileges of Judaism, it has admitted the Gentiles to them on equal terms with the Jews; cp. 2²⁶, 15⁶. In the Greek there is an article *τοῖς* before *στοιχοῦναι* which must be ignored to get the necessary and obvious meaning.

4¹³. *For not through the law*: apparently a new argument to prove the equality of Gentile and Jew, though we should have expected 'and again' rather than *for*. The argument is not so much (as in Gal. 3¹⁷) that Abraham lived before the law, and therefore is the father of those who are *without the law*; but rather that the system of law and the system of faith are mutually exclusive (cp. 3²⁷, 4⁴⁻⁶), and that since Abraham was admittedly under the latter he could not have been under the former; therefore those who are *under the law* have no right to regard themselves as his only legitimate descendants. See note on vv. 14, 15.

heir of the world. No such promise is recorded in the Old Testament; probably Gen. 12³ is referred to, as in Acts 3²⁵, Gal. 3⁸; or perhaps Gen. 22^{17, 18}.

4^{14, 15}. The mutual exclusiveness of the systems of law (works) and faith (cp. ver. 13): '*The law worketh wrath*, i.e. has no effect except to increase the sense of sin and the fact of guilt (cp. 3²⁰, 5²⁰, 7⁷, Gal. 3^{10, 11, 19})—as may be inferred from the fact that *where there is no law*, no knowledge of the distinction between good and evil, there can be no *transgression* (cp. 5¹³). But faith justifies, or relieves from the sense of sin. The two are therefore entirely incompatible methods of approaching the problem of sin; and if a promise of justification had been made to those who approached that problem in the first way (*they which are of the law*), any promise made to those who approach it in the second way must be illusory—*faith is made void, and the promise* which appeared to reward Abraham's faith *is of none effect*'—a conclusion wholly repugnant to the scriptural texts from which S. Paul is arguing.

4^{16, 17}. The conclusion: 'Nothing now prevents our interpreting the text, *A father of many nations have I made thee* (Gen. 17⁸), as meaning that Abraham is the spiritual father both of Jew and Gentile. Conse-

quently the principle of justification by faith, which is exemplified in him, holds good equally of them both.'

4¹⁷. *before him whom he believed*: better 'in the eyes of Him'; lit. 'over against' (κατέναντι).

God, who quickeneth the dead. The content of faith is so defined both to show the objective characteristic (life from death, vv. 19, 20) shared by the faith of Abraham and the Christian alike (as *hope* (4¹⁸) shows their common subjective characteristic), and to lead up to the explicit mention of the resurrection of Jesus in 4²⁴. 25, which in turn points forward to the definition of the sanctified life as a resurrection from sin in 6⁴⁻⁹. 11. 13 (see notes on 6⁴⁻⁸).

calleteth: slightly ambiguous, probably 'calls into existence'.

4¹⁸. 19. Here S. Paul associates the promise of Gen. 15⁵, *So shall thy seed be*, and thereby the key text, *Abraham believed God*, in 15⁵, with that of 17⁵, the birth of Isaac (no doubt rightly, since 15¹³. 14. 16. 18 unquestionably refer to Isaac's descendants). But it leaves him with one or two difficulties. The fact that Abraham, so far from 'hoping against hope', *laughed* in derision (Gen. 17¹⁷) when he heard the promise, has to be ignored. So also has the fact that although Gen. 17¹⁷ hints that Abraham was no longer naturally capable of begetting children, Gen. 25¹ proves this not to be the case. Here S. Paul, in a rhetorical moment, actually increases the difficulty by elaborating the hint into the full statement, *He considered his own body now as good as dead*. The point, however, is unimportant: the essential factor is, of course, the *deadness of Sarah's womb*.

4¹⁸. *in hope believed against hope*. The first 'hope' is a supernatural virtue, prefiguring Christian 'hope'; the second 'hope' is 'normal human expectation', 'natural probability'. Christian *hope* to S. Paul may be defined as faith when it looks towards the future, towards what God will yet do (5², 8²⁴), whilst *faith*, strictly speaking, looks towards the past, towards what God has already done. Thus *faith* is the basis of hope (cp. Heb. 11¹); or, conversely, hope is faith brought to the test of the practical life. Obviously Abraham had far less grounds for his faith that *God quickeneth the dead* than the Christian has; hence S. Paul is not far from defining Abraham's faith as a 'forlorn hope'. The *a fortiori* conclusion, 'If Abraham could look to the future with hope, how much more can we!', lies very close to the surface of the argument. Cp. *supra*, p. 73.

4¹⁹. *he considered*. The reading *he did not consider* (i.e. 'he disregarded') is of about equal authority.

4²³. 24. The principle which has been deduced from the case of Abraham is applicable to us all (cp. 1 Cor. 9⁹. 10). If he had been challenged for the grounds of this statement, S. Paul would probably have replied by appealing to the universal conviction of his day, that the Old Testament narratives are throughout not merely *historic* but also *prophetic*, and so may (and should) be studied as allegories

embodying eternal principles, which when discovered can be universally applied to all men and at all times (see p. 77). But since, as a matter of fact, he holds and establishes the doctrine of justification by faith wholly on grounds of Christian experience, the case of Abraham is really cited more as an illustration than as a proof of the doctrine, and as such its true relevance is that it helps S. Paul to make clear the nature of faith as a Christian characteristic.

4⁸⁵. The antithesis, *delivered up for our trespasses, raised for our justification*, is rhetorical, and if pressed would be misleading. The sense is *delivered-up-and-raised for our justification* which was necessitated by our *trespasses* (*supra*, p. 58). The formula has the ring of a very primitive creed (cp. 1 Cor. 15⁸).

(D) 5¹-8³⁰. THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE CHRISTIAN

S. Paul's retrospect on the past—the past, in which God had been suspected of indifference to sin, and man had been burdened with the sense of sin unforgiven—is over. He turns to the present; and here he is so conscious of the greatness of all that God does for us that his exposition breaks the bonds of logical order and presents a series of disconnected passages, which may be tabulated as follows:

- (a) 5¹⁻⁵. *A sketch of the sanctified life.*
- (b) 5⁶⁻¹¹. *The hymn of the crucified Jesus.*
- (c) 5¹²⁻²¹. *A theological digression: the life of one can affect many.*
- (d) 6¹⁻¹⁴. *The way of sanctification: union with Christ in the risen life.*
- (e) 6^{15-7⁸}. *The release from sin: two illustrations, the ransomed slave and the emancipated widow.*
- (f) 7⁷⁻²⁵. *The anatomy of sin: a sinner's experience.*
- (g) 8¹⁻⁴. *A theological recapitulation: the freedom brought by Christ.*
- (h) 8⁵⁻¹⁷. *The old life and the new: their principles contrasted.*
- (i) 8¹⁸⁻³⁰. *The goal of the sanctified life, and its assurance in the foreknowledge of God.*
- (j) 9³¹⁻⁹. *A hymn of Christian confidence.*

It is impossible to rearrange this section into a completely logical sequence. Paragraphs (b), (c), (e), (f), (g), though not inappropriate where they stand, are obviously disconnected expansions of the theme of section (B) above (The Justification of Man). But the emphasis is being transferred from the idea of acquittal (see notes on 6⁷, 8¹) to that of release from the sense, and even more from the power, of sin—i.e. from the narrower to the wider sense

of *justification*. The remaining paragraphs ((a), (d), (h), (i), (j)) then fall into line as an exposition of further blessings conferred by Christ—the *sanctification* of the Christian, the development in him of a new character appropriate to his new status. The paragraphs are here taken in the sequence which S. Paul has allotted to them. On the arrangement see *supra*, pp. 29, 30.

(a) 5¹⁻⁵. *A sketch of the sanctified life.*

5¹. *let us have* (i.e. 'enjoy') (ἔχωμεν). A less well-attested reading is 'we have' (ἔχομεν). On the difference, *supra*, p. 85.

5². *access*: one of S. Paul's terms for elaborating the meaning of justification (cp. Eph. 2¹⁸, 3¹²). The metaphor is that of 'obtaining entry' into the presence chamber of an oriental monarch, and basking in his *grace* (i.e. 'favour'); see *supra*, p. 51. *By faith* is redundant, and many MSS. omit it.

grace: see *supra*, p. 75.

let us rejoice. Here and in ver. 3 a few authorities read 'we rejoice', to conform to the variant 'we have' in ver. 1. The word is the same as that used of the Jews' *glorying* in 2¹⁷, 3²⁷ (cp. 4⁸), and is probably used to point the contrast between the Jew who boasts in a (supposedly) self-acquired righteousness and the Christian who refers his righteousness wholly to the glory of God. When the Christian *boasts* it is only in the Lord (5¹¹, 1 Cor. 1³¹, 2 Cor. 10¹⁷—from Jer. 9²², Gal. 6¹⁴, Phil. 3⁸), or in the gifts that He gives, such as visions and revelations (2 Cor. 12¹⁻⁹), the power to transcend frailty (2 Cor. 11³⁰, 12⁹) and tribulation (Rom. 5²), the freedom of apostleship (2 Cor. 10⁶), the steadfastness and zeal of his fellow Christians or converts (Rom. 15¹⁷, 2 Cor. 1¹⁴, 7^{4, 14}, 9³, Phil. 1²⁶, 2¹⁶), and so forth. Only once does S. Paul 'glory after the flesh' (2 Cor. 11¹⁸), and then with profuse apologies, to put his adversaries to shame.

the glory of God: 'the visible presence' which will be revealed to the saints in heaven (cp. note on 3²³), for which, of course, we can still only *hope* (cp. 4¹⁸, 8²⁴, and *supra*, p. 73).

5²⁻⁴. A 'sorites', or chain-catalogue, of a type popular with the Stoics of S. Paul's day; cp. also 10¹²⁻¹⁸. Other biblical examples in Hos. 2^{21, 22}, Wisd. 6¹⁷⁻²⁰, 2 Pet. 1⁶⁻⁷.

5³. *patience*: 'persevering endurance', as in 2⁷.

5⁴. *probation*: 'a thoroughly tested character'.

5⁵. *putteth not to shame*: 'never betrays us into a position of disgrace', 'lives up to its professions', 'is not a broken reed'. Based on the LXX text of Isa. 28¹⁶, 'He that believeth shall not be put to shame'; cp. 9²³, 1 Pet. 2⁶. The connexion of 'faith' and 'hope' in S. Paul's mind (*supra*, p. 73) is so close that he transfers to the latter the characteristic assigned by Isaiah to the former.

the love of God hath been shed abroad. A new stage of the doctrine of

justification is now reached. Hitherto for the most part S. Paul has been speaking of justification in the narrower sense of acquittal; now he shows that it means relief from despair (*peace, access*, 5^{1, 2}) as well (*supra*, p. 55). The reason of this is that the *love of God* has not merely altered our outward condition, but like a tonic or stimulant has entered *and been shed abroad in our hearts*, to enable us to win a victory over sin (or fulfil the ideal of the sanctified life as expressed, for example, in 5¹⁻⁵) analogous to and consequent upon that which Christ won in His earthly life. For this purpose *God's love* assumes the form of the *Holy Spirit*, or *Spirit which was in Jesus*, and in that form is *given to us*. This doctrine he will expound in detail later (8⁹⁻¹¹, 31-9, and cp. *supra*, pp. 108, 109).

the Holy Ghost. Note the implicit Trinitarian formula in these verses—the Spirit (ver. 5b), Christ (ver. 6), God (ver. 8).

(b) 5⁶⁻¹¹. *The hymn of the crucified Jesus*, recapitulating in poetical form (though not without a hint of argument, ver. 7) what has been stated doctrinally in 3²¹⁻⁶. There seems to be no particular reason why S. Paul should have introduced this section and the next (vv. 12-21), which is closely connected with it, at this point; and in fact they interrupt his exposition of the principles and characteristics of the sanctified life, which is taken up again in chapter 6. On the other hand, it can be said that, as reflections upon the cardinal mystery of Christianity, they are not inappropriate anywhere; and S. Paul's insistence upon the mystery here increases the Christian's confidence of blessings to come.

5⁶. *For while*. For uncertainty as to the original reading here see larger commentaries; the sense is indisputable.

weak: a surprisingly mild word: S. Paul uses it because he is passing from the idea of acquittal (which would necessitate *guilty* or *intransgression*) to that of relief from the despair caused by our utter inability to cope with sin.

in due season: *supra*, p. 133.

5⁷. A parenthesis emphasizing the unique love shown in the death of Christ; *supra*, p. 72. *Good* (*ἀγαθός*) presumably implies characteristics in excess of those possessed by the merely *righteous* (or 'just') man—'lovable' perhaps gives the meaning. But the antithesis is a difficult one, and some commentators evade it by suggesting that the two halves of ver. 7 are two alternative expressions of the same thought. S. Paul, they allege, dictated both experimentally, and then forgot to ensure that one of them should be crossed out.

5⁸⁻⁹. *God commendeth his own love*: 'Christ's death for sinners, therefore, puts God's love for man in a position wholly beyond question (*συνίστησι*, cp. 3⁶). We cannot doubt then that He will *shed it abroad in our hearts through the Holy Ghost* (5⁸); all the more ('*much more than*') because first to acquit sinners, and then to leave them

without help or hope for the future would be a cruelty of which God could never be capable.'

5⁹. *saved from the wrath* (cp. *saved*, ver. 10). At first sight this seems merely to repeat the idea of 'justified' which immediately precedes, and the sense demands a contrast. We should have expected something like *sanctified*, but this word (as also the noun *sanctification*) is less to S. Paul's taste than it has proved to later theologians, although, of course, he uses it (e.g. 6¹⁹, 23, 15¹⁶, 1 Cor. 1³, 30, 6¹¹, 1 Thess. 4³, 7, 5²³, 2 Thess. 2¹³, and *supra*, pp. 87-9). *Salvation*, on the other hand, is a general term covering the whole economy of redemption, including *justification* itself. But since 'justification' alters man's *status* in respect to sin rather than his *character* (*supra*, pp. 74, 83, 193), and he cannot be *saved from the wrath* in the last day unless, being *justified*, he lives the appropriate life, what is implied by the phrase here is that God will give us the means to live such a life as shall save us from the wrath—i.e. will give us the *Holy Spirit*.

5¹⁰ repeats the thought of ver. 9, introducing *reconciliation* (*supra*, pp. 50, 51) as a further synonym for 'justification'. The *life* here is probably the risen life of Christ active among men in the Holy Spirit (cp. 6²⁻¹¹, 8¹⁰, 11); hence the antithesis *death* (i.e. incarnate life, death, and resurrection) and *life* is a real one, and not merely rhetorical, as in the somewhat similar phrase in 4²⁵.

enemies: 'manifesting hostility towards God' (as 8⁷) or, more generally, 'in a state of alienation from God'; certainly not 'treated as enemies by God'—an idea which only appears (and then in the special connexion of the *temporary* rejection of the Jews) in 11²⁰.

5¹¹. *not only so, but we also rejoice*: 'this doctrine of our future salvation is not a mere prosaic statement of fact, but a cause of intense and immediate joy'.

we have received the reconciliation: *supra*, p. 50, n. 1.

(c) 5¹²⁻²¹. *A theological digression: the life of one can affect many* (*supra*, pp. 75, 99-101).

Here S. Paul merely establishes the principle that the life and actions of one can affect the destinies of many. He has already told us by what means the life and death of Christ have affected us in respect of acquittal and release from despair (3²⁶⁻⁶); he will proceed to display how they affect us in respect of *newness of life* (chapters 6 and 8). The argument of the present passage is once more rabbinic in character; since the sin of Adam is admitted (at all events by those who accept the Jewish interpretation of Gen. 3) to have affected the history of his descendants, *much more may the one, even Jesus Christ* have swayed the course of human history. S. Paul does not say that he himself holds any particular view of the transmission of Adam's guilt, and it is possible that he is only using the current belief (without endorsing it) to illustrate his main contention (*supra*, p. 99).

There are two parentheses (vv. 13, 14; 15-17) in the argument, and a note (20, 21) by way of conclusion.

5¹². The thought of this verse (the redemption wrought by Christ as parallel to, though greater than, the havoc wrought by Adam) is not actually completed till ver. 18, but S. Paul has it in mind all through the two parentheses which immediately follow. 'Sin' here is thought of as a personal force of evil—the chief of the evil angels (*supra*, p. 52). *For that all sinned*: on the doctrine of the Fall and its consequences current in S. Paul's day, and his attitude to it, *supra*, pp. 99, 100.

5^{13, 14}. *First parenthesis*. S. Paul finds himself in a difficulty at the outset, but he is not very clear himself what it is. Adam's sin affected his descendants by introducing sin into the world, and death as the consequence (i.e. the divinely ordained penalty) of sin. The real difficulty might be expressed in the form, 'Since *sin is not imputed where there is no law*, how could the evil force "Sin" find any footing among men before the law was given to Moses?' or, more simply, 'How can it be true that *all sinned* (ver. 12) if, prior to the giving of the law, sin could not be *imputed*?' But the more obvious and spectacular question was: 'Granted that death is the penalty of sin, and that *sin could not be imputed until Moses*, why did *death reign from Adam to Moses*?' This is the form in which S. Paul states it, and there is little doubt that he was affected not merely by its obviousness, but by the contrast between *death* and *life* which he first mentions in 4^{17, 19}, and which is to become central in chapters 6 and 7. But what we do not know is whether he replied that death had power in this period, even though sin had not; or that sin had power even in this period, which conferred consequent rights on death. Nor—whichever of these we take to be his reply—do we find him adducing any evidence in support of it; in either case his statement is a bare *obiter dictum*. The problem, however, is at best a side issue, and we can only guess vaguely at S. Paul's answer. For fuller discussion, and note on the reading, see *supra*, pp. 54, 55.

5¹⁶⁻¹⁷. *Second parenthesis*: two points in which the analogy between Adam and Christ fails. They are of the nature of devout meditations, but are valuable as bringing out the implications of the idea of grace. The parenthesis would come better after ver. 19, since the main contrast between the effect of sin and the effect of grace, begun in 12, is not formally completed until 18.

5¹⁶. *First contrast*. The keynote is obviously the word *abounds* (περισσεύει). 'The effect of Adam's sin can be expressed in a single word, *Death*. The effect of Christ's righteousness is limitless—it *abounds* to such a degree that no human words can compass it.' Cp. 2 (4) Ezra 4^{31, 32} (Charles's text and translation—the authorities used by R.V. of Apocrypha missed the main point)—also of Adam's sin: 'Reckon up, now, in thine own mind: if a grain of evil seed has

produced so much fruit of ungodliness, when once the ears of the good seed shall have been sown without number, how great a floor shall they be destined to fill!

abound: render 'overflow': cp. 5²⁰ note.

the many: 'all'; but S. Paul uses the word 'many' because it will become central in ver. 16.

5¹⁸. *Second contrast*. 'Many punishments came from one sin; many sins are cancelled by one act of grace—how great, therefore, is the triumph of grace!'

judgement . . . condemnation (κρίμα . . . κατάκριμα): misleading. Probably 'sentence . . . disabilities'—the latter word referring primarily to *death* as the universal consequence of Adam's sin, *supra*, pp. 54, 100.

justification: δικαίωμα—not quite the usual word (δικαίωσις), but probably used here for the sake of assonance with κρίμα, κατάκριμα, χάρισμα (cp., for a similar choice of word, note on 11¹²). It goes a little further than δικαίωσις, meaning strictly 'the formal verdict of acquittal which asserts the acceptance of the justifying process'—but, as God is the author both of δικαίωσις and of δικαίωμα, the difference in meaning has no theological significance. On the word generally see note on 5¹⁸.

5¹⁷. *Conclusion of parenthesis*: 'Since grace is therefore so much stronger even than sin, the *reign* of Christians in *eternal life* will be far more absolute even than the reign of death here among men'. The exact antithesis would have been 'death reigned . . . life shall reign' (cp. ver. 21), but 'they shall reign' (cp. 1 Cor. 4⁸, 6⁸, 2 Tim. 2¹²) is more personal, and in the minds of Jewish Christian readers would harmonize with the thought of the Messianic kingdom.

5^{18, 19}. Resumes the argument where it broke off at the end of ver. 12. The first half of ver. 18 recapitulates the thought of ver. 12 (as in vv. 15a, 16a, 17a), the remainder of the verse completes it (as in vv. 15b, 16b, 17b). Ver. 19 is exactly parallel to ver. 18, but with the emphasis on sanctification rather than on justification.

5¹⁸. *one trespass . . . one act of righteousness*. The Greek can equally well mean 'the trespass of one . . . the act of one' (so, in effect, Moffatt). The problem of interpretation is not unimportant, as it affects the meaning of δικαίωμα. Is the contrast between two *agents*, of 'condemnation' and 'justification' respectively (Adam and Christ), or between two *acts* whereby these results were produced? We should expect it to be between the agents; for the whole emphasis of S. Paul throughout the epistle is upon the fact that *Christ* has reconciled us, rather than upon any particular *act* or *acts* by which He did so. (Indeed, this is true of all S. Paul's writing—hence the difficulty of discovering his theory of *how* Christ saves us (*supra*, p. 68).) In this particular section, the emphasis is undoubtedly upon the contrast between the two *agents* in vv. 12, 15, 16a, 17, 19; nowhere is

it upon the contrast between the two 'acts', except possibly here and in 16b (*the judgement came of one*). Thus the argument in favour of the rendering 'the trespass of one . . . the act of one' is overwhelming. The word *δικαίωμα* (here translated *act of righteousness*) is used in 1³², 2²⁶, 8⁴ for 'ordinance', and in 5¹⁶ for 'justification' (more exactly, 'justifying decree'). It commonly means a 'juridical pronouncement', and so here could be taken as 'justifying decree', 'verdict of acquittal', if either (a) we assume S. Paul to have meant 'through one *δικαίωμα*', and not 'through the *δικαίωμα* of one'; or (b) translating 'justifying decree of one', we interpret 'one' of the Father. But (a) we have just seen to be extremely unlikely, and (b) is impossible, for the 'one' who is opposed throughout to Adam is beyond question the incarnate Christ. Thus 'act of righteousness' (borne out and defined by the 'obedience' of ver. 19) seems to be the true meaning, though not attested elsewhere, except (partially) in two variant renderings of Old Testament passages (C. H. Dodd, *Bible and Greeks*, p. 54). If we suspect S. Paul of borrowing from Aristotle here, it could also mean 'an act of redress, by which the wrong (committed by man against God) is righted' (see Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and cp. Moffatt's translation). But such an intrusion of an exact Greek ethico-legal idea is unlikely.

condemnation: 'disabilities', as in 5¹⁸.

5¹⁹. *were made sinners . . . shall be made righteous* (*κατεστάθησαν . . . κατασπαθήσονται*): better 'were set in the way of sin . . . will be set in the way of righteousness'. *καθίστημι* normally means 'appoint to an office', *supra*, pp. 86, 100.

obedience: as Phil. 2⁸, Heb. 5⁸.

5²⁰, 21. An appended note on the function of the law; cp. 3³⁰, 4¹⁶, 5¹³, 7⁷, Gal. 3¹⁹; and *supra*, p. 71.

5²⁰. *abound* (*πλεονάζειν*): 'flourished'—because law provokes the very acts which it condemns (cp. 7⁷).

abound more exceedingly (*ὑπερπερισσεύειν*): 'Overflow exceedingly' (see note on 5¹⁶). S. Paul knows three stages of abundance, 'to abound' (*πλεονάζειν*—here of 'sin'); 'to overflow' (*περισσεύειν*—of 'grace', 5¹⁸, 17); and 'to overflow exceedingly', of 'grace' here. However much sin may 'abound', there is an infinite excess of grace more than sufficient to deal with it.

(d) 6¹⁻¹⁴. *The way of sanctification: union with Christ in the risen life* (*supra*, pp. 81-92).

The positive doctrine of this section, which follows logically upon 5¹⁻⁵ (5⁶⁻¹¹ and 5¹²⁻²¹ being of the nature of digressions—see note at 5⁸), is that the sanctification of the individual is the purpose of the gospel. This is expressed in two paragraphs, the first of which (6³⁻¹¹) lays special emphasis on *God's part in man's sanctification*; whilst the second (6¹²⁻¹⁴) deals mainly with *man's part in the same operation*. But the doctrine of 'grace abounding' expressed in 5¹⁸⁻²¹, and still more

the triumphant assertions of 6³⁻¹⁰, tend to destroy the careful balance of the paragraphs, and to suggest that man has *no* part in his own sanctification; we may *continue to sin, because we are no longer under law but under grace* (6¹⁵). By an introductory note (6^{1. 2}) S. Paul shows that he is aware of this difficulty, and warns his readers that they must not draw any such antinomian inference from his first paragraph (6³⁻¹¹), but wait for the second paragraph (6¹²⁻¹⁴); and the influence of the problem gives the whole passage an argumentative turn which is alien to its true character. A further complication arises from the fact that, instead of putting the problem at the outset in the obvious form (*Shall we sin because we are not under law?*), S. Paul gives it a paradoxical twist which must be derived from one of his opponents. His doctrine had been perverted into the grotesque form, *Let us continue in sin that grace may abound* (cp. 3^{5. 7}, from which might easily have been constructed the proposition: 'Let us go on in unrighteousness in order to commend the righteousness of God still further'—see notes there, and *supra*, pp. 25, 82). For the purposes of sober argument, however, we can proceed as though the question of 6¹ were identical with that of 6¹⁵.

Briefly, in the first paragraph (6¹⁻¹¹), S. Paul refers back to the efficacy of baptism—it is a baptism *into the death* of Christ (6³), completed by a *burial* (6⁴). Thus we share in His *death to sin* (6^{10. 11}), of which the reverse side is that *the body of sin has been reduced to naught* (6⁶—see note), that sinners are no longer in *bondage* (a hint of the illustration to be used in 6¹²⁻²³), or that they are *justified* (6⁷). We share, also, however, in His *resurrection* (6⁵, cp. 6^{4. 8. 9}), which guarantees escape both from physical and from spiritual death, with the possibility of *walking in newness of life* (6⁴).

In the second paragraph (6¹²⁻¹⁴) his main purpose is to insist that, in spite of all that has been said of the power of grace and the efficacy of baptism, we have still a weighty responsibility in the matter of our own sanctification. We are *not to let sin reign in us* (6^{12. 13}). Nevertheless his main theme of the power of grace is still so primary in his mind that he can utter the emphatic promise, *Sin shall not have dominion over you*, which implies that God has taken full responsibility (6¹⁴). On the reconciliation of these two conceptions see *supra*, p. 90.

Apart from the fact that it brings us face to face with the central mystery of Paulinism—In what sense has 'grace' abrogated 'law', or moral effort?—the section is important in that its insistence upon the efficacy of *baptism* shows that everything that has been said hitherto about grace and faith must be understood in a context of sacramental churchmanship. It is through the Church and the sacraments that the grace of God is mediated; and the Risen Christ in whom the Christian has faith is one whose Spirit animates the fellowship of the Church. These are ideas of which the epistle up to this point has shown no

trace; consequently in this section S. Paul's exposition is frankly establishing a new point (cp. *supra*, p. 112).

6¹⁻¹¹. *First paragraph—God's part in man's sanctification.*

6². *died to sin.* S. Paul has several metaphors in which death and sin are connected, not as metaphysical factors in the confederacy of evil (*supra*, p. 54), but in which spiritual 'death' is somehow a consequence of and on occasion a punishment for sin, or in which death somehow frees from sin. Thus (a) the Christian was spiritually *dead in sin* (cp. 7⁹, 10, 13, 24, 8⁶, Eph. 2¹, Col. 2¹³), but (b) is now *dead to sin* (6², 7, 8, 11, 7⁴, Col. 3³), and so no longer within its power; and *risen again to newness of life* (so here); (c) *sin is dead* (7⁸—see note there); (d) *death is the wages of sin* (6²³). On these different metaphors he is able to play with considerable effect. Cp. note on 6⁷.

6³⁻¹¹. *baptized . . . baptized into his death . . . buried through baptism into death . . . united with him by the likeness of his death . . . have died with Christ . . . dead unto sin:* a cumulation of metaphors elaborating the idea of the Christian's *death to sin*; but binding it closely to the ideas of *the death of Christ* and of *baptism* (*supra*, p. 117) as giving union with Christ.

6⁴⁻¹¹. *walk in newness of life . . . (united with him by the likeness) of his resurrection . . . no longer in bondage . . . justified from sin . . . live with him . . . alive unto God in Christ Jesus:* another series of metaphors expressing the new Christian life initiated by baptism as giving union with Christ, and bound up with the idea of the resurrection (*supra*, pp. 93, 94).

6⁴. 'Not only dead, but actually buried (so complete is our separation from our old life), through baptism-into-(His)-death.'

through the glory of the Father: see note on 3²³; here the 'visible power' of God, perhaps connected with the idea of the angel of the resurrection. A similar usage in John 11⁴⁰.

walk (περιπατεῖν): *lit.* 'walk about' and so, generally, 'conduct oneself', 'discharge one's function'. A favourite word with S. Paul; cp. 8⁴, 13¹³, 14¹⁶.

6⁶. *united:* 'made one with Him by being grafted into Him'—a very forcible expression; cp. the metaphors of 11¹⁷⁻²⁴.

likeness. S. Paul has in mind a double likeness: (a) the immersion in the water of baptism and re-emergence is *like* the process of burial and resurrection; (b) by union with Christ in baptism we actually *die* to sin and *rise* to God, and so re-enact in ourselves the drama of the Cross and Resurrection (*supra*, p. 117).

6⁶. *our old man:* cp. Eph. 2¹⁶, 4²², 24, Col. 3⁹.

crucified with him: cp. Gal. 2²⁰, 5²⁴, 6¹⁴.

the body of sin: a Hebraic form for 'the sinful body' (cp. 7²⁴, Phil. 3²¹, Col. 2¹¹). This is one of the passages in which S. Paul uses 'body' when we should expect him to use 'flesh' (cp. 6¹², 7²⁴, 8¹⁰, and *supra*, p. 95). The reasons in each case are obvious. His vocabulary

is influenced first by the relation between bodily needs and 'fleshly' passions; and then by the fact that our spiritual resurrection here (which releases us from the dominion of the 'flesh') will find its culmination in our physical resurrection hereafter, in which 'the natural (or sinful) body' will be put off, and the 'spiritual body' put on (1 Cor. 15⁴⁴), and the programme of Christ's redemptive work in us will be completed (see 8²³).

done away (καταργηθῆ): rather too weak; better 'stripped of its power', 'reduced to naught'.

6⁷. *he that hath died*: lit. 'he that dieth', 'any one that dieth' (ὁ ἀποθάνων). The strict meaning of the sentence would seem to be: 'Even physical death gives quittance from sin' (either because we are no longer in a condition in which it is possible to sin; or because death is the penalty of sin, and having paid the penalty we are exempt from any further claim against us). But several contemporary epigrams, both rabbinic and Greek, suggested that in one way or another 'death' emancipated from sin. So we may take *is justified here in the widest sense*—is 'freed from the power' of sin; for if even physical death is (in some vague way) a release from sin's domination, far more so is the spiritual death of baptism. This extension of meaning here given to *justification* is S. Paul's hint that he is passing on to a new and greater subject—that of 'sanctification'.

6⁸.⁹. The sense requires the verses to be reversed, and a conclusion to be added. 'We know that Christ by His resurrection is free from the law of sin and death; we believe that by baptism we shall live with Him; we believe, therefore, that this "life with Him" will mean a freedom from sin, and from the terrors of death for us.' No doubt the 'live with Him' includes also the idea of eternal life after resurrection (cp. 6⁸, 8¹¹.²³); it might also imply the possibility of escaping death by remaining alive until the Parousia (cp. 1 Thess. 4¹⁶). On the resurrection of the believer, *supra*, pp. 63, 64.

dominion: the correlative of *bondage* in ver. 6.

6¹⁰. An emphatic endorsement of the doctrine of ver. 9. *He died unto sin*: not, of course, to His *own* sin (as each Christian should die to *his* sin or sins), but to sin conceived as a hostile power, over which by His death Christ won the decisive victory. *Once or once for all* (ἐφάραξ)—for the decisiveness of Christ's death and victory cp. Heb. 9²⁶⁻⁸, 1 Pet. 3¹⁸. There is no special need for emphasis upon the point here; it is probably a reminiscence of the emphasis upon the *one* Redeemer and His *one* redeeming act in 5¹⁸⁻¹⁹.

6¹¹. *alive . . . in Christ Jesus*: *supra*, pp. 93, 94.

6¹²⁻¹⁴. *Second paragraph*—*man's part in his own sanctification*. In spite of the sacramental efficacy of baptism into the death and resurrection of Christ (6¹⁻¹¹), and the outspoken promise about to be

reiterated, *Sin shall not have dominion over you* (6¹⁴), we are still responsible for our lives.

6¹². *your mortal body*. Here, as in ver. 6, 'flesh' would have been more obviously appropriate. But the physical implications of the metaphor of death (hence *mortal*) and resurrection are still strong enough (cp. on 6⁶, 8¹⁰) to influence the vocabulary. There may also be a side-allusion to that type of gnostic antinomianism which suggested that, so long as the 'soul' was right with God, the sinful misuse of the body did not matter.

6¹³. *members*: on the relation between the *members* and the *flesh* cp. *supra*, pp. 95, 98; *instruments*, or 'weapons' (as mg.)—cp. 13¹², 1 Thess. 5⁸, 2 Cor. 6⁷, 10⁴, Eph. 6¹¹.

6¹⁴. *sin shall not have dominion*, recurring to the thought of verses 1-13, where baptism into Christ reduces sin to powerlessness.

not under law but under grace: a reversion to the main subject of the epistle (the supersession of law) which has been dormant since 4¹⁶; and a reminder of the problem created by it (the need for moral effort even for those under grace) which was hinted at in 6¹, and ought now (as S. Paul realizes) to be considered more fully, though in fact it is only stated (6¹⁶) and then virtually set on one side again.

(e) 6¹⁵⁻⁷. *The release from sin: two illustrations*.

The preceding section was overshadowed by the problem: If grace is as powerful as S. Paul states it to be, is moral effort required any longer of redeemed mankind, or may they *sin* (i.e. abandon such effort) *because they are not under law but under grace*? This problem S. Paul now faces squarely in ver. 15, but to our amazement declines to argue it. Instead he produces two illustrations of the state of redemption: the first showing that we have a moral obligation to God, the second that we are no longer under the compulsion to sin exercised over us by the law. As incentives to a moral life, both passages are admirable; but they imply, when examined closely, that we are still bound by a code of ethics, so that, in some sense or another, we are still *under law*. The illustrations, therefore, merely intensify the problem; they do not answer it.

What, then, does the abrogation of law by grace really mean? S. Paul's true answer runs along very distinctive lines (*supra*, pp. 92, 93), but he never states it explicitly. He is, in fact, impatient of all questions which tend to deflect the course of his great exposition of what God has done for us; and here, as elsewhere, he rings the changes upon the divine and the human factors in salvation without allowing himself time to answer systematically the question which he himself has raised. Thus this section is without theological importance, but its contents are singularly effective as metaphors expressing the sense of relief from the power of sin which pervades the true Christian life. And they carry on the general thought of the

whole passage (5¹-8³⁹) by introducing the idea that the Christian life may be summarized as the *service* of God.

6¹⁵⁻²³. *First illustration: the ransomed slave*. Here the thought of man's responsibility is primary. The Christian has transferred his allegiance (17, 19), and the attempt to serve two masters involves a moral incompatibility (cp. Matt. 6²⁴, John 8³⁴, 2 Pet. 2¹⁹). But the idea of God's share in the process is not absent: we have been *made free from sin and enslaved to righteousness or God* (18, 22), without any contributory effort on our part.

6¹⁸. *shall we sin, because we are not under law, but under grace?* The jibe at his apparent antinomianism at last becomes explicit (cp. *supra*, pp. 82, 83); but nothing new is added in S. Paul's reply.

6¹⁶. *of sin unto death*: for this connexion of physical death with sin (cp. 5^{13, 14}), *supra*, pp. 55, 56.

of obedience unto righteousness: for a logical contrast we should require *of God unto eternal life* (cp. 6²³). But *obedience* (ὁμολογία) was already becoming a technical term for 'the service of God' (cp. 1⁵, 10¹⁶, 16^{19, 20}, Acts 6⁷, 2 Cor. 7¹³, 10⁵, 2 Thess. 1⁸, 3¹⁴, 1 Pet. 1^{2, 14, 22}, Heb. 5⁹; and especially of the 'obedience' of Christ to His Father 5¹⁹, Phil. 2⁸, Heb. 5⁹); and the substitution of 'righteousness' for 'eternal life' is due to S. Paul's preoccupation at this moment with the accusation of antinomianism.

6¹⁷. *form*: 'pattern', 'standard'.

whereunto ye were delivered ('given over')—by God, of course (the implication 'by your teachers' would be inept). S. Paul expresses his sense of the divine providence which has brought his readers to Christ by a strong epigram—usually it is the 'teaching' which is 'delivered' to the hearers (as in 1 Cor. 11^{2, 23}, 15³, 2 Thess. 2¹³, 3⁶, 2 Pet. 2²¹, Jude³).

6¹⁹. *ye became servants*: better, 'ye were enslaved'. There is no suggestion of any choice or effort on the converts' part (cp. ver. 22). It is like the appropriation of a debtor's person in payment of a debt which he cannot discharge; cp. note on 8³, and *HDB*. i. 579, 580, s.v. 'Debt', with references there.

6¹⁹. *I speak . . . infirmity of your flesh*. An apology for the language he is using. It is *after the manner of men* (cp. 3⁸) because (a) an analogy from a 'human' relationship (master and slave), and therefore (b) too 'crude' or 'everyday' to express spiritual and eternal truth. But it has to be used, because their 'spiritual immaturity' (*infirmity of your flesh*, cp. *supra*, p. 95) (a) makes them feel righteousness as a kind of 'slavery' (cp. note on 8¹³), and so (b) prevents them from understanding more spiritual language.

6^{19, 22}. *sanctification*, *supra*, pp. 87-9.

6²¹. An appeal to experience: a sinful career leads only to disillusionment. Another rendering is, 'What fruit had ye at that time? Things whereof ye are now ashamed'.

6²². *become servants*: cp. ver. 18.

eternal life: see note on 2⁷.

6²³. *wages* (ὀψώνια): 'rations'—a military metaphor: the food which sin, the slave master, feeds to its slaves.

free gift (χάρισμα). Tertullian, retaining the military metaphor, renders 'largesse'; but no such meaning for the Greek is known. S. Paul, remembering that we have no 'works' with which to 'earn' the wages of righteousness (4⁴, 5) is careful not to repeat the word 'wages'. On χάρισμα generally see note on 1¹¹.

7¹⁻⁶. *Second illustration: the emancipated widow*. The emphasis of the first illustration was upon the moral incompatibility of a convert's 'abiding in sin' after he has transferred his allegiance to Christ. This second illustration, however, is more ambitious. In its simplest form, and following the lines of the first, it might reasonably have taken the shape: 'We were espoused to sin once, but now sin has been slain by Christ, so we are free to be espoused to God.' But this simple formula has been affected by several influences: (a) For some reason S. Paul has decided to bring *law* back into the picture, probably in order to contrast the misery of a life under law (7⁷⁻²⁵) with the joys of the sanctified life which he is describing (see note on 7⁷⁻²⁵). Hence *law* (instead of sin) becomes the first husband, with the implication, 'Law, exercising a husband's rights, compelled us to sin', an implication which receives psychological expression in 7⁶, and will be more fully developed in 7⁷⁻²⁵. (b) Verses 2 and 3 lead us to suppose that S. Paul will continue, 'But now the law is dead, so we are free to be espoused to Christ.' But at this point the analogy changes entirely: it is *we* who are *made dead to the law* (7⁴) and thereby *discharged* from it (7⁶), so that we may be *joined to another* (7⁴). This is a very surprising development. But if we remember that it is our *spiritual death and resurrection* which is the beginning of that sanctified life with which, throughout chapters 5-8, S. Paul is primarily concerned, it is clear that the strength of this idea has converted the 'analogy' into a 'proportion': 'Husband dies : wife is free from husband :: we die and rise again in baptism : we are free from the law.' It is to be noticed that ver. 1, *The law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth*, appears to suggest that S. Paul had the 'proportion' in mind from the outset, and yet deliberately went astray into the 'analogy' in vv. 2 and 3. But it could equally well be translated, 'The law hath dominion over a man so long as *it* liveth'; this would fit vv. 2 and 3 better, and allow us to assume that the 'proportion' did not present itself to S. Paul's mind until ver. 4.

7¹. *men that know the law* (mg. 'law', without 'the'). The marginal translation is best—the reference is to the general rule of equity that death cancels all personal claims.

7², 3. Cp. 1 Cor. 7³⁹. A slight difficulty is created by the fact that S. Paul says here (but not in Corinthians) that the indissoluble tie

which binds the wife to the husband is 'by law'. By Roman law, of course, a wife was perfectly free to divorce her husband and marry again, so he cannot be referring to this. The Jewish law professed to prohibit a wife from divorcing her husband; but she was permitted, if divorced, or if by public process or mutual consent she induced her husband to divorce her (see I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, i, pp. 70, 75, &c.), to marry again (Deut. 24¹) without incurring the stigma of adultery (see ver. 3). Thus, to be perfectly accurate, S. Paul should have said: 'No woman has a right to leave her husband; she is his by law (unless, of course, he divorces her) until his death.' But his statement of the matter is sufficient for his purposes. It is of course possible that he is not referring to the Jewish law at all, but to the new Christian teaching, which refused remarriage to a woman even if she were repudiated unjustly by her husband. In this case the reference to the 'law' would be to the 'Christian law'; but it seems unlikely that such a phrase should have originated so early, or that S. Paul should have used it in a passage whose main purport is to declare the Christian's freedom from law.

7⁴. *through the body of Christ*: a vivid expression for the crucifixion; but the reference may be to membership in the Church, whereby the benefits of Christ's death are mediated to man (*supra*, p. 115).

7⁵. Summarizes the theme of the next section (7⁷⁻⁸), linking together the central ideas of sin, law, flesh, and death.

7⁶. *having died to that*, or better 'in respect of that. . .'

spirit . . . letter: a new turn of phrase to express the difference between the new life and the old; elsewhere only 2¹⁰, 2 Cor. 3⁶.

(f) 7⁷⁻⁸. *The anatomy of sin: a sinner's experience.*

The primary reason for the presence of this famous passage at this point is presumably to emphasize the glory of the sanctified life by contrasting with it the misery of the sinner's (see note on 7¹⁻⁶). As such, there was no real need for assigning any particular prominence to *law* in the section. Yet S. Paul does so, and that deliberately (he has prepared for it by giving *law* rather than *sin* the role of husband in the immediately preceding illustration); and we can at least guess at his reasons. (a) Christ has saved us from the power of sin—but only those who still recognize to some extent the authority of law can really taste the full misery of sin. (b) S. Paul's distinctive approach to Christianity is that it saves us not merely from sin, but also from the disaster of moralism—the attempt to live up to a code of moral law in our own strength (*supra*, p. 70); it is with this attempt, therefore, rather than with mere sinfulness, that the life of grace should be contrasted. (c) His repeated depreciatory remarks about law, or the law, culminating with his assignment to it, in his last illustration, of a place which could equally well have been allotted to *sin* (that of the tyrannical husband), might very well have led a

critic to utter the indignant question, *Is the law sin?* (7⁷). It was therefore a matter of urgency that he should clear up the ambiguities and say exactly what part he allotted to law in relation to human sinfulness.

As far as the law is concerned his view is clear. In itself it is *holy, and the commandment holy, and righteous, and good* (7¹²; cp. 7¹⁸). But it is associated with the origin of sin in two ways: (a) by giving a knowledge of the distinction between good and evil, it sets the stage for the conflict between conscience and temptation (7⁷; cp. 3²⁰, 4¹⁵, 5¹³); (b) by a natural psychological process it actually stimulates the desire to sin (never explicitly stated in so many words, but unquestionably intended in 7⁵, 8, 9, 11). The cause of this process is that the element in the soul which S. Paul calls the *flesh* (7⁵, 18, 25) is roused to *sinful passions* (7⁵) whenever it finds its natural tendencies opposed by a moral negative. *The law said 'Thou shalt not covet', and sin, occasion, finding or opportunity, in the reaction of the flesh to this prohibition, wrought in me . . . all manner of coveting* (7⁷, 8). The state of morbid moral chaos—the 'divided self'—which results from this process is described by S. Paul at length and with passionate intensity in vv. 15-25.

At what period of his life, if at all, had S. Paul experienced such a psychological agony? It seems natural to suggest that it happened before his conversion, and was one of the factors which predisposed him to accept the gospel when the moment came. But it is at least possible that its full poignancy was not realized by him until revealed in some flash of intense self-scrutiny after conversion. What is difficult to believe is (as is sometimes suggested) that it does not represent a personal experience at all, but is no more than a second-hand account of the experiences of others, or even an imaginative picture of a condition of mind into which man might fall were it not for the grace of God.

As so often with S. Paul, the passage contains hints of what is to become the dominant note of the next sections—the contrast between *flesh* (7⁵, 18, 25) and *spirit* (7¹⁴), *goodwill* (7¹⁶, 19), or *mind* (7²³, 25); and so makes possible the dramatic exposition of the difference between the new life and the old in 8⁶⁻¹⁷. On the psychology implied by the various words used see *supra*, pp. 94-102.

7⁷. *Howbeit*: 'on the contrary'.

7⁸. *apart from the law sin is dead*. We should have expected rather 'sin is not imputed', as in 5¹³; or, if he is thinking in terms of sin personified, 'sin is as yet unborn'. But 'dead' is used (a) to give full effect to the emphatic 'sprang to life' (*ἀνέζησεν*—R.V., wrongly, 'revived') of ver. 9; (b) under the influence of the entirely different idea of the annulling of the law, and the defeat of sin, resulting from the victory of Christ (cp. note on 7¹⁻⁸, and *supra*, p. 61). The aphorism is quite general—wherever law is abrogated or non-existent, sin is

powerless; it does not refer merely to the period (see ver. 9) before the individual becomes conscious of law.

7⁹. *I was alive*: a double meaning: (a) of his *physical* childhood—'As a baby I knew nothing of right and wrong' (cp. Isa. 7¹⁶); (b) of his *moral* childhood—'At that time I was in a state of moral immaturity which can be called innocence, though it is merely the innocence of ignorance' (cp. Jonah 4¹¹, Luke 23³⁴).

revived: better 'sprang to life'. But the Greek (ἀνέζησε) has a suggestion of resurrection, which can be accounted for partly as a possible reminiscence of Ezek. 37 (the valley of dry bones), and partly as a suggestion that sin (personified) lulls the morally immature into a false security by 'shamming dead'.

7¹⁰. *was unto life*. Apart from man's fatal facility for sin, the law would promote his moral progress.

7¹¹. *beguiled me*: a new psychological point: once a man knows the difference between right and wrong, sin (still personified) sets itself to persuade him that wrong is really right (cp. Gen. 3^{4, 5}, and 2 Cor. 11^{3, 4}). Hence comes the double consciousness of the sinner which is shortly to be described (vv. 15-24), for even though we are *beguiled* into acting as though wrong were right, we still know it to be wrong.

7¹². *Did then that which is good become death unto me?* The answer is, at first sight, 'Yes, a man who has "law" is in worse case than one who does not know the difference between good and evil' (cp. 3⁹). We might have expected S. Paul to meet this view with the reply 'No, the law may be the *occasion*, but it is not the *cause*, of spiritual death—the *cause* is sin, which *found occasion* in the law. It was sin that *worked death to me through that which was good*.' But he is not content with this passive vindication of the law. He asserts in the same breath that the law *showed sin to be sin, that through the commandment sin might become exceeding sinful*; leading up to the great thought of *O felix culpa!*—that by intensifying the sense of sin the law has actually ministered to the joy of redemption (cp. ver. 25a). The intermingling of the two ideas is shown by the confusion of the construction.

7¹⁴. Transition to the account of the divided consciousness of the sinner. *Spiritual . . . carnal* (better, 'fleshly'), see p. 102. *Sold under sin*—the correlative of the idea of the sinner being 'bought back' ('ransomed') by Christ (cp. p. 51).

7¹⁵. *I know not*. This rendering is obviously wrong—there is no such suggestion of blameless ignorance as in Luke 23³⁴; nor indeed does S. Paul plead ignorance at all. We must translate either (a) *generally*: 'I cannot understand my behaviour'; or (b) *specifically*: 'I do not approve of my actions.' The latter is the more likely, since *κατεργάζομαι* is used again of specific actions in vv. 17, 18, 20; but such a meaning for *γινώσκω* is unusual.

do (mg. 'work'—*κατεργάζομαι*) . . . *practise* (*πράσσω*) . . . *do* (*ποιῶ*).

S. Paul rings the changes on these words in this and the next six verses. Editors have attempted to assign to each of them a distinctive meaning, but it seems more likely that they are used indiscriminately.

7¹⁶. *if what I would not, that I do*. A parenthesis giving a further proof of the inherent *goodness* of the law already defended in vv. 7 and 12. But by repeating too closely the construction of the last clause of ver. 15, S. Paul slightly obscures his argument. His point is: 'If, as I have just said, I *hate* what I do, I am thereby expressing approval of the law.'

7¹⁷⁻²⁰. A parenthesis on the lower self. Psychologically it is identifiable with the 'flesh' (v. 18, cp. *supra*, p. 95), but in the extreme case (*supra*, p. 96) it is so base that ethically it may be identified with sin itself (vv. 17, 20). Hence the more it gains the ascendant, the more the sinner may be said to be 'not himself'—'It is no longer I who work' (vv. 17, 20). S. Paul is not, of course, disclaiming moral responsibility; he is merely trying to express the disastrous state of inner disunion to which sin brings us.

7¹⁷. *So now*: better, 'indeed'.

7^{18, 19, 21}. Two words (*ἀγαθός, καλός*) are here used for 'good'—once more, apparently, without discrimination. But τὸ καλόν (translated 'that which is good' in 18, and 'good' in 21) is a technical term of Greek ethics for the 'moral ideal'; whilst *ἀγαθός* is a more conversational word.

7¹⁸. *is present* (*παράκειται*): 'is within my power'.

7^{21-4, 28b}. He reverts to and emphasizes the account of the divided self sketched out in vv. 14, 15, which called up the two parentheses of 16 and 17-20.

7²¹. *I find then the law*: 'the general principle', as in 3²⁷. What S. Paul 'finds' is that even when he wishes to do good, he does as a matter of fact commit evil. R.V. mg. ('in regard of the law') is too forced to be accepted.

is present (*παράκειται*). S. Paul probably invites his readers to give a stronger meaning to the word here than in ver. 18—perhaps 'forces itself upon me', 'is my constant master', or even 'is my bedfellow'. The English omits the dramatic repetition of *ἐμοί*—'upon *me* who will to do good, upon *me* is evil forced'.

7^{22, 23}. *the inward man . . . my mind*: *supra*, p. 101.

7²³. *law in my members . . . law of my mind . . . law of sin*. In all these phrases 'law' means 'an active principle'—cp. the usage in ver. 21.

After ver. 23 should follow 25b (*So then I myself . . .*), summarizing the account of the divided self, and leading up to the tragic outburst of ver. 24. How the sentences came to be transposed in the common archetype of all existing MSS. can only be conjectured.

7²⁴. *O wretched man that I am!* In the Greek 'man' is very empha-

tic. The divided self which S. Paul has just described is the universal and inevitable state of unredeemed humanity.

the body of this death. The 'death' here is obviously spiritual (contrast 6¹²); the phrase therefore means the same as 'the body of sin' in 6⁶, and 'this sinful flesh' would have served S. Paul's purposes. But the connexion of the 'flesh' with the 'body' is so close (cp. notes on 6⁶, 12, 8¹⁰) as to suggest to the natural man in his unredeemed state that life in the body is equivalent to spiritual death. He has yet to experience the joyful fact that, *thanks to God through Jesus Christ our Lord* (7²⁵), there is 'now no condemnation' for the Christian (8¹); he is *dead unto sin* (6¹¹); *sin has no more dominion* over him (6¹⁴). And even the Christian regards physical resurrection as the culmination of spiritual redemption (8²³).

7^{25a}. *I thank God.* R.V. mg., *Thanks be to God* (without the 'but') is probably the best reading; cp. I Cor. 15⁵⁷, where the thought as well as the expression is similar.

(g) 8¹⁻⁴. *Theological recapitulation: the freedom brought by Christ.*

8¹. *now*: in the strict sense, 'at the present moment'. The conquest of sin is already accomplished; there is no need to wait until death releases us from the body (cp. note on 7²⁴).

no condemnation. He reverts to the thought of 'acquittal' or 'quittance' for the last time; cp. note on 6⁷. But perhaps the word means 'disabilities', as in 5^{16, 18}, and so covers all the consequences of sin from which Christ brings relief.

8². *law of the Spirit . . . law of sin.* Here 'law' means 'dominion'.

the Spirit of life. Throughout this chapter we are brought face to face with the great conception of *the Spirit*. Sometimes the conception is purely theological—in later language we should say that S. Paul is speaking of the Holy Spirit as the third Person of the Trinity (so explicitly vv. 16, 26, 27); more often it is empirical—the Spirit of God or Christ operative in the spiritual life of man (as for example 'walk after (according to) the Spirit' in ver. 4); sometimes the usage is indeterminate (*supra*, p. 102). A simple test of the distinction is that of the use of the capital S: where a small s ('spirit') could be substituted without making nonsense of the passage, the usage is empirical rather than theological. In the present verse it is obviously theological. *Of life* means 'life-bringing'—since *newness of life* (6⁴, 11, 13) and a *spiritual resurrection* (6⁸) are the results of the death and resurrection of Christ, which are made operative in man by the Spirit.

in Christ Jesus: cp. *supra*, pp. 111, 112.

8³. *what the law could not do.* The English correctly renders the breathless and ungrammatical construction of the original. The meaning, however, is clear: 'What the law could not do, *that God did*, by sending His own Son and condemning sin.' For details see the

larger commentaries; and for the thought cp. pp. 69-71. Here S. Paul merely mentions the *inadequacy* of the law (cp. 3²⁰, Gal. 2¹⁶, 3¹¹, Acts 13³⁹), whereas elsewhere he has emphasized its *dangers* (7^{8, 9}) and its incompatibility with the régime of grace (7¹⁻⁴). For the moment therefore, the law is thought of as an ineffective ally of righteousness, not as a dangerous occasion of sin.

weak through the flesh. Strictly speaking, the law's failure is due to the fact that *man* is 'weak through the flesh' (cp. 7^{6, 14-19}); but the meaning is clear.

God, sending . . . sinful flesh: a passage of supreme importance for S. Paul's doctrine of the Incarnation: see *supra*, pp. 105, 106.

and as an offering for *sin* (mg. and for *sin*). The mg. gives the literal translation, the English text a very probable meaning—the reference being to the sin-offering of the Old Covenant. But it is by no means certain that S. Paul intended anything more than a literary allusion to the sin-offering; we cannot infer from this passage that he held any particular sacrificial doctrine of Christ's death (see *supra*, p. 66).

condemned sin: 'gave a verdict *against* sin, by giving a verdict for man' (8¹). Perhaps he thinks of sin as claiming man's person for enslavement in payment of a debt (cp. Lev. 25³⁹⁻⁴⁰, Isa. 50¹, Matt. 18²³⁻³⁴, and Rom. 6^{16, 22}; see note on 6¹⁸), but losing its case.

in the flesh. Christ's victory was won during 'the days of His flesh' (Heb. 5⁷)—i.e. on the very ground where sin was strongest and human nature weakest.

8⁴. *ordinance* (δικαίωμα): for S. Paul's different uses of this word cp. note on 5¹⁸. This verse emphasizes the statement of 7¹² that the commandment is 'holy and righteous and good': it is not so much a new *standard* as a new *power* that Christ brings. And it finally disposes of the suggestion (6¹⁶) that we may *sin because we are not under law but under grace*.

might be fulfilled in us: so phrased because the agent of this result is God's grace, not human effort.

walk not after the flesh: 'according to', cp. 8^{5, 12, 13}, 2 Cor. 1¹⁷, 10^{2, 3}, 11¹⁸ (all with σάρξ). The antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit' leads up to the next section (8⁵⁻¹⁷).

(h) 8⁵⁻¹⁷. *The old life and the new: their principles contrasted.*

The main theme of chapters 5-8 is here resumed, and the exposition takes a notable step forward. 5⁸ began to speak of the motive power of the new or sanctified life—*The love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Ghost which was given unto us*. Chapter 6 associated the new life with *baptism* (6⁴), and emphasized the freedom from sin which it brought—a conception briefly resumed in 8¹⁻⁴, and illuminated by being contrasted with the slavery of a life under law (7⁵⁻²⁶). But although we have been told that entry

into the new life constitutes an appeal to us to *reckon ourselves dead to sin* (6¹¹) and to live accordingly, and have been promised immunity from the *dominion* of sin (6¹⁴), we have been told little of the power which will enable us to respond to the appeal and will implement the promise. So the hint of 5⁵ is now taken up and developed. This new power is the *Spirit of God dwelling in us* (8⁹), which can equally be spoken of as *Christ in us* (8¹⁰). With real dramatic sense, S. Paul expounds these views by means of a series of contrasts between 'life in the flesh' and 'life in the Spirit', which give the section a high emotional colouring. On the Spirit generally, *supra*, pp. 108-10.

8^{5, 6}. *do mind* (φρονῶσαι) . . . *the mind* (φρόνημα) *of the flesh*. R.V. retains the assonance, at the loss of a certain emphasis. Perhaps 'are absorbed in' . . . 'the absorptions of the flesh' would keep the forcible character of the Greek.

8⁶. *is death*: 'leads to death'; both spiritual (see note on 6⁸), and, in the same mysterious way at which he has already hinted, 5^{12, 14}, 6²³ (cp. *supra*, p. 54), physical as well. But the spiritual sense is primary here, as is seen from the contrasted 'life and peace'.

8⁹⁻¹⁰. *in the spirit* . . . *the Spirit of God* . . . *in you* . . . *the Spirit of Christ* . . . *Christ in you*: *supra*, p. 111.

8¹⁰. *the body is dead* (νεκρὸν) *because of sin*. Many commentators take this to mean 'the body is doomed to death because of Adam's sin'. The difficulties of this are (1) we should expect θνητὸν 'mortal' (as in ver. 11, cp. 6¹²), and not νεκρὸν 'dead'; (2) the remark is pointless—for this 'deadness of the body' is in no sense the *result* of 'Christ being in us'; it is, in fact, a condition which Christ will nullify by *quicken*ing our mortal bodies (ver. 11). And although objection (2) could be avoided by rendering (with some violence to the Greek), 'If Christ be in you, *although* the body is doomed to death because of sin, the spirit is life', objection (1) is insuperable. It seems best, therefore, to render as though S. Paul had written 'flesh' and not 'body': 'If Christ is in you, your fleshly impulses have been done to death—the only possible fate for them, in view of the sin which they have caused' (or perhaps 'if sin is to be overcome'); 'and the spirit is life'. This would keep the contrast between 'flesh' and 'spirit' which runs through the whole passage; and we must assume that S. Paul wrote or dictated 'body' for 'flesh' under the same influences here as in 6^{6, 12}, 7²⁴—the connexion between our 'bodily needs' and our 'fleshly impulses' on the one hand, and that between physical and spiritual resurrection as equally the work of Christ on the other.

because of sin . . . *because of righteousness*: 'with a view to the conquest of sin and the establishment of righteousness'.

8¹¹. *the Spirit of him*: cp. vv. 9, 10; *quicken*: 'make alive'. As elsewhere, the *physical* resurrection of the believer is the culmination of his *spiritual* redemption (cp. 6⁶, 8²³). In the present passage S. Paul

seems to adumbrate a doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous only ('conditional resurrection'). But we have to remember that he is merely concerned here to enumerate the blessings of possessing the Spirit, and is not expounding the theology of the resurrection in full. Note that all three persons of the Trinity are mentioned in this verse, thus implying a trinitarian formula behind S. Paul's thought.

8^{12, 13}. A hortatory parenthesis.

8¹². *we are debtors*: 'we owe a duty', cp. 1¹⁴, 13⁸. We should expect the passage to continue: '... but to the Spirit'; but S. Paul's thought switches into a different direction.

8¹³. *ye must die*: physically, of course, but still more spiritually: for he does not imply that the righteous do not suffer physical death, but at most that it has no terrors for them.

mortify ('do to death') the deeds of the body: a strange expression—we should have expected, for example, 'mortify the lusts of the flesh', or at most 'mortify the sinful passions in our members' (cp. 7⁵). But the first stage in conquering the 'flesh' is to refuse to put its solicitations into effect by *deeds*; S. Paul has therefore modified the strictly doctrinal form of his statement by reference to practical experience.

8¹⁴⁻¹⁷. Reversion to the contrast between the old life and the new; but the 'old life' has almost fallen out of the picture, and S. Paul now envisages the glories of the new life under the metaphors of 'sonship', 'adoption', and 'inheritance'.

8¹⁴. *led by*. The phrase belongs to the 'ecstatic' or 'tonic' circle of ideas about the Spirit (*supra*, pp. 108, 109).

8¹⁵. *the spirit of bondage again unto fear*. 'Spirit' here means simply 'temper', 'state of mind'. The word translated 'bondage' is the normal word for 'slavery'; and in 6^{18, 19, 22} the Christian has been called a 'slave' of righteousness, though it is true that in 6¹⁹ S. Paul apologized for the expression. But 'bondage' gives the true impression which S. Paul has insinuated by associating 'fear' with 'slavery'. The Christian 'serves' God, indeed; but he does not cringe under His rule as the natural man cringes under the tyranny of sin (cp. 7^{14, 23, &c.}). Hence his 'service' is the willing obedience of sonship, not the enforced bondage of a 'slave'. For the contrast between 'slave' and 'son' cp. Gal. 4⁷, and note also 1 John 4¹⁸.

spirit of adoption. Here 'spirit' is delicately ambiguous. It refers both to a 'temper' or 'state of mind' (cp. previous note) and to the Holy Spirit which *adopts* us into sonship. It is interesting to notice that *adoption* was not a Jewish but a Greek practice, yet it gives the right to utter the *Jewish* child's cry, 'Abba, Father'. S. Paul thus delicately insinuates once more that Jew and Greek are one in Christ. The theological implications of the thought that we are sons of God by adoption, rather than by natural birth, are not developed here.

Abba: Aramaic for 'Father'; cp. Mark 14³⁶, Gal. 4⁶.

8¹⁶. *The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit*: probably a reference to ecstatic cries of 'Abba!' wrung from Christians during prayer or praise, for example at the liturgy. There seems no other reasonable way of interpreting *the Spirit's 'witness'* as distinct from *our spirit's 'witness'*. Note that the Greek gives no authority for the masculine 'himself'; 'itself' would be an equally correct translation.

children. As 'sons' expresses the Christian's *maturity* over against the immaturity of the natural man, so this significant change to *children* expresses his *immaturity* as contrasted with the fullness of the divine nature (cp. Gal. 4¹⁻³).

8¹⁷. *heirs*: expectant of the full privileges which God has to give us, but not as yet in possession of them (cp. Eph. 1¹⁴).

joint-heirs. This may imply that in a sense even Christ has not yet entered into possession of all that God has still to give (cp. ver. 19; Eph. 1^{10, 22}, where the proper translation is, 'Who all in all is being fulfilled'; Col. 1²⁴). But the inference is not certain; the suggestion may be that as Christ has already entered upon His inheritance, so shall we enter upon ours in due course.

suffer with him: both in the *death* of baptism (6⁴; cp. 2 Cor. 4^{10, 11}) and in the *mortifying* or *crucifying* of the *flesh* (6⁸, 8¹³, Gal. 2²⁰, 5²⁴, 6¹⁴, Col. 3⁵) and in *filling up his afflictions* (Col. 1²⁴).

glorified: see note on 3²².

(i) 8¹⁸⁻²⁰. *The goal of the sanctified life, and its assurance in the fore-knowledge of God.*

The thought of *suffering*—even though it be *with Christ*—seems to demand a new assurance, akin to the promises of 6^{5, 8, 22}, 8¹¹. Such an assurance, expressed in the sequence of thought of vv. 18, 23, 28-30, forms the backbone of the present passage, vv. 29 and 30 leading up to the great discussion on predestination in chapters 9-11. The section is broken up, however, by three parentheses: (a) vv. 19-22, on the redemption of the created universe; (b) vv. 24, 25, on the nature of Christian hope; (c) vv. 26, 27, on the assistance of the Holy Spirit; all of them designed to encourage the Christian in enduring *the sufferings of this present time* with an ever-growing confidence (hope) *as to the glory which shall be revealed*.

8¹⁸. *sufferings*: cp. S. Paul's enumerations of his own sufferings as a missionary of the gospel in 1 Cor. 4⁸⁻¹³, 2 Cor. 4⁸⁻¹⁰, 6³⁻¹⁰, 11²²⁻³⁰.

the glory: the 'visible manifestation of God', as in 3²⁵.

to us-ward: lit. 'into us', i.e. 'to and in us'—the final revelation of God's greatness will not merely engross our vision, but transform our characters (cp. the analogy of the magic mirror which transforms those who gaze into it, 2 Cor. 3¹⁸ (mg.)) so that we ourselves become a part of the manifestation of His true nature.

8¹⁸⁻²². *First parenthesis: the redemption of the universe*. For the doctrine here see *supra*, pp. 130-3. The connexion of thought would

seem to be: 'If, as we believe, the redemption of the entire universe depends upon the *revelation of the sons of God*, how certain it is that that revelation will take place! The issues involved are too great for God's plans in this direction to be changed.'

8¹⁹. *the creation* (κτίσις). The noun used implies that for the created universe to wait for its redemption is part of the original purpose of the Creator; cp. the ambiguity in 1²⁰.

the revealing of the sons of God: i.e. their revelation as sons of God, in all the glory of their transformed personality. Apparently this 'apocalypse' is to be the sign for the redemption of creation.

8²⁰. Here is expressed, as regards *creation*, a view which is to give S. Paul considerable difficulty when it is applied also (9¹⁸⁻²⁴) to *man*—namely that God allowed, or even caused, it to be 'subjected to vanity' in order to manifest His glory by *delivering* it. (The view sometimes put forward that *man* subjected the creation to vanity (Ramsay, *Cities of S. Paul*, p. 13) cannot be sustained.) The complacency with which the apostle asserts that God originated the sufferings of the universe may surprise us, but we have to remember (1) that difficult though it is to say that God is the author of suffering, it is not blasphemous, as it is to call Him the author of sin; (2) that to S. Paul, as to every Christian, suffering is of the nature of a *privilege*, because it enables those who suffer to take part thereby in the redemptive activity of Christ (*supra*, p. 62; and note on 8¹⁷).

vanity (ματαιότης): 'a state of apparent chaos', 'meaninglessness'; cp. the verb used of the Gentiles in 1²¹ ('became vain') and Eccles. 1².

not of its own will: in contrast to man, who *voluntarily* subjected himself to the 'vanity' of sin.

by reason of: an attempt to render the unusual *διὰ* with accusative of agent. Better, 'in accordance with the purpose of'.

8²¹. *corruption* (φθόρα). The apparent purposelessness of the universe is manifested in the ceaseless dissolution of all created things into their constituent atoms. On *φθόρα* see N. P. Williams, *Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin*, pp. 254 ff.

the liberty of the glory: 'the freedom to be conferred upon the creation when (and because) the Christians stand revealed as the children of God, and so play their part in manifesting the fullness of His glory'. See note on ver. 18.

8²². *we know that . . . until now*: a compressed sentence: 'we know by ordinary observation that the universe is full of waste and suffering; we infer that there is in this suffering something akin to a conscious desire for release (cp. ver. 19), like that which underlies the groans of a woman in travail'.

together: probably 'in all its parts' rather than (mg.) 'together with us'.

8²³. Reverts to ver. 18, and admits that we *do* indeed suffer terribly (even though we have the *firstfruits of the Spirit*), all the more be-

cause we have knowledge of the *glory which shall be revealed*, and so long for it with all the intensity of hope deferred. The Greek has an emphasis which can be effectively represented in English only by the threefold repetition of *ourselves*.

not only so: 'If the whole universe waits for its redemption, why should we be surprised if we have to wait for ours?'

the firstfruits of the Spirit: 'We have the Spirit, which is the first fruit, or foretaste, of our future glory' (cp. 2 Cor. 1²³, 5³).

waiting for our adoption: i.e. for its public and final recognition; for, in fact, we have been 'adopted' already (ver. 15).

the redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) of our body. Once more (cp. 6⁸, 8¹¹) the resurrection of the body represents the culminating phase of redemption; so S. Paul feels himself entitled to speak of the 'redemption' of the body, although the word is not used elsewhere in so physical a connexion. For the word see *supra*, p. 51.

8²⁴. 25. *Parenthesis on Christian hope*.

8²⁴. *by hope were we saved*: on *hope* and its relation to *faith* see notes on 4¹⁶, 5², and *supra*, p. 73. The two are aspects of the same state of mind, and so S. Paul can say that we are *saved by hope*, just as in Eph. 2⁸ he says we are *saved through faith*. His point is that we are saved, or justified, by the 'faith-hope' state of mind, and not by works. But such a state of mind would be impossible unless God had withheld some of His blessings for a future time, since *hope that is seen* (or, as we might say, realized) *is not hope any longer*. Present suffering, therefore, due in part at least to our longing for these deferred blessings, is God's will for us; and our duty is to exhibit Christian *patience*.

who hopeth for that which he seeth? on the divergent readings here, which make no difference to the argument, see the larger commentaries.

8²⁶. 27. *Parenthesis on the assistance of the Holy Spirit*—further ground for confidence that God will crown our hopes with a glorious issue. The immediate reference is probably (as in ver. 16) to the phenomenon of ecstatic ejaculations by individual Christians during the liturgy, which were taken as convincing proofs of the actual presence of the Spirit at such times (cp. *supra*, p. 109). But it is not impossible that S. Paul recognizes the activity of the Spirit also in the 'inarticulate aspirations' (Dodd) of the individual heart; though ἀλόγητος does not mean 'inaudible', as the word 'aspiration' seems to imply.

helpeth: a very weak translation—the Greek (συναντιλαμβάνεται) means 'comes in not merely to help, but almost to supersede, our weak efforts'.

which cannot be uttered: not 'silent', but 'whose meaning cannot be expressed in intelligible speech', cp. the obscure statement of 2 Cor. 12⁴.

8²⁷. This unintelligibility (to human understanding) of the Spirit's *groaning* in no way prevents prayers so characterized from being efficacious, for (a) God can *search hearts*, and consequently can interpret the *mind of the Spirit* even when not expressed in recognizable words; and (b) the Spirit *searcheth the deep things of God* (1 Cor. 2¹⁰), and so can *make intercession according to the will of God*—i.e. can ask for the boons which God intends to give. For the strong emphasis on the distinct personality of the Spirit here, cp. *supra*, p. 110.

8²⁸⁻³⁰. Reverts to the main theme—the Christian's assurance that despite suffering the goal will be achieved. The whole process of the divine economy is here spread out like a map, summarized by the opening words (as S. Paul probably intended them; cp. next note) *In all things*—i.e. in every stage of His creative and redemptive activity—*God works for good with (and for) those who love him*. This is stated as something which *we know*, although the 'knowledge', strictly speaking, is a certainty of 'faith' and not of 'sight', since it covers more than is contained in any one man's experience.

8²⁸. It seems almost certain that S. Paul wrote: 'In all things God works for good with those who love Him' (cp. R.V. mg.). But obviously He works 'for' as well as 'with' them; so R.V. text gives a true meaning, though not the whole of what S. Paul intended. For problems of the reading and rendering see the larger commentaries.

to them that are called: an abrupt transition from the subjective to the objective, to eliminate the possibility of our love for God being thought of as in any way meritorious. It is because we have been *called* that we 'love' Him: 'We love Him because He first loved us' (1 John 4^{10, 19}).

8^{29, 30}. *foreknew . . . foreordained . . . called . . . justified . . . glorified*: on this articulation of God's foreordaining purpose into its successive stages see *supra*, p. 120.

8²⁹. *conformed to the image of his Son*. *Conformed* (συμμόρφος) is not quite so strong a word as *transformed* (μεταμορφοῦσθαι) in 12², 2 Cor. 3¹⁸. It suggests a continuing process rather than a sudden miracle, and therefore is more appropriate to a passage dealing mainly with the foreordained *process* of salvation. On the other hand *image* (εἰκών) here and in 2 Cor. 3¹⁸ (cp. 1 Cor. 11⁷, 2 Cor. 4⁴, Col. 1¹⁵, where it is used of the relationship between Christ and the Father; and Col. 3¹⁰, of the relationship between the *Christian* and the Father) is very strong indeed; 'changed into essential identity' would express the full daring of S. Paul's expression.

that he might be the firstborn. True to his objective presentation, S. Paul expresses the purpose of the divine economy in terms of its meaning for God Himself—it is to confer (if such a thing were possible) dignity upon Christ as the Head of the redeemed family of the Church (cp. for the thought Eph. 1¹⁰).

firstborn: here (as often in rabbinic writing) of supreme dignity

(cp. Col. 1¹⁵, 1¹⁸—in Col. 1¹⁸ the idea of 'priority in time' enters as well).

brethren: cp. John 20¹⁷, Heb. 2¹¹, 12¹⁷. The bold conception of Christ as the Christian's *brother* is nowhere in the New Testament so emphatically expressed as in these passages.

8³⁰. *glorified*: not as yet with the full *glory* of the future (8¹⁸, 2¹), but with the visible outpouring of *power* (cp. Acts 1⁸, 4³³, 6⁸, &c., Rom. 15¹⁹, 1 Cor. 1¹⁸, 2 Cor. 12⁹, &c.) which is even now a manifestation of God's presence in the Church. See note on 3²³.

(j) 8³¹⁻⁹. *A hymn of Christian confidence.*

8³². *He that spared not . . . for us all.* The verbal reminiscence of Gen. 22¹⁶ (*hast not withheld thy son, thine only son*) is important, because it reminds us of the cardinal Christian doctrine that the Father is as much concerned in the work of Atonement as the Son; see *supra*, p. 58.

8³³. *who shall lay anything to the charge*: we must understand 'with any hope of proving his case.'

elect: *supra*, pp. 121, 125.

8³³⁻⁶. *It is God that justifieth.* For the various ways of punctuating (and consequently of interpreting) this passage, see the larger commentaries. The essential meaning is not affected. It seems certain that R.V. text is right in rendering, *It is God that justifieth; who is he that shall condemn?* thus making S. Paul quote Isa. 50⁸, 9. If so, the rest must be as R.V. text—the question, *Who shall separate us . . . ?* standing in the same relation to the affirmation, *It is Christ Jesus that died*, as does the question, *Who is he that shall condemn?* to the affirmation, *It is God that justifieth.*

8³⁴. Expands the *justifieth* of 33 by recounting, almost in credal form, the work of Christ in detail. For the heavenly session cp. Mark 14⁶², Acts 7⁵⁵, Eph. 1²⁰, Col. 3¹; for Christ's perpetual intercession cp. Heb. 7²⁵, 1 John 2¹.

8³⁵. *Who shall separate us . . . ?* Two classes of opponent are considered: (a) adverse circumstances of the physical order, which might (it is suggested) cause the Christian to falter in his *faith* and so remove him from the sphere of influence of the divine *love* (vv. 35-7); (b) spiritual powers of evil, who in this and other ways might seek to defeat God's redeeming work. Against the first suggestion S. Paul brings both the evidence of prophecy (*as it is written*) and of personal experience (*we are more than conquerors*); against the second no evidence is necessary, for a principal theme of the epistle is that the invisible powers of evil have been overthrown by Christ (*supra*, p. 61); and elsewhere (Col. 1²⁰, Eph. 1¹⁰, 3¹⁰) he hints that even they are to be redeemed in the end (*supra*, p. 130). For the catalogue of ver. 35 cp. the passages cited on ver. 18.

tribulation or anguish: a stock rhetorical phrase—cp. 2⁹.

8³⁶. From Ps. 44²²—the inclusion of the 'for thy sake' of the original makes it clear that S. Paul is thinking primarily of troubles which come upon the Christian *because he professes Christianity*—i.e. temporal persecution; but the wider reference to any kind of suffering is not excluded.

8³⁸. 39. On these invisible spiritual forces, *supra*, p. 130; similar catalogues in 1 Cor. 15²⁴, Eph. 1²¹, 2², 3¹⁰, 6¹², Col. 1¹⁶, 2¹⁰, 15.

height . . . depth (ὕψωμα . . . βάθος): astrological terms—the former a star at its zenith, when its influence is greatest; the latter the abyss below the horizon from which it rises to exercise that influence.

III. SPECIAL TOPICS (9¹–15¹³)

(A) 9¹–11³⁶. THE PROBLEM OF JUDAISM

See Introduction, pp. 122–5. The close of the last section has emphasized to an almost overwhelming extent God's predestination to salvation of those whom S. Paul calls the *elect* (8³³), or *the sons of God* (8¹⁹)—the Christians, in fact, who have accepted the gospel and by the grace of God are finding *the ordinance of the law fulfilled in themselves* (8⁴). But what of those of whom this cannot be said, and of whom the Jews, by their flagrant failure *to subject themselves to the righteousness of God* (10³) as revealed in the gospel, are the outstanding example? S. Paul recognizes that he has done nothing to defend his doctrine of grace against a very serious possible criticism. His critic might very well say: 'If God had given the Jews sufficient faith, through grace, they too would have responded to the gospel; and indeed no other power could save them, for it is only *by grace that we are saved, through faith; and that not of ourselves; it is the gift of God; not of works, that no man should glory* (Eph. 2⁸). So if God refuses grace (as He appears to have done) and they suffer eternal loss in consequence, we must say that He has predestined them to damnation. And this is unjust of Him—He has no right to *find fault*, for the Jews, so far *from withstanding his will* (9¹⁹) are, apparently, merely fulfilling it, and that through no fault of their own. And this is all the more inequitable, since the promise of salvation was made to the Jews as *Abraham's seed* (9⁷); and therefore we can only conclude that *the word of God has come to nought*' (9⁶).

We have already had a hint of this criticism in 3⁵, *Is God unrighteous who visiteth with wrath?*; but there it was mixed up with captious objections which veiled its real importance (see *supra*, p. 123, and notes *ad loc.*). Now S. Paul is free to deal with it at

length. After a parenthesis (9⁶⁻¹³—paragraph (c) below) to show that the last objection at all events is worthless, since even on the strict letter of Scripture not all *Abraham's seed* were *children of the promise* (9⁸—we have already learnt in 2^{28, 29} and 4^{11, 12} who the 'children of promise' really are), he takes up the main theme in a series of statements:

(i) As in other cases (e.g. Pharaoh) there must be a divine purpose behind God's apparent unrighteousness (9¹⁴⁻¹⁸—paragraph (d) below);

(ii) even if God had created the Jews merely to punish them, He would have been within His rights (9¹⁹⁻²⁶—paragraph (e));

(iii) but at worst there was always a *Remnant* of Jews destined to salvation (9²⁷⁻⁹, 11¹⁻¹⁰—paragraphs (f) and (i));

(iv) and the rejection of the remainder can be partly justified on the ground that (in some unexplained way) *by their fall salvation is come to the Gentiles* (11¹¹);

(v) whilst, as a matter of fact, in the end, *all Israel shall also be saved* (11²⁵⁻³²—paragraph (k)); the *hardening* (in so far as God's foreknowledge of it is an apparent ground for complaint) was at most only temporary (11²⁵).

These arguments are appropriately prefaced by an expression of S. Paul's longing for the salvation of the Jews (9¹⁻³—paragraph (a) below), and an enumeration of the privileges which they appear to have lost (9¹⁻⁵—paragraph (b)), and conclude with a singularly beautiful doxology (11³³⁻⁶—paragraph (l)). The section, therefore, follows a carefully considered and closely-knit line of thought on the whole question of apparent predestination to damnation, with special reference to the case of the Jews. But its outlines are blurred by the intrusion, first, of two successive passages (9^{30-10¹³}, 10¹⁴⁻²¹—paragraphs (g) and (h)) blaming the Jews for their own failure; and, second, of the parable of the olive-tree (11¹³⁻²⁴—paragraph (j)) warning Gentile Christians against spiritual pride (*highmindedness*, 11²⁰) because they have succeeded to the privileges of the Jews, and still more against apostasy akin to that of Israel, 11²². On S. Paul's theology of grace as love (*supra*, pp. 90, 93) no objection can be taken to these passages; they emphasize the truth that, however much we insist upon man's need of grace, we must not exclude the idea of his personal responsibility. But their appearance here is curiously fortuitous, and the section reads as a continuous whole without them. The warning to the Gentiles, at all events, seems almost certainly to envisage some special conditions in the

Church of Rome. It may well be, therefore, that the section as a whole (without these three passages) existed in draft before the epistle was composed; that S. Paul decided to append it as a very necessary completion to his account of the operations of God's grace; and that in doing so he inserted (rather at haphazard) the warning to the Gentiles, for local reasons of which we know nothing, and the indictment of the Jews, to prevent any Jewish reader making capital out of the occasional phrases which suggest that Israel's apostasy was after all predestined.

(a) 9¹⁻³. *S. Paul's longing for the salvation of the Jews.*

9¹⁻³. 'I make the following statement about myself after a conscientious self-scrutiny conducted by all the power of insight which the Spirit gives; and on this basis, speaking with all the gravity which I recognize to be incumbent upon a Christian, I assert that it is true.'

9³. *anathema*: 'accursed and set aside for destruction', as were the cities and peoples 'banned' under the old law (e.g. Lev. 27²⁹, Deut. 2²⁴, 3⁶, 13⁸⁻¹¹, Josh. 6¹⁷, 7¹¹⁻²⁶, &c.). Cp. Gal. 1⁸. 9, 1 Cor. 16²². For a parallel expression of disinterested love cp. Exod. 32³².

(b) 9⁴⁻⁵. *The privileges which the Jews appear to have lost.*

He resumes the enumeration of the privileges of the Jews begun (and then broken off) in 3². These privileges, like *circumcision* and the *oracles* there mentioned, should have made the Jews alert to welcome the even greater blessings offered by Christ. Thus the enumeration here emphasizes both the heights from which the Jews have fallen and the glories which (since their transfer to the Christian Church) are now inherited by the Gentiles (*supra*, p. 116).

9⁴. *adoption*. This is the general 'adoption' of the Jewish race as a peculiar people by Jahweh, not the special 'adoption' of the Christian (cp. 8¹⁵). *the glory*, the Shekinah, or visible presence of God (see note on 3²³). *the service*: the temple services, as in Heb. 9¹. 6.

9⁵. *the fathers*: the patriarchs, whose 'merits' (*supra*, p. 69) might be supposed to avail for the sins of their unworthy descendants (cp. 11¹⁶. 28).

as concerning the flesh: 'by natural descent'. *Who is over all, God blessed for ever*: on the reading and interpretation of this *supra*, pp. 103, 104.

(c) 9⁶⁻¹³. *Not all Jews by birth are children of Abraham in the sense of the promises.*

From the mention of the 'promises', which might have suggested that God had no right to desert His chosen people, we pass on

to the idea that even these promises were limited from the outset by God's *election* (9¹¹), so that it cannot be said (as a Jewish objector, versed in the idea of God's unbreakable covenant with Israel as a whole, might well have urged) that *the word of God has come to nought* (9⁶). The blessing pronounced on Abraham's seed (cp. Gen. 12⁷, 15⁵) was never intended, and cannot properly be understood, to cover all his descendants (9⁸). Not all who are *of Israel* by descent come under the 'Israel' designated by the promise (9⁶). Isaac (9⁷) was the only *child of the flesh* of Abraham to inherit the promise to his father; Jacob (9¹³), similarly, was the sole spiritual heir of Isaac. By this argument S. Paul vindicates his earlier position that only those *who walk in the steps of the faith of our father Abraham* (4¹²; cp. 2²⁰, 2²⁰) are his descendants for the purpose of the promises (*children of the promise* 9⁸, cp. Gal. 4²⁰), and at the same time gives his first ground for dissenting from the rejected Jews' complaint that there is *unrighteousness with God* (9¹⁴).

9⁷. *children: i.e. children of God or of the promise* (ver. 8).

In Isaac shall, &c.: Gen. 21¹².

9⁸. *According to this season, &c.:* Gen. 18^{10, 14}. The mention of Sarah excludes Hagar's son Ishmael from the sphere of the covenant.

9¹¹. *the purpose of God according to election . . . of him that calleth: supra*, pp. 121, 125.

9¹². *The elder shall serve the younger:* Gen. 25²³.

9¹³. *Jacob have I loved, &c.:* Mal. 1^{2, 3}. In the original prophecy 'Esau' is, of course, a generic name for the Edomites.

(d) 9¹⁴⁻¹⁸. *There is always a purpose behind God's apparent arbitrariness.*

The imaginary objector takes wider ground: discarding any question of 'promises', it is *unrighteous* (i.e. 'unfair', 9¹⁴) of God to select some men or races for special blessings, thus discriminating against the rest. To this S. Paul replies that this has always been God's way—witness the case of Moses and Pharaoh—whenever any ulterior divine purpose (*that I might show my power, and that my name might be published abroad*—ver. 17) could be secured thereby.

9¹⁵. From Exod. 33¹⁰. There is no reference to the contrast with Pharaoh in the original at this point.

9¹⁶. *not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth*: the great proof-text of all predestinationists since S. Paul's day. For *running* as a synonym for determined effort cp. 1 Cor. 9^{24, 26}, Phil. 2¹⁶, Gal. 2^{5, 5}.

9¹⁷. Adapted (*raised thee up for caused thee to stand*—i.e. (in the original) 'prevented thy destruction') from Exod. 9¹⁶. S. Paul's word (*ἐξήγειρα*) is curious, but probably means 'assigned a part in the drama of history'.

9¹⁸. *hardeneth: cp. Exod. 4²¹, 7³, 9¹², &c.*

(e) 9¹⁹⁻²⁰. *God's unlimited rights as Creator.*

S. Paul in his turn takes wider ground, and argues that God's position as Creator entitles Him, not indeed to break a covenant He has once made, but to make it with whom and on whatever conditions He will. The argument is introduced dramatically by an assumed objection, which takes us a step beyond two earlier passages (3⁵, 6¹) in which it was hinted that it would be unrighteous of God to punish sin, since sin has enabled His *grace to abound*. In those passages, however, sin was mainly thought of as *voluntarily committed by man*; now it is thought of, in the case of those without grace, as *predestined by God*. So the objector is made to say: 'If God has not "elected" me to the dispensation of grace, why should He threaten me with punishment for the sins which, without grace, I am bound to commit?'

S. Paul replies, in disconcerting fashion, by insisting that God has a perfect right to do as He will with all that He creates. Like the potter, He may, if He chooses, make 'vessels of wrath fitted to destruction', and then (S. Paul implies) *destroy them*. But he is particularly careful to avoid any phrase which might even suggest for a moment that God has actually done anything of the kind. Thus (a) he uses the word 'endured' instead of the word 'made'; and (b) he omits all reference to actual destruction. The passage is, in fact, purely hypothetical: 'If God were to make "vessels of wrath", and then destroy them', S. Paul suggests, 'no one could blame Him' (cp. *supra*, p. 124). This leaves him free to state, as a positive truth of the Christian revelation, that *all Israel shall be saved* (11²⁰). On this universalism, *supra*, p. 124.

9¹⁹. *who withstandeth his will?* This makes it clear that what is here discussed is *sin which God has apparently predestined us to commit*.

9^{20, 21}. For similar uses of the 'pot and potter' metaphor cp. Isa. 29¹⁶, 45⁹, 64⁸, Jer. 18⁴⁻⁶, Ecclus. 33¹⁸, Wisd. 15⁷.

9²¹. *a vessel unto honour, &c.*: cp. 2 Tim. 2²⁰.

9²². The passage implies a clear distinction between God's *right* and His *exercise* of it. His right was to *make* 'vessels of wrath' and to *destroy* them. But S. Paul is clear that in fact He did neither of these things, but actually tolerated ('endured') their degeneracy; and that although they are *fitted for destruction* there is yet good reason for believing that they shall be saved.

willing to show his wrath . . . his power: not the whole of God's purposes (for there *mercy* (= 'righteousness') comes first, *supra*, pp. 46, 47); hence *not the reason why* He tolerated the 'vessels of wrath', but an impulse (if we may so call it) *in spite of which* He tolerated them.

vessels of wrath: 'vessels with which He is angry'—a Hebraism of

which there are many examples, cp. 'sheep for the slaughter' (*lit.* 'sheep of slaughter') in 8³⁶.

fitted. As S. Paul exempts God from responsibility for human sin, 'fit' would give the sense better; he uses 'fitted' (i.e. by God) as being the word which the predestinationist (who throws the responsibility on God) would naturally employ.

9²³. *that he might make known.* Here a definite purpose of God is expressed (though not quite His ultimate purpose—that is to *save Israel* as well as the Gentiles). He allowed Israel to continue in sin, in order to show (by the selection of *vessels of mercy* to receive the *riches of his glory*) that His ultimate characteristic is mercy. Had He brought all men automatically to salvation, no mercy would have been apparent.

riches of his glory . . . prepared unto glory; cp. on 3²³, 8³⁰.

9²⁴. A new point is here introduced. The dividing line between the 'vessels of wrath' and the 'vessels of mercy' is not strictly coincident with that between Jew and Gentile. It is *from* the Jews (as Isaiah prophesied, vv. 27, 29) and *from* the Gentiles (as may be inferred from Hosea, vv. 25, 26) that *we*, the Church, are called. As his main theme in this whole passage is the rejection of Israel, and the calling of the Gentiles, we should have expected the present passage to run 'not from the Gentiles only, but also from the Jews'; and this S. Paul recognizes by quoting Hosea (on the Gentiles) first, and then Isaiah, on the Remnant of Israel. But 'the Jew first, then the Gentile' (1¹⁸, 2^{9, 10}) is one of his favourite maxims (naturally enough, for that was the order in which the gospel was presented); and he reverts to it here (ver. 24) as a salutary reminder to the Gentile members of the Roman Church that they cannot claim exclusive privileges.

9^{25, 26}. Hos. 2²² (with some variations of minor importance) and 1^{10b}. Adapted freely to S. Paul's purposes; for the originals refer, not to the Gentiles, but to the Northern Kingdom.

(f) 9²⁷⁻⁹. *Introduction of the idea of the 'Remnant', which is to recur in 11¹⁻¹⁰; supra, pp. 126-8.*

The quotations are from Isa. 10²² (abbreviated, and with the phrase *the number of the children of Israel* imported from Hos. 1^{10a}), 1⁹, but come from the LXX ('saved' instead of 'return' in ver. 27), not from the Hebrew which is the original of R.V. throughout the Old Testament. Once more (cp. 25, 26) S. Paul uses his authorities for his own purposes. The emphasis in the original was on the fact that *only* a Remnant should be saved (the vast majority of Israel being destroyed); S. Paul's argument is that, according to prophecy, *at least or at all events* a Remnant shall be saved.

(g) 9^{30-10¹²}. *First parenthesis: The Jews are responsible for their own apostasy—they cannot blame it upon God.*

On the parenthetic character of this section see *supra*, pp. 219, 220. 9³⁰⁻³ recapitulates the teaching as to the contrast between grace

and law, faith and works, originally given in 3²¹, 22, 28-30, 4¹³⁻²⁵, with the addition of the new theme (implicit in 9¹⁻⁶) that it is (in general) the *Gentiles* who have chosen the way of faith, whilst the *Jews* chose that of works. They followed *the law of righteousness*, but not *the righteousness which is of faith*. In 10^{2, 3} R.V. credits S. Paul with language which might at first sight suggest that the Jews were not wholly responsible for their fate; but see notes there.

9³². *They stumbled at the stone of stumbling*: better, 'took active offence at'. The reference here is undoubtedly to the rejection and crucifixion of our Lord, to whom the title 'the Stone' or 'the Rock' was constantly applied in the primitive Church (see Harris and Burch, *Testimonies*, ii. 96). In this crowning instance of the rejection of the gospel of grace S. Paul symbolizes or focuses all other occasions on which the Jews had fallen short of their true destiny by neglecting the witness of *law and prophets* (3⁸), the example of *Abraham* (4¹⁸, see note *ad loc.*) and so forth.

9³³. *Behold, I lay in Zion*: from Isa. 28¹⁶, with 'stone of stumbling, &c.' substituted (from Isa. 8¹⁴) for 'a tried stone, a precious corner stone', &c. Cp. 1 Pet. 2⁶⁻⁸ for a similar though more elaborate conflation. In both the original passages 'the stone' is a metaphor for the divine protection. Those who believe in it (Isa. 28¹⁶) will have no need to flee ('make haste'—so Heb. text) or be 'ashamed' (LXX, cp. note on 5⁶). But there will be some who reject the prophet's assurance, and seek refuge in human help; and they will have to pay the penalty for this 'stumbling'.

he that believeth on him shall not be put to shame: so the LXX of Isaiah (see previous note). The 'on him' is added by S. Paul (cp. 1 Pet. 2⁶) to emphasize the fact that justification through Christ is the crowning example of God's protection and mercy.

10¹⁻³. 'The Jews, though responsible for their own apostasy, are not past praying for; there is good in them. Their failure, though genuine and terrible enough, is only partial. They have throughout had a *zeal for God*; where they fell short and incurred justifiable blame was that they did not *pay attention* to God's self-evident methods, and conform to them; but wilfully *ignored* them.' The English misses S. Paul's obvious meaning by translating *ἐπιγνώσις* ('careful attention') by *knowledge*, and *ἀγνοοῦντες* ('ignoring'—cp. *ἀγνοία*, Eph. 4¹⁸, and Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, on both words) by *being ignorant of*. It thus suggests, contrary to the whole trend of the argument in this subsection, that the Jews failed for lack of revelation of the truth.

10³. *seeking to establish, &c.*, recapitulates the theme of 3^{20-2, 28}, 4²⁻⁶, 9³⁰⁻¹, &c. On *the righteousness of God* in this passage see *supra*, p. 89.

10⁴. An epigram summarizing the gospel; Christ is the *end of the law*, both as superseding its régime, and as being the consummation to which it pointed (cp. 3³¹).

10⁵. Adapted from Lev. 18⁵ (cp. Gal. 3¹²). S. Paul admits the truth of the 'Mosaic' dictum as a logical possibility (cp. similar admissions with regard to the Gentiles, 2^{14, 26}, and Introduction, pp. 43, 70); actually, as he has repeatedly asserted, no one has satisfied the demands of the law to such a degree as to *live thereby* (i.e. 'inherit eternal life') (cp. 3²⁰, 8³).

10⁶⁻⁸. Very freely adapted from Deut. 30¹¹⁻¹⁴. The original is an assertion that the Mosaic law, besides being easy to obey (*it is not too hard for thee*), is accessible to all—there is no need of a Prometheus to bring it down from heaven, or a Jason to procure it from the further side of the sea. S. Paul discards the reference to the law altogether, and applies the idea to faith in Christ as the very antithesis of the law. This drastic and unwarrantable allegorizing must have exposed him to attack. But no doubt the original passage was quoted against him in defence of the *righteousness which is by the law*, and he had to make shift to dispose of it somehow. We cannot otherwise account for his weakening his own case by introducing in its support an Old Testament quotation whose original purport was the exact contrary of what he set out to prove.

10^{6, 7}. *to bring Christ down . . . to bring Christ up*: singularly effective references to the Incarnation and the Resurrection (both of them voluntary acts of God, and independent of all human effort) as the mainstays of Christian faith.

10⁸. *that is, the word of faith*. S. Paul finds it difficult to adapt the original to his purpose. He wishes to substitute for 'The word (of the law) is in thy mouth and in thy heart' some such phrase as 'Faith is in thy heart'; but the quotation forces him to speak of *the word* (i.e. the 'message') of faith instead of *faith* by itself, and he is obliged to gloss over the fact that the two are by no means identical.

10^{9, 10}. *confess with thy mouth . . . believe in thy heart . . . with the mouth confession is made unto salvation*. The exigencies of the quotation, with its equal emphasis upon mouth and heart, force *confession with the mouth* into unusual prominence. But, provided that the part to be played by *belief in the heart* is not forgotten, this emphasis upon the need for public *confession* is salutary. Those who are *disciples secretly, through fear of public opinion* (John 19³⁸) or anything else, are no great asset to the gospel.

10⁹. *Jesus as Lord*: see *supra*, p. 103.

10¹¹. From Isa. 28¹⁶ (as in 9²¹), but here S. Paul adds the *whosoever* (*πᾶς*, 'every one') from Joel 2²⁸, which he is to quote in ver. 13; and (ver. 12) refers very briefly to that equality of Jew and Gentile in the matter of salvation which is one of the main themes of the epistle (cp. 1¹⁶, 2^{9, 10}, 9²⁴).

10¹². *there is no distinction*: as of sin (3²²), so of grace.

10¹³. *call upon the name of the Lord*: the normal Old Testament phrase to designate worship of Jahweh. See *supra*, p. 102.

(h) 10¹⁴⁻²¹. *Second parenthesis: further evidence as to the Jews' responsibility for their own condition.*

As S. Paul has just thrown the responsibility for their failure to receive the gospel upon the Jews, the objector may be imagined as making a last attempt to exonerate them, by alleging that it is a gospel which has to be *preached* (14, 15; cp. ver. 8), and that the preaching has not reached them. This may have been a pose actually adopted by the Jews in Rome, for the words put into their mouth in Acts 28²², suggesting that all they know of the gospel is very much at second-hand, are curiously reminiscent of the present passage. The reference now is clearly to the rejection of the Christian gospel, not, as in 3²¹, to that of the witness of the law and the prophets; though this witness is recalled by the mention of *Moses* in ver. 19 and *Isaiah* in vv. 16, 20. By a series of Old Testament quotations S. Paul proves (at all events according to the principles of rabbinic exegesis) (i) that the gospel has been preached to all the world (ver. 18 from Ps. 19⁴, where the words refer, however, to the astral bodies); (ii) and to Israel in particular (ver. 21 from Isa. 65²); (iii) by duly commissioned agents (ver. 15); (iv) that Israel had the example of the Gentiles to stir them to *jealousy* (better, 'zeal'; vv. 19, 20 from Deut. 32²¹, Isa. 65¹), so that they cannot complain that they heard but did not 'understand' (better than *know*, ver. 19); (v) but still refused to *hearken* (better 'submit'; ver. 16 from Isa. 53¹).

10¹⁷. A parenthesis by the objector, indicating that the ground now taken up by him (to which S. Paul, of course, has no dislike) that *belief* (better 'faith') *cometh of hearing and hearing by the word of* (better 'message about') *Christ*, is justified by the quotation immediately preceding, where the word translated 'report' (*ἀκοή*) is the same as that used for 'hearing'. The suggestion of vv. 14, 15, that the Jews had had no opportunity of *hearing* the gospel, is thus renewed by implication; and S. Paul meets it with further quotations.

(i) 11¹⁻¹². *There is hope for the Jews in the doctrine of the Remnant*, which also proves that *the word of God has not come to nought* (9⁶).

S. Paul now reverts to the main theme of the section. On the doctrine of the Remnant, and its significance here, see *supra*, pp. 126-8.

11^{1, 2}. *cast off his people*. By implication (of language) S. Paul reminds his readers of the promises of 1 Sam. 12²², Ps. 94¹⁴, Jer. 31³⁷; which, as an *Israelite, of the seed of Abraham* (cp. 2 Cor. 11²², Phil. 3⁶), he himself regarded as final and irrevocable. But perhaps he refers to his own Jewish origin as evidence that *one Jew* at least was not *cast off*.

11². *which he foreknew*: supply 'and foreordained to a glorious future', as in 8²⁹ (cp. *supra*, p. 120).

11²⁻⁴. The doctrine of the Remnant could have been illustrated

from many Old Testament passages (*supra*, p. 126); S. Paul chooses the story of Elijah (I Kings 19) as perhaps the most vivid of them all.

11⁵. *election*: *supra*, pp. 121, 125-6; *of grace*, i.e. 'in the free favour of God, and not as a reward for works'.

11⁶. A parenthetic reminder of the main theme of the epistle; cp. 4^{4, 5}.

11⁷. *the election obtained it*. Here (as the contrast with *Israel obtained not* shows) S. Paul is passing away from the idea of the *Jewish* remnant, which has served its turn as a rebuttal of the objection that *the word of God has come to nought*, to the thought of the Christian Church as the *election* (*supra*, p. 116).

the rest were hardened. Though a different Greek verb is used, the reference to 9¹⁸ (Pharaoh) is too clear for S. Paul to have meant (as is often suggested) 'were hardened as a punishment for, or as a result of, their rejection of the gospel'. The 'hardening' was foreordained by God in each case for His own purposes, but at worst it is only temporary (11²⁶). Similarly of the *spirit of stupor* in ver. 8.

11⁸. Composite quotation from Deut. 29⁴, Isa. 6^{9, 10}, 29¹⁰.

11^{9, 10}. Ps. 69²²⁻⁴, with adaptations.

11¹¹. *Did they stumble . . . fall?* i.e. 'Did God intend to bring them, or was He prepared to allow them to come, to irretrievable ruin?' The answer is twofold: (i) they fell only for the period that was necessary to make it possible for *salvation to come to the Gentiles* (11^{11, 26}); (ii) when that period is at an *end all Israel shall be saved* (11²⁶) in its *fulness* (11¹²).

by their fall. The word (*παράπτωμα*) may mean an accidental stumble (as at the beginning of the verse, though there a less ambiguous word (*ἁμαρτία*) is used); but it is also one of S. Paul's favourite words for 'sin', translated 'trespass' in 5¹⁸. On the problem, 'How did the rejection of the Jews lead to the salvation of the Gentiles?', see *supra*, p. 128.

to provoke them: i.e. 'the Jews' (cp. 10¹⁹, 11¹⁴).

11¹². *loss* (*ἧττημα*): better 'defeat'; but the word chosen hints at a contrast to 'fulness' (*πλήρωμα*), which is brought out by the use of 'loss'. *fulness*: a very favourite word of S. Paul's, suggestive of many ideas: 'consummation by the realization of all potentialities' gives some of its implications.

(j) 11¹²⁻²⁴. *Third parenthesis: the Gentiles not to boast of God's apparent preference for them, but to take warning by the apostasy of the Jews*.

Another parenthesis. S. Paul argues that the Jews may regain the privileges of the covenant, as the Gentiles may forfeit them, by their manner of life. It is natural to suppose that a certain arrogance on the part of Gentile converts may have led to a tension between them and the Jewish Christians at Rome (cp. *supra*, pp. 27, 219, 220). On the theory of a 'synagogue of the Olive' in Rome. *supra*, p. 22

II¹³. *I glorify my ministry.* S. Paul anticipates the argument: 'By arrogating the title of *apostle of the Gentiles* (see note on I¹⁵) and *constantly glorifying that ministry*, you yourself in effect assert the priority of Gentile over Jew.' To this he replies: 'If I do so, it is only to *provoke the Jews* to a zealous rivalry (*jealousy*) with the Gentiles, in order that I may save some of them (ver. 14). This is quite different from the vulgar *glorifying* (ver. 18—but the Greek verb is a different one) against which I am warning you.'

II¹⁵. Recapitulates the thought of ver. 12. *Life from the dead*: either a metaphor expressive of the *seasons of refreshing and restoration of all things* (Acts 3^{19, 21}) which shall bring this world age to a close; or an apocalyptic hypothesis—the end, with the general resurrection, will come when the Jews have once more been gathered in.

II¹⁶. The intention of this verse is evident from what follows—there is hope for the Jews because (though to-day like dead *branches*) they spring from a *holy root* (i.e. the people of God's covenant—the Jewish Church of which the Christian Church has inherited the privileges); and so are capable of redemption. But the expression is awkward because (a) for rhetorical effect S. Paul has unwisely repeated the hypothetical construction of the previous verse ('if' . . . 'what' or 'so'), which obscures the fact that whilst ver. 15 is a mere recapitulation of ver. 12, ver. 16 is the beginning of the main argument; (b) he has interpolated a subsidiary metaphor (the *firstfruits and the lump*) which is not quite parallel with the principal one—for *firstfruits*, of course, are themselves of the nature of *branches*. The *firstfruits*, then, must be the patriarchs by whose holiness the entire Jewish Church is mystically sanctified (cp. 9⁸, II²⁶). This statement could have weight only with one who already shared S. Paul's view on the merits of the patriarchs; and to such a person it would be unnecessary, for he would also share S. Paul's view on the holiness of the Covenant Church, on which the hope of the Jews' salvation really depends.

II¹⁷⁻²⁵. The development of the allegory: it is easier for God, if the Gentiles prove arrogant, to reject them, than it was for Him to cut away the *natural branches*, the Jews; it is, in the same way, easier for Him to restore the Jews than it was for Him to open the door into the Church to Gentiles. Hence, the Gentiles must not *glory over the (natural) branches* (ver. 18). As a matter of fact, the complicated grafting process which S. Paul imagines is utterly impossible, and so no conclusions as to what is 'easy' or what is 'difficult' can be drawn from it. And even if such conclusions were admissible, it would still be open to question whether the divine action is bound by the same limitations as those which beset the human olive-grower. But the warning addressed to the Gentiles is really independent of the allegory by which S. Paul attempts to reinforce it.

II¹⁷. *the root of the fatness*: probably a Hebraism (like 'body of

sin', 'flesh of sin' in 6^o, 8^o), and so to be translated the 'rich' or 'fruitful root'.

(k) II²⁵⁻³². *The purpose of the hardening of the Jews—to open the door to the Gentiles* (cp. ver. 11); and the consummation—*all Israel shall be saved* (cp. ver. 12). These are two parts of a *mystery*: i.e. (as always in S. Paul, cp. 16²⁵, 1 Cor. 2⁷, 15⁶¹, Col. 1²⁵⁻⁷, Eph. 1⁹, 3³, 4⁹, &c.) a secret purpose of God which has now at length been revealed. On the universalism of this passage, *supra*, pp. 124, 125.

and so: 'in this way'—i.e. by provoking the Jews to zeal (cp. ver. 11).

II²⁶, 27: Isa. 59²⁰, 21, 27⁹ (LXX, and so varying from R.V. of Isaiah).

II²⁸. *the gospel . . . the election*: the first represents the historical method, the second the ultimate *purpose* of God.

enemies: 'rejected by God', though, of course, only temporarily; contrast 5¹⁰ (note) and 8⁷; and cp. *supra*, p. 50, n. 1.

for the fathers' sake: i.e. by the merits of the patriarchs. See notes on 9⁸, 11¹⁶.

II²⁹. *the gifts and the calling of God*, &c. God, in biblical teaching, may repent of *evil* He has threatened, and so refrain from it (Jonah 3¹⁰); but He is steadfast as regards His *promises* (cp. 1 Cor. 1⁹, 10¹³, 1 Thess. 5²⁴).

II³². *God hath shut up all*, &c. This sentence really summarizes the whole epistle, provided that we do not allow the words 'shut up' to exclude the idea of human responsibility.

(l) II³²⁻⁶. *A doxology*.

II³³. *wisdom and knowledge*: probably no more than a rhetorical duplication.

II³⁴, 35: from Isa. 40¹³, Job 41¹¹.

II³⁶. *of him and through him and unto him*: a favourite phrase of S. Paul's, as also of non-Christian writers of the period (*supra*, p. 103), to express the all-embracing scope of the divine providence.

(B) 12¹-15¹³. MORAL EXHORTATIONS

This section is composed of three 'sermons' (as we may call them) on specific topics, with occasional additions or parenthetical passages of a more general character. The three main topics dealt with are

Sermon I. *On brotherhood in the Church* (12⁹⁻²¹).

Sermon II. *On submission to secular powers* (13¹⁻⁷).

Sermon III. *On concessions to the scruples of weaker brethren* (14¹-15¹³).

Sermon I arises naturally from the main theme of the epistle—the equality (= brotherhood) of all men in Christ. Sermons II

and III may have been evoked by special problems which S. Paul knew to be troubling the Roman Christians; or there may be a sequence of thought of the following kind: Sermon I, *Duties to Equals*; Sermon II, *Duties to (secular) Superiors*; Sermon III, *Duties to (spiritual) Inferiors* (i.e. 'weaker brethren'). Of the additional passages (i) 12¹⁻² has no particular bearing upon Sermon I, and is probably no more than a very general piece of Christian exhortation; (ii) 13⁸⁻¹⁴ (which may consist of two detached fragments, 13^{8-10, 11-14}) has comparatively little relation with Sermon II, which immediately precedes it, and its apocalyptic verses (11-14) cut it off effectively from Sermon III which follows. It is tempting therefore to think that 13⁸⁻¹⁴ originally stood after 12²¹ (where it would follow very naturally), and has been transferred to its present position because of the resemblance between *ὀφείλετε* in 13⁸ and *ὀφειλάς* in 13⁷. (iii) The conclusion of Sermon III is blurred by the importation of two ideas which are not strictly relevant here—the value of Old Testament prophecy (see especially 15⁴), and an emphatic reassertion of the Gentiles' share in the gospel (15⁸⁻¹²).

(a) 12^{1, 2}. *Introductory.*

12¹. *by the mercies*: 'in view of the universal mercy of God to you and all men, of which I have been writing'. The words explain the immediately preceding 'therefore'.

bodies contrasted with *mind* (ver. 2). The latter can be *transformed* here and now by the operation of the Spirit. The former must wait for its *transformation* till the resurrection, or the Second Coming (Phil. 3²¹, cp. 1 Cor. 15^{51, 52}), but is capable of being dedicated (*presented*) to God even in this life.

a living sacrifice. The essence of sacrifice, even in O.T. times, lay not in the death of the victim, but in the 'offering of the life' to God. With animal sacrifices, this could only be achieved by slaying the beast and presenting its blood. But S. Paul sees that the truest *sacrifice* that man can offer to God is that of *living* according to His will. The idea of human guilt made the thought of such a *living sacrifice* impossible under the old law; but now that guilt has been removed, and *access* to God (5²) opened to us, the situation has entirely changed.

reasonable: 'spiritual' or 'ethical', as distinct from merely 'ceremonial': see Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. *λογικός*; and cp. Lietzmann on this verse. The phrase *λογική θυσία* (with its equivalents) was popular among the more spiritually minded pagans of this period, especially the writers of the Hermetic books.

service: liturgical worship.

12². Strictly speaking, a dedication of the *mind* is as much a part

of the Christian's 'reasonable service' as that of the 'body'. But until the *nous* has been 'transformed', neither body nor mind can be offered wholeheartedly to God; hence S. Paul changes the emphasis. The logic of the passage as a whole is: 'Allow your mind to be transformed, so that you may be able to offer both body and mind'.

fashioned . . . transformed (συναχηματίζεσθε . . . μεταμορφώσθε): two carefully chosen words. The first implies a slow assimilation to the ways of the world *in externals* (the unredeemed man is already a complete worldling *at heart*, so nothing need be said about that); the second implies a miraculous change down to the very depths of the heart (cp. notes on 2³⁰ and 8²⁹). Those who have experienced this change will *prove* ('recognize') that the will of God is *good and acceptable and perfect*.

(b) 12²⁻²¹. *First sermon: on brotherhood in the Church*. No one is to esteem himself above his fellows by virtue of any gift from God he thinks himself to possess (ver. 3); for all kinds of different gifts are necessary for the full life of the Church (vv. 4-8). Love is the essence of churchmanship; and the sermon concludes by developing the implications of this thought (vv. 9-21).

12². *the grace that was given* to S. Paul has enabled him to recognize what is *good and acceptable and perfect* for the life of the Church (cp. ver. 2).

that is among you: perhaps 'that is "something" among you' (αὐτὸν may have dropped out after ὄντι),

faith: here used, in a very wide sense, of all gifts and endowments (natural or supernatural) which the grace of God has given or sanctified.

12⁴. *many members in one body*. The analogy from the body and its members to a corporate society was a commonplace of contemporary philosophy. On the doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ, *supra*, p. 115, and cp. 1 Cor. 12^{13, 13, 27}, Eph. 4^{15, 16}, Col. 1¹⁸.

12⁶. The catalogue which follows is one of personal endowments and opportunities, not of official positions in the Church. Hence the words which might be taken as applying to an organized ministry (especially *διακονία* (ministry), ver. 7, and *ποιεῖσάμενος* (he that ruleth), ver. 8) refer not to any official position as such, but to the opportunities of exercising one's spiritual gifts which such positions afford (cp. *supra*, note on 1¹¹).

according to the proportion of our faith: a difficult phrase. It probably means 'always comparing the "word of prophecy", which we are inspired to utter, with the enduring principles of our faith, and regulating the former by the latter'.

12⁸. *with liberality*: and also; as mg. suggests, 'with simplicity', 'without ostentation'. The word is very elastic in meaning.

12⁹⁻¹³. This catalogue of the active expressions of love is closely

akin to that of 1 Cor. 13⁴⁻⁷, which also follows upon an enumeration of spiritual endowments.

12¹⁰. *in honour preferring one another*: meaning uncertain; perhaps 'making the first advance in mutual deference', or 'leading the way in honourable actions'.

12¹⁴. Here, and perhaps in vv. 15 and 17-20, S. Paul is thinking of the Christian's relations with non-Christians; but it is only in ver. 14 that the reference is certain (cp. Matt. 5⁴⁴).

12¹⁶. *Be of the same mind*: 'maintain harmonious relations'.

12¹⁶. *as much as in you lieth*: misleading; better render, 'so far as the maintenance of peaceful relations depends upon you, and not upon others'.

12¹⁹. *give place unto wrath; for it is written, &c.*: 'let God punish, if punishment there must be; do not take it into your own hands'. The quotation is from Deut. 32³⁵.

12²⁰. Quoted from Prov. 25^{21, 22}. *coals of fire*: 'you will cause him to burn with shame'; and this (so, at least, S. Paul as a Christian must add) should lead him to penitence and conversion. Thus *evil* will be *overcome with good*. It is noticeable that S. Paul leaves out the last words of the quotation, *And the Lord shall reward thee*; and so makes his injunction purely disinterested.

(c) 13¹⁻⁷. *Second sermon: on submission to secular powers*. S. Paul takes the highest possible view of the spiritual function of the Roman imperial officials. To a Jew it must have appeared almost blasphemous to speak of victorious pagan overlords as *ministers of God for good* (13⁴). The second Isaiah, indeed, regards Cyrus in this light (Isa. 44²⁸, 45¹), but Cyrus was to restore his countrymen to their native land, and to give them freedom of worship again in Jerusalem. Although S. Paul's experiences (perhaps because of his Roman citizenship) at the hands of imperial officials were uniformly good, there was no such boon as that bestowed by Cyrus that the Church could ask from them. This makes the spiritual insight of the present section all the more noteworthy. With the introduction of persecution by the secular authorities, some Christian writers adopted a very different tone (see, for example, the *Apocalypse*); but even during the persecutions prayer for secular governors was consistently enjoined.

13³. *the good work*: or, perhaps, by a very simple emendation (*ἀγαθοεργῶ*), 'to a good man'.

13⁶. *pay tribute*: cp. Mark 12¹⁷ and parallels.

13⁷. *tribute . . . custom*. The distinction is between payments made by (or as a member of) a subject nation, and ordinary taxation.

(d) 13⁸⁻¹⁰. *All obligations comprehended in the obligation of love*. This section has affinities with both the preceding passages—with Sermon I, as proclaiming the all-inclusive efficacy of love; with Sermon II, as mitigating the severe demand, 'Render to all their dues' (see

next note), the word *ῥητέρε* ('owe') of ver. 8 looking back to the *ῥητέρας* ('dues') of 7. Apart from this linguistic connexion, the passage would come more naturally if it stood as the immediate conclusion of Sermon I. On *love* as a Christian virtue, *supra*, pp. 117, 118.

13⁸. *Owe no man anything*, &c. At first sight this makes nonsense: 'Discharge all your obligations, except that of loving your neighbour'. But S. Paul is here using *ῥητέρε* in a slightly subjective sense—not 'to be under an obligation', but 'to reckon oneself as under an obligation'. His readers might well be daunted by the suggestion of innumerable particular obligations contained in ver. 7; he reassures them by saying, 'Do not worry about these detailed duties. All becomes simple if you reckon yourselves to be under the single obligation of loving your neighbour. In discharging that obligation you discharge all others, which are merely applications of it—*Love is the fulfilling of (every) law*' (cp. Gal. 5¹⁴). There are other attempted interpretations of the passage, but they are all forced, and miss the train of argument.

13⁹. Probably connected with a tradition of our Lord's teaching to which we also owe Matt. 22⁴⁰ and Mark 10¹⁰.

(e) 13¹¹⁻¹⁴. *An appeal for immediate surrender to the claims of love*. This section, with its message 'Awake and be doing', would be naturally suitable at the end of any ethical instruction. S. Paul makes it depend, to a certain extent, upon the argument that *the time is shortened* (1 Cor. 7²⁹), because the Second Coming may be expected at any moment (*now is salvation nearer*, ver. 11). But even where the belief in the immediacy of the Parousia has died away, the appeal is no less effective; for the real reason why we should *awake out of sleep*, and *cast off the works of darkness*, is simply that moral torpor is dishonouring to God and degrading to men, and so may not be allowed to continue for a moment longer than is necessary.

13¹¹. *when we first believed*. The aorist shows that a definite occasion is intended—'when we made our original profession as Christians' (i.e. at baptism).

13¹². *the armour of light*: cp. note on 6¹² and references there.

13^{13, 14}. The text which converted S. Augustine—*Conf.* viii. 12 (23).

13¹⁴. *put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ*: cp. *supra*, p. 93, with references there.

(f) 14¹⁻¹⁵. *Third sermon: on the scruples of weaker brethren*. The particular weaklings are (a) those who hold it wrong to eat anything but *herbs* (14¹); (b) those who *esteem one day more than another* (14⁵). The former may either have been persons of ascetic views (vegetarianism was an ascetic practice, both among the Jews (the Essenes) and also the Greeks (Orphism, neo-Pythagoreanism)); or else Christians (or would-be Christians), whether of Jewish antecedents or not, who wished to avoid possible pollution from idol-meats—all meat sold in the shambles (1 Cor. 10²⁸) in a Graeco-Roman city having first

probably been sacrificed to a pagan deity. The latter were probably ex-Jews who still desired to keep the Sabbath (cp. Gal. 4^{10, 11}, Col. 2^{16, 17}).

S. Paul proffers a solution of the main question in three stages. (i) Each man is to be *fully assured in his own mind* that his own practice is legitimate and innocent (14⁵); for *whatsoever is not of faith* (i.e. 'of good faith', as we say, or 'done with a clear conscience') is *sin* (14²³). (ii) A negative principle—Christians are not to *judge* (i.e. 'condemn') *one another* in respect of these differences, but should credit each other with good faith (14^{3, 4, 10, 13}). (iii) A positive principle—the *strong* ought not to put temptation in the way of the *weak*, by doing in their presence (and thereby inciting them to do) that which they could only do with a troubled conscience (14¹³⁻¹⁵; cp. Mark 9⁴² and parallels).

Later Christian moralists would observe that S. Paul's first principle is too drastic, unless accompanied by the rider that, *where no matter of vital importance is at stake, it is legitimate for me to follow the advice of responsible and reputable Christians if I cannot otherwise make up my own mind as to the morality of a particular course of action*. This is the generally accepted form in which the famous doctrine of Probabilism is now held. Argument (ii) is based on the principle that no man can tell whether another is genuinely conscientious; it is a matter between the individual soul and God (vv. 4-12). As regards (iii), it is to be noticed that S. Paul does not *forbid* the 'strong' to put their own convictions into practice (but see below note on 14¹⁸, and possibly 1 Cor. 10^{28, 29}), *except where the 'weak' would be immediately tempted to follow their example whilst still disapproving of the practice concerned*. This seems an eminently sane and proper view. It is not a question of deferring to the views of the 'weaker brethren', and so allowing them to domineer over the Christian society; any such principle would make progress impossible. It is a question of abstaining from such action as will tempt them to violate their own consciences. Cp. throughout the parallel discussion in 1 Cor. 8.

The entire discussion is buttressed by the first law of Christian life—that love will always *follow after things which make for peace* (14¹⁸), and that consequently the *strong* ought to bear the *infirmities of the weak* (15¹) by bearing with them. Of this Christ gave an example, as the prophets foretold (15³); and His welcome to us should be imitated in the welcome we extend to the 'weak' (15⁷). 15⁴ is a parenthesis reminding readers of the truth of prophecy; 15⁸⁻¹⁸ elaborates the theme of Christ's universal 'welcome' by recurring to the thought of the extension of the gospel to Gentiles.

A minor question remains. Were these 'weaker brethren' members of the Church, or candidates for baptism? The recurrent word 'receive' (14^{1, 3, 15}), meaning literally 'to take to oneself as a companion' (cp. Acts 17^{9, 18}) or 'welcome a new arrival as a friend'

(Acts 28², Philem. 17; and cp. Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. *προσλαμβάνειν*¹), suggests the latter. The Roman Church, in its desire for unity and its strong emphasis upon the gospel of freedom from all that would make for 'scruples', was perhaps refusing admission to eccentrics of the kind under discussion. S. Paul, then, first of all urges that such persons should be admitted to baptism; and then gives instructions as to how their scruples are to be dealt with.

14¹. *weak in the faith*. The word 'faith' in this chapter has a distinctive meaning. In general, as was said above (*supra*, p. 74), faith is an intellectual conviction of the truth of certain tenets guaranteed by the death and resurrection of Christ, together with the moral qualities which such a conviction will naturally produce. Of these tenets, one is that ceremonial observances such as those here mentioned (and he is not discussing any others) belong to the *law of works* which Christ has abrogated; so far as these matters are concerned, *nothing is unclean of itself* (ver. 14; cp. Mark 7¹⁴⁻²³, Acts 10¹⁵, 1 Cor. 8³, Tit. 1¹⁶). Those who have doubts on this point are therefore *weak in the faith* (or, as in 4¹⁹, simply *in faith*); those who are convinced of it *have faith* (ver. 2), in this respect at all events; those who behave as if they were convinced, whereas in fact they are not, are doing something *not of faith* (14²³) as far as they are concerned (they are acting, as we say, not in *good faith*).

receive ye. Foolish prejudices of this kind, however deplorable, are not sufficient grounds for refusal of baptism.

not to doubtful disputations: a very misleading translation—'not to pass adverse judgement on their scruples' is the meaning of the Greek.

14². *hath faith*: see on ver. 1.

14³. *set at nought . . . judge*. The contrast is between the robust contempt of the 'liberal' and the pained reproachfulness of the 'conservative' (cp. ver. 10).

received him: as in ver. 1—allowed him to come forward as a candidate for baptism, and so inherit the grace which shall help him to *stand* (ver. 4).

14⁴. *the servant of another*: introduces a new idea. We are all fellow-servants of God; our business, therefore, is not to criticize one another, but so to live that we have clear consciences before Him, by whose judgement we shall *stand or fall*.

shall be made to stand: because God has *received him* (ver. 3), and therefore will not desert him.

14⁶. A strong assertion that *good faith* must be credited to every one, even to those who in S. Paul's sense are *weak* in the faith.

14⁷. This verse might equally well introduce the theme of 'bearing one another's burdens' (as in 15¹, Gal. 6²); here it is used simply to

¹ Note particularly the use of the word as a technical term for enrolling recruits in the army.

lead up to the positive statements of ver. 8, which resume and complete the thought of vv. 4-6.

14⁷⁻⁹. The frequent introduction of the references to *death* rounds off the passage rhetorically, but adds nothing to the argument. S. Paul's mind seems to have gone off at a tangent. He has referred (vv. 4-6) to the *lordship* of Christ: he feels it desirable to add (in parenthesis, ver. 9) that this lordship was won by His *death and living again* (cp., for exact parallels, Phil. 2⁶⁻¹¹, Eph. 1²⁰⁻², similarly Acts 2³⁶, Heb. 1^{3, 4}); and the thought of *death* in this connexion is carried back throughout the passage.

14¹⁰⁻¹². Repeats the thought of vv. 3 and 4, with added emphasis upon the idea of divine judgement (cp. 2 Cor. 5¹⁰). Ver. 11 quotes Isa. 45²³ (LXX).

14¹¹. *confess to God* (ἐξομολογεῖν): mg. *give praise* is the more usual meaning, but there is perhaps an intentional ambiguity; S. Paul insinuates that every man before the judgement seat of God will have to 'plead guilty' to his own sins.

14¹³⁻²³. The positive principle—so far from *judging* the weaker brother, we are not to put temptation in his way.

14¹⁴. *nothing is unclean of itself*. This generalization (cp. refs. above on ver. 1) applies only to ceremonial *tabus* such as those under discussion. It cannot be used to condone offences against the moral law.

it is unclean: i.e. 'he is morally bound to treat it as unclean'.

14¹⁵. *if because of meat thy brother is grieved*. Under the general intention of the whole passage, that we must not by our example tempt the weaker brother to eat meat against the dictates of his conscience, there appears here the suggestion of an even higher form of Christian charity, which would lead us to refrain from *grieving* him by eating meat in his presence even though he would feel no temptation to do the like. This could not, of course, be generalized into a universal principle, otherwise progress in the clarification of moral principles by the Church would be almost indefinitely retarded.

14¹⁶. *your good*: a technical term of Greek ethics—'the ends that you may legitimately pursue'. *be evil spoken of*: sc. 'deservedly'.

14¹⁷. 'After all, you lose little by refraining from meat on these occasions, for the pleasures of sense are as nothing compared with the enduring joys of holiness'.

14²⁰. *eateth with offence*: probably of the stronger brother—'in such a way as to cause another to stumble'; but it might possibly refer to the weaker party—'against the dictates of his conscience'.

14²². *The faith which thou hast, &c.*: 'Do not parade your consciousness of ceremonial liberty to your brother's hurt; keep it as a secret between God and yourself. It is a blessed thing only to use your liberty (*that which he approveth*) when it will give you no cause to blame (*judge*) yourself afterwards (because you have made some one else stumble thereby)'.

14²³. *not of faith*: see note on ver. 1.

[On the insertion here of the doxology (16²³⁻⁷) in some MSS., *supra*, pp. 16, 19.]

[15¹—16²³. On the omission of this passage in some ancient versions, *supra*, pp. 16—19.]

15¹⁻¹³. The teaching of the preceding verses is treated as an instance of an even more general Christian principle—that of disinterested altruism—of which Christ Himself is cited as the supreme example. In the present case this altruism takes the form of *bearing* (with) *the infirmities of the weak*. On the general principle and its application here cp. 1 Cor. 9²⁰⁻³, 10³³.

15¹. *strong . . . weak*. The Greek words mean 'capable' and 'in-capable'; 'adaptable' and 'rigid' are perhaps the best renderings.

bear: Here 'tolerate', 'put up with'—the same word, but (as the respective contexts show) not quite the same meaning as in Gal. 6².

please ourselves: a mild phrase for the egoism which always puts self first.

15². *please his neighbour*: not in the worldly sense of 'giving pleasure', but 'seek his interests'—especially such as will 'build him up' (*edify*) in the Christian life.

15². From Ps. 69⁹. In the original, 'thee' refers to God, 'me' to the righteous man.

15⁴. Cp. 1 Cor. 10¹¹. There is no special reason why S. Paul should justify the appeal to scripture here rather than elsewhere. *Patience* (better, 'steadfastness', cp. 2⁷, 5³, 4, 8²⁵) is the virtue produced by the *comfort* given by scripture that all is in the hands of God; its basis is *hope* ('confidence') in the ultimate deliverance of the Christian by God.

15⁵⁻⁸. Unity of purpose and of worship is the corporate result of Christian behaviour such as has been described, but God alone can *grant* it.

15⁷. A further stage: mere tolerance of one another is not enough, we must go out of our way to welcome (*receive*) one another into active fellowship. God did not merely tolerate men's perversity—He extended His active love to them.

15⁸⁻¹². Reminds the reader of the whole thesis of the epistle—God's active love extended both to Jew and Gentile.

15⁸. *promises*: cp. 3⁸, 9⁴; *fathers*: cp. 9⁸, 11¹⁶, 20.

15⁸⁻⁹. Christ is a *minister of the circumcision* even to *Gentiles*, because He has admitted them to all the privileges promised to the Jewish Church, of which *circumcision*, though now abolished for Christians, may still be regarded as the symbol (cp. 2¹⁰, 4¹²).

15⁸⁻¹². Quotations from Ps. 18⁴⁰, Deut. 32⁴³, Ps. 117¹, Isa. 11¹⁰.

III. CONCLUSION

(A) 15¹⁴⁻³³. SOME PERSONAL NOTES

(a) *An apology for the tenor of the epistle* (vv. 14-16); (b) *the success of the mission to the Gentiles* (vv. 17-21); (c) *present and future plans* (vv. 22-9); (d) *a request for prayer* (vv. 30-3).

(a) 15¹⁴⁻¹⁶. *An apology for the tenor of the epistle*. S. Paul suggests that the Romans already know, and live up to, the doctrine of the equality of Jew and Gentile before God; all he has done is to remind them of it—a service for which he has special qualifications by virtue of his distinctive call to be a *minister unto the Gentiles* (ver. 16). For his sense of this distinctive call cp. 1⁵. 14. 15, 11¹³.

15¹⁶. *minister . . . ministering* (mg. *ministering in sacrifice*) . . . *offering up*: all specifically sacerdotal terms, with the very definite implication, both for Jew and Gentile, that S. Paul's commission is a *priestly* one. The purpose of this solemn emphasis is not quite clear. Probably, however, S. Paul employs it to reinforce in a new way his doctrine that the throwing open of the Church to the Gentiles was not a sudden divine expedient designed to meet a special emergency (had that been the case, a *prophetic* call would have been the natural means by which God promulgated His fiat), but part and parcel of the ordered scheme of redemption which had been God's purpose from the very outset.

(b) 15¹⁷⁻²¹. *The success of the mission to the Gentiles*: on the topography and chronology here, *supra*, p. 11.

15²⁰. *that I might not build upon another man's foundation*: a delicate hint of the reason why he had spent so much time in the eastern provinces, and deferred any visit to Rome. The Greek (*ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον*) does not imply (as the translation does) that any *particular* person had founded the Roman Church: the 'foundation of others' would be better.

15²¹: Isa. 52¹⁵.

(c) 15²²⁻⁹. *Present and future plans*: *supra*, pp. 24, 25.

15²². *I was hindered*: because a visit to Rome, as the 'foundation of others', was of the nature of a pleasure rather than a duty, and so must give way before the claims of places *where Christ is not already named* (ver. 20, cp. 10^{10, 13}).

15²³. *these regions*: the eastern provinces where, *having fully preached the gospel* (ver. 19), he has laid foundations for others to build upon, and so has *no more any place* there himself.

15²⁴. *I hope to see you . . . shall have been satisfied*. The proposed visit is of an unofficial character; he does not presume to *build* at Rome, but will resume his official ministry when he leaves that city for Spain.

brought on my way: not merely with prayer and good wishes, but (as he hints) with financial backing as well (cp. I Cor. 16⁶, 11, 2 Cor. 1¹⁶, Acts 15³, 3 John 6).

I 5²⁵⁻⁷. On this 'collection for the saints at Jerusalem' see I Cor. 16^{1, 2}, 2 Cor. 8²⁻⁴, 9¹³, Acts 24¹⁷.

I 5²⁷. *carnal*: i.e. 'pertaining to man's physical requirements' (cp. I Cor. 9¹¹)—there is nothing derogatory about the reference to the 'flesh' here. Cp. *supra*, p. 97.

I 5²⁸. *sealed*: 'delivered safely'. For the origin of this usage see Moulton-Milligan, s.v., from Deissmann.

(d) I 5³⁰⁻³. *A request for prayer*.

I 5³¹. S. Paul has two anxieties about his coming visit to Jerusalem: (i) that the unbelieving (better than R.V., *them that are disobedient*) Jews may stage an attack upon him; and (ii) that even the local Church (the *saints*) may for one reason or another find him *not acceptable*. How fully both fears were justified is evident from Acts.

(B) 16^{1-end}. GREETINGS AND CONCLUSION

On the relation of this chapter to the letter as a whole, and the arrangement of its sections, *supra*, pp. 15-22.

(a) 16¹⁻². *Commendation of Phoebe, a deaconess of Cenchreae*, proceeding to Rome, and probably carrying the letter with her.

servant: most probably an official title ('deaconess') as in Phil. 1¹, where the word is actually translated (as a masculine) *deacons*. We know nothing of the duties of the office.

saints: *supra*, pp. 87-9.

succourer (*ὑποτάξις*—'patroness') implies that she was a lady of means; hence the *assistance* she required would not be financial.

(b) 16³⁻¹⁶. *Greetings*.

16³⁻⁵. *Prisca and Aquila*, whom S. Paul met in Corinth (Acts 18^{1, 2}), and accompanied to Ephesus (Acts 18^{18, 26}; cp. I Cor. 16¹⁹—written from Ephesus), have now, twelve months later, returned to Rome (if this chapter is addressed to that city). If 2 Tim. 4¹⁹ is genuine they were probably at Ephesus again some years afterwards. On possible traces of their association with Rome, Sanday-Headlam, pp. 418-20.

laid down their own necks. Nothing is known of any incident to which this sentence might refer.

16⁸⁻¹⁶. Of most of the persons here mentioned nothing is known, but practically all the names are found in Roman inscriptions.

16⁸. *firstfruits of Asia*: i.e. one of the earliest Ephesian converts. Many (but not the best) MSS., however, read *Achaea* (i.e. Corinth), and this would give more time between Epaenetus's conversion and his journey to Rome. It is, however, contradicted by I Cor. 16¹⁸, if taken literally; though Epaenetus may, of course, have belonged to the 'household' of Stephanas.

16⁷. *Junias*: a masculine name; but the Greek might equally imply Junia—a woman, and presumably the wife of Andronicus.

kinsmen: i.e. 'fellow-countrymen' (cp. vv. 11, 21). It is unlikely that S. Paul would have three blood-relations at Rome, and three more at Corinth (ver. 21), all at the same moment.

fellow-prisoners: 'who like myself have been imprisoned for Christ's sake'.

of note among the apostles: probably 'who are noted as mission-preachers'—this last being the wider meaning of the word 'apostle' (cp. Acts 14¹⁴, 1 Cor. 15⁷, 2 Cor. 8²³, 11¹⁸).

16^{10, 11}. *the household of Aristobulus . . . of Narcissus*. *Aristobulus* was the grandson of Herod the Great, and a friend of the Emperor Claudius, though he never entered public life in any way; *Herodion* is obviously (from the name) one of his 'household'. *Narcissus*: probably Claudius's famous freedman. Both were now dead, and their 'households', though still regarded as separate entities, had probably been taken over by Nero.

16¹². *Tryphæna*. Legend connects a (historical) queen of Thrace of this name with S. Paul's activity at Pisidian Antioch: but the story presumably grew from this mention of the name here. *Tryphosa* sounds like a sister, possibly a twin. The names mean 'Delicate' and 'Dainty' respectively.

16¹³. *Rufus*: perhaps the Cyrenian mentioned in Mark 15²¹.

chosen: 'elect'—probably in the sense of 'distinguished by his life and work'.

16¹⁶. *All the churches of Christ*: wider than S. Paul's usual phrase 'all the saints' (2 Cor. 13¹⁸, Phil. 4²²; cp. 1 Cor. 16¹⁸⁻²⁰), which means 'all the local church'; or even than 'the churches of Asia' (1 Cor. 16¹⁹). The additional solemnity is probably due to the fact that he has planned to leave 'all the churches' which he knows (cp. 15²³), and so summarizes their good wishes and prayers for his new work in the west in a greeting to the Roman Church which is to be his new starting-point. The sentence therefore supports the view that 16¹⁻²⁸ is part of the original letter.

(c) 16¹⁷⁻²⁰. *A final exhortation* (probably in S. Paul's own handwriting, cp. 1 Cor. 16²¹⁻⁴, Gal. 6¹¹⁻¹⁸, 2 Thess. 3^{17, 18}), which makes it probable that some at least of the themes dealt with in the epistle, and particularly in the last four chapters, were causes of actual tension in the Roman Church (see *supra*, pp. 24-7).

16¹⁷. *are causing*: better, 'cause'. The Greek does not imply (as R.V. seems to do) that any such persons are actually to be found at Rome—the meaning may be quite general.

the divisions. The word 'the' in R.V., though an exact translation from the Greek, is rather too definite for S. Paul's actual expression. But it is always possible that he had some concrete dissensions in the Roman Church in view.

16¹⁸. *serve . . . their own belly* (cp. Phil. 3¹⁹). This suggests gross hedonism in the opponents whom he has in view. But nothing of the kind is alluded to elsewhere in the epistle in this connexion, and it seems more likely that the expression is merely a forcible synonym for 'interested motives'.

innocent (ἀκακος): a negative term, combining the idea of inexperience with that of freedom from sin. 'Simple' would be better here, and 'innocent' in ver. 19.

16¹⁹. *obedience*: to the gospel (cp. note on 6¹⁶) and not, as probably in 2 Cor. 2⁹, 7¹⁵, Phil. 2¹², to S. Paul.

simple (ἀκέραιος): better 'innocent', 'untainted', 'inviolable' (cp. note on ver. 18). For the conception cp. Matt. 10¹⁶, 1 Cor. 14²⁰.

16²⁰. The 'grace'. This usually terminates the epistles (in S. Paul's own handwriting, 2 Thess. 3¹⁷, 18, Col. 4¹⁸); consequently some MSS. place it at the end of ver. 23 (where the epistle ended in some texts), and a few after ver. 27. In either case, some scribes retained it in ver. 20, others deleted it (see *supra*, p. 19).

(d) 16²¹⁻³. *An afterthought: personal greetings* which would normally come immediately after the general greetings in vv. 3-16, as in 1 Cor. 16¹⁹, 20, Phil. 4²¹, 22 (*supra*, p. 16). *Tertius*, the scribe, is here probably writing once more. *Timothy* had presumably come with S. Paul from Macedonia (2 Cor. 1¹); *Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater* (probably the same as Sopater) are commonly identified with the persons so named in Acts 13¹, 17¹⁻⁹, 20⁴. For *Gaius* cp. 1 Cor. 1¹⁴.

and of the whole church. The Corinthian Christians and their visitors made his house their headquarters.

[On ver. 24 (A.V.—omitted by R.V.) see *supra*, note on ver. 20.]

(e) 16²⁵⁻⁷. *Doxology*. On its position and authenticity, *supra*, pp. 16, 19-22. It resumes many of the principal ideas of the epistle.

16²⁵. *to stablish you*: i.e. 'by grace' apart from the works of the law (cp. 3²⁰, 4¹⁴, 8¹¹, 12, 22-26, 27, 14⁴).

my gospel: 'the aspect of the gospel which I have specially been selected to proclaim' as in 2¹⁶.

the revelation of the mystery: see note on 11²⁵⁻³².

16²⁶. R.V. is even more obscure here than the original Greek. Read 'but now is manifested, and made known (i.e. attested) by the prophetic scriptures, according to the commandment of the eternal God, unto all nations, unto the obedience of faith'. The mystery has been revealed and manifested in Christ, but the testimony of *scriptures* and *prophets* supports it (cp. 3²¹), thereby attesting its truth.

made known. Elsewhere, both in S. Paul and in the New Testament, the verb (γνωρίζειν) means simply 'to give information', 'to disclose'. But in the Greek of the period it quite commonly had the meaning of 'attest', 'gain official recognition for' (e.g. a γνωστήρ in legal language was a witness to identity), and the reference to the Scriptures makes it clear that this is the meaning here.

obedience of faith: better (as mg.) 'to the faith' (cp. 1⁵, 6¹⁶, 16¹⁹, and notes there).

16²⁷. *to whom be the glory*: ungrammatical, but 'to whom' is almost certainly authentic, and S. Paul (if he is the author of the doxology) is not above grammatical slips, especially in his more exalted moments. He obviously meant to say 'to God be the glory through Jesus Christ', but how the error arose in his dictation it is impossible to say.

INDEXES

I. GENERAL

- 'Abba', 212.
Abraham, 71-3, 188-91, 221.
Access, 193.
Adam, *see* Fall.
Adoption, 212, 220.
Allegorism, 77, 225.
Anathema, 220.
Angels, evil, 52, 130.
Apocalyptic, 131, 132.
'Apostle,' 133, 240.
Aristobulus, 240.
Asceticism, 233.
Atonement, 57-68.
Augustine, S., 233.
- Baptism, 112, 117, 199.
Beatty-Michigan papyrus, 14, 20, 21.
Body, the, 64, 95, 98.
Body and members, 231.
Bousset, W., 46.
Brotherhood, 231.
- 'Calling', 120, 121.
Catalogues, 40, 173.
Charisma, 175.
Christ, Body of, 115
 death of, 57.
 life of, 58.
 resurrection of, 58.
'Christ', 'in', 111.
Christology, 102-8.
Church, 112-17, 199.
Confessing Christ, 225.
Conscience, 38, 39, 101.
Consummation, 130-2.
Corinth, 11.
Covenant, 122, 184.
'Creation', the, 214.
Crisis, 134.
Curse of the law, 67.
Cyrus, 232.
- Damnation, eternal, 122-4.
Death, 54-5, 63, 64, 200, 201.
Demons, 53, 54.
Digressions, 29.
Divorce, 205.
- Docetism, 104.
Dodd, C. H., 56, 66, 198, 215.
Doxology, 17.
Driver, S. R., 66.
- 'Election', 121, 125-6.
Elijah, 227.
Epaenetus, 12, 239.
Ephesus, 12.
- Faith, 71-4, 83, 177, 231, 235.
Fall of Adam, 54, 55, 75, 99-101, 196, 197.
Firstborn, 216, 217.
Flesh, 94-9, 105, 108, 111.
Forgiveness, 36.
Freedom, 51.
- Gaius, 12.
Gentiles, salvation of, 128, 129.
'Glory', 131, 187, 193, 213, 220.
Glorying, 90, 181, 187, 193, 228.
Grace, 74-81, 83-5, 90, 91.
Grafting, 228.
Guilt, 62, 63.
- Habbakuk, 76.
Harris, R., 40.
History, meaning of, 129, 133, 134.
Hope, 73, 191, 215.
- Idolatry, 178.
'Invisible things', 178.
- Jew and Gentile, equality of, 73, 78-80, 130, 189.
Jews, apostasy and rejection of, 122-4, 218, 226.
Jews, indictment of, 43, 44.
Judgement, 131, 132.
Justification, 36, 45-51, 55-7, 194.
- Kenyon, F., 20.
Knox, W. L., 22, 25.
- Laidlaw, J., 95.
Lake, K., 15, 18.

- Law, the, 69-71, 78, 80, 92, 93, 206.
 Letters, 172.
 Lietzmann, H., 40, 103, 115.
 Life, eternal, 179.
 'Lord', 103, 225.
 Love of brethren, 117-19.
 Love of God, 90, 91, 108.
Lux Mundi, 133.

 Marcion, 15, 17, 18.
 Marriage, 204, 205.
 Mercy, 46, 47.
 'Minister, to', 238.
 Moralism, 71, 92, 93, 205.
 'Mystery', 229, 241.

 Narcissus, 240.
 Natural law and religion, 38, 39.
 Norden, E., 103.
 Nygren, A., 119.

 Old Testament, 77, 78, 191.
 Olive, synagogue of, 21, 227.
 Olive-tree, parable of, 21, 115, 116, 228.
 Oracles, 182.

 Parentheses, 28.
 Parousia, 131, 233.
 Patience, 237.
 Patriarchs, 228.
 Pax Romana, 133.
 Phoebe, 12, 239.
 Planets, 53.
 Predestination, 86, 87, 119-227.
 Prepossessions, 28.
 Prisca and Aquila, 12, 239.
 Probabilism, 234.
 Promises, 220, 221.
 Psychology, 94-102.

 Rashdall, H., 61.
 Rawlinson, A. E. J., 110.
 Reconciliation, 50, 51.
 Redemption, 51.
 Remnant, the, 126-8, 132, 223, 226, 227.
 Repentance, 50.
 Resurrection, 64.
 Righteousness of God, 33-7, 46, 47, 89.
 Robertson, A., 106.
 Roman officials, 232.
 Romans, epistle to:
 date and place of origin, 11.
 destination and integrity, 12-21.
 structure, 27-33.
 Rome, Church of, 12, 22-7.
 Rufus, 240.

 Sacrifice, 59-61, 230.
 Sanctification, 87-9, 93, 94.
 Sanday, W., and Headlam, A. C., 15, 18, 40, 89, 131.
 Sanders, H. A., 20.
 Satan, 52.
 Servant of Jahweh, 126.
 'Servants', 173.
 Shear-Jashub, 126.
 Sin, 34, 37-45, 51-5, 61, 206.
 Sin-offering, 66, 210.
 Slave, Slavery, 203, 212.
 Smith, G. A., 126.
 Smith, W. Robertson, 126, 173.
 Sorites, 193.
 Spain, 12.
 Spirit, Holy, 91, 101, 102, 108-12, 209-11, 213.
 Stevens, G. B., 98.
 Stoicism, 40, 103.
 Stone, D., 133.
 'Stone, the', 224.
 Suffering, 213.

 'Tonic' language, 91, 108.
 Trench, R. C., 106.
 Trinity, the Holy, 109-11.
 Tryphæna and Tryphosa, 240.

 Universalism, 124.

 Vegetarianism, 233.

 Weaker brethren, 233, 234.
 Williams, N. P., 99, 214.
Wisdom of Solomon, 40.
 Works, 84.
 Wrath, day of, 179.
 Wrath of God, 34-6.

Yêçer ha-ra', 98, 99.

II. GREEK WORDS

- ἀγάπη, 117.
 ἀγιάζειν, ἀγιασμός, ἅγιοι, 87-9.
 ἀγνοεῖν, 224.
 ἄκακος, ἀκέραιος, 241.
 ἀκοή, 226.
 ἁμαρτία, 50.
 ἀνοχή, 35.
 ἄφεις, 49.

 βάθος, 218.

 γνωρίζειν, 241.
 γνωστήρ, 241.

 διάκονος, διακονία, 231, 239.
 δικαίωμα, 197, 198, 210.

 εἰκων, 106.
 ἔξομολογεῖν, 236.
 ἐπίγνωσις, 224.

 ἥττημα, 227.

 ἰλαστήριον, 65, 66.

 καθήκον, 179.
 καθίστημι, 100, 198.
 κρίμα, κατάκριμα, 100.
 κύριος, 103.

 λόγια, 182.
 λογικός, 230.

 ματαιότης, 214.
 μεταμορφοῦσθαι, 216, 231.
 μετάνοια, 50.
 μορφή, 106.

 νοῦς, 39, 101.

 ὁμοίωμα, 105, 106.
 ὀφείλειν, 233.
 ὀψώνια, 204.

 παράβασις, παράπτωμα, 50, 227.
 παρακεῖσθαι, 208.
 πάρεσις, 35.
 περισσεύειν, 198.
 πλεονάζειν, 198.
 πλήρωμα, 227.
 πνευματικός, 101.
 προῖστάμενος, 231.
 προστάτις, 239.

 σὰρξ, *see* Flesh (Index I).
 συμμόρφος, 216.
 συνείδησις, 39.
 συνοχηματίζεσθε, 231.
 σχῆμα, 106.

 ἴψωμα, 218.

 φθορά, 214.
 φύσει, 100, 101.

 χάρισμα, 204.

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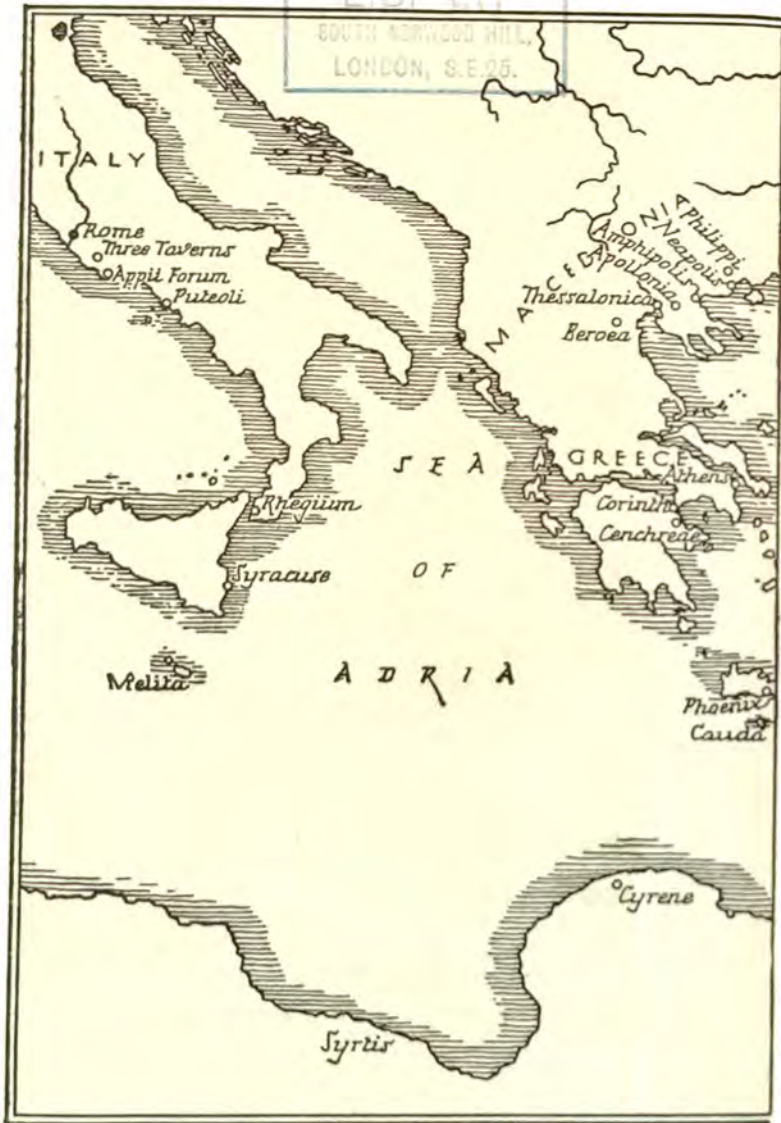
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