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with accompanying error. Such, perhaps, has actually been the case.

In a doctrine of Sin such as gathers round the carefully safe-guarded concept we have been endeavouring to define, there seems to me to lie the remedy for these manifold tendencies to take sin lightly. The rigorous and consistent restriction of sin to the volitional, and to the volitional only in so far as it is guilty, will not only save us from theological complications, dangerous compromises, and unreal exaggerations. It will also necessitate our resolute insistence, in the face of the efflorescence of sentimentality which is one of the characteristics of our generation, upon the inalienable responsibility of the sinner, whatever be his environment, for his evil deeds; for it emphasizes that this is the kernel of the whole matter, the maximum and the minimum of positive content in the Christian concept of sin.

F. R. TENNANT.

STUDIES IN THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

VIII. THE VICTORY OVER DEATH.

(1) THE Christian salvation for Paul included not only the removal of the *guilt of sin* by God's forgiveness, the destruction of the *power of sin* by Christ dwelling and working in the believer by His Spirit, the abolition of the *authority of the law* over the man living in the Spirit; but also *the victory over death*. It is usual to deal with Paul's eschatology as the last section of his doctrinal system; but the point of view of these Studies is different from that of the exponent of the Pauline theology as a system. Starting from the centre of Paul's personal experience, we are seeking gradually to move outward to the circumference of his thought; and even although in this Study for the sake of completeness of treatment it may be necessary to refer to matters which

do lie near the circumference, yet we should quite mistake Paul's standpoint if we thought that questions of the hereafter, about which many Christians to-day seem to be altogether indifferent, were so regarded by him. That Christ delivered from death, having Himself conquered death, was not for Paul a secondary opinion, it was a primary conviction. He clothed that conviction in the traditional eschatological language, much of which has now lost its significance ; but surely the faith of Paul in the Christian's victory over death has an abiding interest.

(2) In dealing with Paul's personal experience it was pointed out that at times, if not always, the shrinking from death was very strongly felt by him ; especially unwelcome to him was the thought of the spirit's disembodiment. Hence for him the Christian hope was not of immortality only, but of resurrection, the restoration of the complete personality. "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is in heaven ; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in the tabernacle do groan, being burdened ; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life " (2 Cor. v. 1-4). He inherited and retained the Jewish conception of death as helpless, cheerless, hopeless existence in Sheol ; and the hope which some of the Hebrew saints reached of a blessed immortality in fellowship with God had for him its fulfilment only in Christ. Death so conceived he regarded as the penalty of sin, the punishment of Adam's disobedience, which the race shares even as his sin, "Through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin ; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned " (Rom. v. 12).

In the *Third Study* all has been said which need be said in regard to Paul's view of the connexion of sin and death as physical dissolution, and the entrance of both through Adam. Only one point may be more fully explained. The impression which the passage makes is that God attached death as a penalty to sin, and that the connexion depends altogether on the will of God. Paul comes nearer our modes of thinking in two other passages. In Romans vi. 15-23, when he sums up his argument in the declaration, "The wages of sin is death; but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord," he suggests the connexion of antecedent and consequent; by its nature and operation in man sin inevitably results in death. The end of uncleanness and iniquity is, and cannot but be, death. The same inevitable relation is suggested in Galatians vi. 7, 8, "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap. For he that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life eternal." The figures of speech used do represent the connexion as one which from our modern standpoint we should call *natural*, although Paul as a Jew does lay stress on the divine will as the cause. If we look closely at the description of the effect of sin in the individual man in the division and disturbance of his personality as it is represented in Romans vii. 7-25, it will appear at least probable that for Paul also in the nature of sin itself lay the explanation why it should be followed by death. Death for Paul was not merely physical dissolution; it involved man's moral character and his communion with God. Its very core was separation from God's grace and exposure to God's judgment.

(3) The deliverance from death which Paul hoped for was by resurrection, that is, by restoration of the whole per-

sonality, body, soul and spirit. He held the Hebrew view of man as living soul because God has breathed the spirit of life into the form fashioned out of dust ; and not the Greek view of the soul as imprisoned in the body ; and, therefore, for him the survival of the soul alone released from the body would not have been a satisfying hope. There are two questions which arise in regard to the resurrection, its *date* and—dependent on this—its *nature*. The Second Coming of Christ would be followed by the resurrection of the dead. The apostolic Church lived in the confident and intense expectation of a speedy return of the Lord in power and glory ; and Paul seems to have shared that hope. He is himself looking for the Lord's appearing. He had taught his converts to hold themselves in readiness for that great event, "Yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night" (1 Thess. v. 2). So expectant was the first generation of believers of surviving till the Lord came that it was a distressing problem to some of the Thessalonian converts when some of their number died, and so seemed to be robbed of the fulfilment of their hope. Paul assures the mourners that as soon as "the Lord shall descend from heaven, the dead in Christ shall rise first" ; and thus will not be at any disadvantage in comparison with the survivors at that day (iv. 15-17). Among these survivors he reckons himself. "We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord . . . shall together with them be caught up in the clouds." At a later date he had still this hope : "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52). It is not necessary by forced interpretations to prove Paul incapable of making a mistake in this respect. His authority as an apostle did not include infallibility as regards the date either of the Parousia or of his own death. Even in the letters written during his Roman captivity, although the

dominant mood has changed, yet the old phraseology reappears. "When Christ, who is our life, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with Him be manifested in glory" (Col. iii. 4). "The Lord is at hand" (Phil. iv. 5).

(4) This confident expectation of a speedy advent of Christ, and his own survival was, however, modified in two ways. On the one hand he recognized a historical process which must run its course before the Parousia; and on the other he realized that he himself was not likely to live so long. According to the "Pauline Apocalypse" in 2 Thessalonians ii. 1-12 the Jewish "apostasy," the opposition of Judaism to the Christian Church, though now restrained by the Roman power, which in Paul's personal experience was offering protection from Jewish persecution, would at last culminate in "the man of sin, the son of perdition" probably a false Messiah, for the destruction of whom the true Messiah would in the end appear. This is a bit of speculation on the line of the Jewish apocalypses, which has only a historical interest for us now, but no authority as part of Paul's witness to Christ. That at the time the Jewish opposition to Christianity was its most formidable hindrance, and that the Roman tolerance was its most valuable help was a true reading of facts. What is distinctively Christian in this Pauline apocalypse is the conviction that Christ will at last triumph over all foes. As to the hope of the Parousia we may hold either that in the fall of Jerusalem the apostasy of Judaism in refusing its Messiah was judged, and so His claim was historically vindicated; or that the historical process Paul recognized has necessarily lasted very much longer than he, limited by the horizon of his own age, could possibly anticipate, and that the coming of Christ in power and glory still lies in the future, and will in its historical conditions transcend the apostolic expectations as did Jesus' Messiahship the

prophetic predictions. That the cause of Christ will at last triumph in the world is surely a permanent Christian conviction, but *when* or *how* each age will have its own conjectures; and the conjecture of the Apostolic Age has no permanent authority for the Christian Church.

(5) Paul's hope of the Parousia was qualified also by the growing conviction of his later years that he would not live long enough to see that day. Yet he looked forward to death itself with hope. The passage we have already quoted from 2 Corinthians v. 1-4 shows his shrinking from a disembodied state, and his desire for the full restoration of his personality. Whether he expected this immediately after death, if he died before the Parousia, or anticipated an intermediate state between his death and the general resurrection at the Parousia his words here do not clearly indicate, and we may reserve the question for subsequent discussion. What is noteworthy is that even in anticipation of death his faith inspired hope: "Being therefore always of good courage, and knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord (for we walk by faith, not by sight): we are of good courage, I say, and are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be at home with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 6-8). The Hebrew saint feared that his communion with Jehovah would be interrupted in death; but Paul, whatever he may have thought of the intermediate state, was sure of closer and fuller fellowship with Christ. In this mood death appears to him an advantage, to be desired. "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if to live in the flesh,—if this is the fruit of my work, then what I shall choose I wot not. But I am in a strait betwixt the two, having the desire to depart and be with Christ; for it is very far better; yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sake" (Phil. i. 21-24). For our present purpose it is not necessary to

discuss the varying interpretations of verse 22 (R.V. margin, "*But if to live in the flesh be my lot, this is the fruit of my works, and what I shall choose, I wot not, or What shall I choose? I do not make known*) as the main thought is quite clear. Paul would prefer to die to gain the fuller life in Christ, but he is willing to remain on earth for the sake of his converts.

(6) From the *date* we can pass to the *nature* of the Resurrection. In the classical passage on the subject in 1 Corinthians xv. Paul distinguishes those who will be alive then from those who have previously died. When Christ comes, the dead will be raised up; but it is a sheer perversion of Paul's teaching to assert that they will be raised up with the same bodies, identical, as some theologians have argued, even as to their constituent atoms. [For Paul expressly distinguishes the natural from the spiritual body in a series of striking contrasts. "It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural (psychic) body; it is raised a spiritual body" (*vv.* 42-44). Adam as living soul is type of the one body, Christ as the lifegiving spirit is the type of the other (*v.* 45). The two bodies are related as the seed and the grain which springs from it. By what process the continuity is maintained, and yet the transformation effected, Paul expressly refuses to say, but ascribes the mystery to the divine power. "God giveth it a body even as it pleased Him, and to each seed a body of its own" (*v.* 38). It is not a body of flesh and blood, for these cannot inherit the kingdom of God (*v.* 50). To suggest, as has been done, that the identity is secured by the bony skeleton is to show a stupidity which disqualifies for any opinion on this theme. Even those who are living will need to undergo the change. "We shall all be changed, in a moment, in

the twinkling of an eye" (v. 52). A gradual process in the one case, an instantaneous act in the other, is asserted. It need hardly be said that here we are quite out of the region of Christian experience, and have soared into the realm of theological speculation. That personal identity is preserved in death, that there is a continuity of moral character and religious disposition in this and the future life, that its conditions shall allow of the fullest and freest exercise and development of the whole personality, that some organ for the expression and activity of the self may with some probability be expected, and that for the Christian life Christ will be hereafter as He is here, the mediator of the life of God—these are expectations which may be reasonably grounded in the Christian faith. That this passage in 1 Corinthians is to be taken as literal prediction, history written beforehand, is a view which cannot be maintained. As the Hebrew prophet's declarations fell far short of their fulfilment in Christ, so may we expect that the Christian apostle's expectations will be transcended. Paul spoke as a man to whom Jewish Apocalypse was familiar, and he clothed his Christian aspirations for a blessed and glorious immortality in Christ in similar forms of thought. His certainty of victory over death in Christ we can share, however insuperable may be for us the difficulty of the conceptions of the Resurrection he here presents, that Jesus Himself conquered death we know from our own experience, even as Paul did, because we now live in Him, and that death cannot destroy this life in Him, but can only set it free from present limitations, we are sure, because this life of Christ in us now is the pledge and pattern of our life in Him hereafter.

(7) A question already mentioned, but left over for subsequent discussion must now be faced. What did Paul think of the condition of the dead, who had fallen asleep in Christ, prior to the resurrection? His description of death

as a sleep in Christ (1 Thess. iv. 14 ; 1 Cor. xv. 6, 18-20) must not be pressed into the service of a theory of an unconscious or semi-conscious condition, of a depressed vitality until the awakening and vivifying of the Resurrection. When he has given up, if only temporarily, the expectation of survival to the Resurrection and is facing what seems imminent death, he looks for an immediate entrance into clearer vision of, and closer communion with Christ. In 2 Corinthians v. 6-8, a passage already quoted, absence from the body is being at home with the Lord ; so in Philippians i. 23 to depart is to be with Christ. If this be so, then he may possibly have thought that the clearer vision and the closer communion would produce the greater resemblance. "As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. xv. 49). "The Lord Jesus Christ shall fashion [anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of His glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto Himself" (Phil. iii. 21). Although these passages occur in a context in which the resurrection at Christ's Second Coming is being spoken of, yet surely if Paul had thought out the question, as he does not seem to have done, he would have attached the same expectation to this departing to be at home with Christ. Even in this earthly life the contemplation of Christ results in resemblance to Him. "We all with unveiled face reflecting as in a mirror (R.V. margin, beholding as in a mirror) the glory of the Lord are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 18). This present process of transformation by the Spirit in the contemplation of Christ is the promise of the final transformation. "Now he that wrought us for this very thing is God, who gave unto us the earnest of the Spirit" (v. 5). As the

body of the Resurrection is a spiritual body, and the Lord is the life-giving Spirit, it seems to be implicit in Paul's thought, although he never states it explicitly, that when the Christian at last is at home with Christ, He will bear His image of glory. Thus the Resurrection from being an event of the distant future would become the immediate present experience of him who falls asleep in Jesus. To the writer at least this appears a conception more distinctively and consistently Christian than that of a general resurrection in the distant future. Christians generally, who probably would repudiate the charge of doubting the New Testament teaching on this subject, nevertheless do assume that their loved ones have gone at death to the blessedness and glory of heaven, and do not think of them as in some intermediate state of less complete and satisfying life. Why should Christian theology not frankly acknowledge that even Paul had not in his thinking quite freed his Christian hope from Jewish "entanglements."

(8) May we not apply the same line of reasoning to Paul's expectation of the final judgment? "Wherefore also we make it our aim, whether at home or absent, to be well-pleasing unto Him. For we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 9-10). "We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of God" (Rom. xiv. 10). In a very vivid picture of the burning of a house Paul presents this process of judgment; whatever is morally and religiously valuable (gold, silver, costly stones) is preserved; whatever is valueless (wood, hay, stubble) is consumed. In that judgment the soul itself may escape, but may lose all its work and its reward. "If any man's work shall abide which he built thereon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he

himself shall be saved ; yet so as through fire ” (1 Cor. iii. 12-15.) This image, as well as that used in Galatians vi. 7, 8 of the seed and the harvest, suggests that the judgment of God is the inevitable consequence of the character and the disposition of a man. Probably Paul never quite set aside the picture of the law-court and the judge receiving evidence and pronouncing sentence ; but he himself does point us beyond this inadequate pictorial representation. The transformation of the believer into the likeness of Christ by the Spirit is God’s judgment ; and it may be assumed to take effect at death ; for why should we suppose the continuity of moral and spiritual development to be arrested in an intermediate state ? God executes His judgment through Christ, for it is in the contemplation of, and communion with Christ that the believer develops his character, and determines his disposition towards God. So modified the expectation is not a relapse to legalism. It is the relation of faith to the grace of Christ which issues in the works which God thus approves. To be with Christ, and so like Christ, is heaven, and the measure of communion and resemblance is the measure of glory and blessedness. It is not maintained that Paul had thought out the problem to this solution, but only that he offers some suggestions of it. But it may be objected, is there then no kernel of Christian truth in the husk of the Jewish apocalyptic conceptions of a visible manifestation of the Messiah, of a physical resurrection of the dead, and of a final judgment of all men ? It seems to the writer that there is, and it is this. It is not a saying of Paul’s which suggests it ; but one of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews : “ God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect ” (xi. 40). As the saints of the old covenant found the fulfilment of their hopes in the new covenant, so even those who fell asleep in Christ, and who now live in blessed-

ness and glory in Christ will be made perfect, will gain the full fruition of their wishes and their hopes when God's purpose in Christ is on earth wholly accomplished. The Church in heaven is interested in the Church on earth ; and will be perfectly triumphant only when the Church Militant has gained its final victory.

(9) One problem remains before this discussion can be brought to a close, and that is the saddest which can engage Christian thought. Does this Christian hope embrace all men ? While in his argument regarding the Resurrection Paul is concerned only with believers, and their resurrection in incorruption, glory, power, is represented as the result of their union with Christ the life-giving Spirit, yet he seems to have believed that the wicked, too, would be raised. In the Epistles there is no definite statement to this effect, but in Acts xxiv. 15 Luke represents him as declaring " that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and the unjust." It is, of course, possible that Paul did not use these very words, and that the idea may have been suggested to Luke by Daniel xii. 2, " And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." But Paul does assume a universal judgment. " Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world ? " (1 Cor. vi. 2). " When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world " (xi. 32). According to his mode of thinking in regard to the righteous, resurrection from the dead must be assumed as preceding the judgment of the wicked. It is then probable that he thought of all men being raised to be judged ; but whether divine power acting punitively raises them as the redemptive power of God raises the righteous he does not state. This is a subject involved in obscurity, and the Christian hope does not require that we should have any certainty regarding it.

If he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, we might rather expect that there would be no resurrection of the wicked, but that they would remain under the power of death. That God should restore to fuller vitality in the resurrection the wicked only that they might suffer the more the penalty of sin is for Christian love an intolerable thought. If Paul did affirm the resurrection of the wicked for judgment, we need not follow him in this opinion ; for it is not bound up with the hope our faith in Christ inspires, and lays a burden on Christian love grievous to be borne. But is this Paul's last word on the matter ?

(10) Some scholars maintain that Paul held "the larger hope" of Universalism. He does affirm after the Parousia, the resurrection, and the judgment, the absolute triumph of the Mediatorial Kingdom of Christ.] "Then cometh the end, when He shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when He shall have abolished all rule and all authority and all power." . . . "And when all things have been subjected unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. xv. 24-28). Is this dominion to be understood as involving the salvation of all men, or only the suppression of their opposition ? The former alternative is suggested by Colossians i. 19-20, "For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in Him should all the fulness dwell ; and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, having made peace through the blood of His cross ; through Him, I say, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heaven." An universal adoration and confession of Christ is affirmed in Philippians ii. 10-11. "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God

the Father." If these utterances are to be taken literally, we have in them Paul's boldest speculation and most generous aspiration, and the Christian mind and heart can but wish that they expressed a certainty. There are, however, difficulties. How without voluntary acceptance of the divine reconciliation, and vital oneness with the Christ as life-giving Spirit, can we conceive all to be saved? And what incontestable evidence is there that sin's resistance and refusal of grace shall finally in every case be overcome? So long as man's relation to God is conceived as one of faith in grace, as freely accepted as it is freely offered, not even an apostle's foresight can give us assurance that all men shall be saved because all men will believe. But it is very doubtful whether this question to which we seek an answer was in Paul's thoughts at all. He was concerned about God's glory in Christ in a universal reconciliation, a universal submission, a universal dominion, and inquired not too curiously, whether this necessarily involved that every man should be saved. We must return to this subject in the next Study, when dealing with Paul's interpretation of *The Purpose of God*.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

BABYLON AT THE TIME OF THE EXILE.

WE may pass over Herodotus' information with scepticism, but it is to be deplored that no better information exists concerning the sacred chambers on the stage towers of Babylonia. The conjecture has often been made that the Babylonians used these rooms for astronomical observations. The only passage in the inscriptions referring to them is the following: "A sacred chamber, a construction of skill, with burnt brick and pure lapis lazuli upon their tops, I constructed with elegance."¹ These peculiar con-

¹ Neb. 14, I: 42 ff. The description refers to the stage towers of Babylon and Borsippa.