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have to alter ver. 10, which represents the Israelites as looking toward the wilderness (the proper position for the cloud in pre-Sinaitic days—Exod. xiii.), and seeing the glory of the Lord appear in the pillar. Accordingly, Mr. McNeile wishes to substitute “dwelling” for “wilderness,” charging a redactor or a scribe with having made the alteration because the dwelling did not exist in pre-Sinaitic days. Then he writes of the manna incident on p. xcix, that “P, who states that it was in the ‘Wilderness of Sin’ (Exod. xvi. 1), clearly places the incident after the stay at Sinai.” With my present knowledge of the higher critical methods, I never regard a reference to a verse as raising any presumption that the higher critic who refers to it has examined that verse. In this instance xvi. 1 gives a date—“on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt.” According to the same source—“P”—the Israelites did not reach the wilderness of Sinai till the third month (xix. 1). It is therefore obvious that he does not place the incident in question after the stay at Sinai, and Mr. McNeile’s geographical theory on the point falls to the ground.



St. Paul and Christianity.

BY THE REV. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., (HON.) LL.D.

IT has been said that St. Paul invented Christianity ; or, at least, that he remoulded it. In the case of philosophies and institutions, when once the first impulse has been given, someone often arises to guide the movement into new channels. So, it is alleged, Paul of Tarsus, by his world-wide influence, transformed the Gospel from its first shape into something else. The Apostle himself would have recoiled from such a thought. “Were ye baptized into the name of Paul?” And it is con-
futed by the remarkable coincidences in substance, between the

teaching which comes directly from the lips of Christ and that which comes through the foremost of His messengers.¹

As always, there is the inevitable grain of truth in the assertion that St. Paul made the Gospel what it is. For he was emphatically an originator, as well as organizer—one of the very few who, instead of reiterating a parrot-cry, dare to probe the depths, and, what is still more rare, can do it. Versed in the subtleties of the Jewish law, and to some extent in the wider literature of Greece, with intellect of keenest edge, with the emotional aspirations which set the mind at work, with the tenacity of will which surmounts all obstacles, and, above all, with a passionate longing for holiness, he was the very man to open out in every direction the manifold potentialities of the glad tidings, to explore the hidden riches of the new life, and to apply them to the ever-varying temperaments and environments of men. A "Hebrew of the Hebrews," but a free-born citizen of the Roman Empire, willing even to be "accursed" for his own people, yet making himself "all things to all men," he was the very man, as Professor Ramsay has said,² to anticipate the "imperial" idea of Christianity. The good news, whispered into the ears of the chosen Twelve, must be trumpeted on the house-top throughout the world. The message is the same. The music is the same as before Paul laid hand on the chords, only the harmony is more complex. The germ of all that he says and writes is in his Master's words, only the details are more explicit.

This Pauline development is never accretive, never imports new elements; always—a criterion of legitimate development—observes the law of proportion in the relative value of the component parts. In opening the door to all the world, in putting other nations on a level with the nation which boasted that God's favour was their peculiar property, in insisting that the

¹ Questions as to the dates of the Pauline Epistles and of the Four Gospels are irrelevant to this point. Of course there were records, oral and written, of Christ's teaching, before the Gospels appeared in their present form.

² "Pauline and Other Studies." Hodder and Stoughton.

Hebrew Church had served its purpose and must fade away into the world-kingdom of the Messiah, he may seem revolutionary. But all this is evolved from the teaching of Him who said, "I will draw all men to Me." Christ commended the man who was "an Israelite *indeed*"; so the Apostle writes, "He is a Jew who is one *inwardly*." Not once nor twice only our Lord in His parables held up the despised Samaritan as a model to the Jews. He offended their prejudices by having to do with Samaritans. Once, at least, if not more often, He stepped over the boundaries of Palestine. And though, with the tenderness of a true patriot, He gave the first offer of blessing to His own people, His parting charge to the Apostles was, "Go into all the world."

One might go through St. Paul's teachings one by one and show how the germ of them may be traced to Christ Himself. But I must confine myself to the three great fundamental thoughts specially characteristic of St. Paul.

Predestination is one. The controversy between Fate and Free Will did not begin with Augustine and Pelagius; did not end with Calvin and Arminius. Will it ever cease? Because St. Paul asserts uncompromisingly God's omnipotence and man's powerlessness without God, he has been claimed as an ally by ultra-predestinarians. But he asserts quite as uncompromisingly man's freedom to choose good or evil, and the responsibility which choice brings with it. For at one time he is reproving the self-confidence which leaves God out of men's lives, at another he is reproving the supineness which excuses its own faults by the plea of an irresistible necessity. He never stops to pare down the truth which he is enforcing, nor tries to dovetail the apparently conflicting statements. It is the old story of the two sides of the shield; the mental eye cannot take in both sides at once. Christ taught, "Not a bird can fall to the ground" without the fiat of omnipotence; and yet men are to "strive" if they would attain; are to "watch and pray"; must "endure to the end"; must all "give account of their doings." Thus the Christian idea of predestination is not the fatalism

which shuts out hope and effort by stolid apathy : it is the conservation of energy by steadying and tranquillizing the man. This is the Evangelic, this is the Pauline teaching.

Obviously connected with the question of Fate and Free Will is the question of "faith and works." Here, too, the controversy seems endless ; here, too, St. Paul is claimed as the champion of one side against the other ; here, too, it is the old story of the two sides of the shield. For real faith is neither a mere orthodoxy nor a mere ebullition of emotional fervour, but the surrender of self to God. Real trust in God and the morality which grows out of it are as truly one as the root and the fruit of the tree. Thus when St. Paul insists on the paramount necessity of believing in Christ, he is strictly in unison with Him who said again and again to those who came to be healed, "Only believe," "If thou believest," "All things are possible to him who believeth."¹ No stress which the Apostle lays on faith can go beyond these words of the Saviour.

The synthesis of the seeming opposition of faith and works is in this self-renouncement, which is the keynote of the Gospel, the very essence of the message. A full and free surrender of self to the Healer there must be for a full and free forgiveness. And this self-renouncing must not be for any (selfish) aim ; else the surrender of self is not real. In the words of Xavier, it must not be in order to win heaven, to escape hell ; it must not be in order to attain the self-completeness of the stoic, the repose of Nirvana. "He that loveth his life shall lose it," is the word of Christ, exemplified in His life and death for men. So the Apostle places unselfish love even above faith and hope. "I have overcome the world" is Christ's word. So the Apostle says that Christians are to be "more than conquerors" through Christ ; and though this holocaust of self is only to be found in Christ, yet the man who abandoned a splendid worldly career, and counted all things as "dross" and "dirt," in order to follow Christ, is treading at a distance in his Master's footsteps.

¹ Even His will to help was straitened, unless there was faith in those who needed help. "He could do no miracle there because of their unbelief."

In the teaching both of Christ and His Apostle holiness is the basis of the edifice. "They that do the will of God, they shall know," is the word of Christ; "a tree is known by its fruits"; the faithful servant, the dutiful son, is he who obeys. Similarly, if St. Paul teaches that we are nothing, that Christ is everything in the conflict with evil, so Christ has said, "Without Me ye can do nothing"; so Christ is portrayed by Evangelists as "the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world." Indeed as in word the Apostle echoes his Master's teaching on faith and works. St. Paul's rules of conduct, which in almost every letter follow his exposition of doctrine, run parallel to the precepts of Christ on the Mount. St. Paul's glowing words on charity find their counterpart only in Christ Jesus. St. Paul seems at times to disparage law; not merely the old ceremonial law, but even the law of morality.¹ But the context shows invariably that what he decries is a merely formal compliance with law from a selfish motive. A compulsory mechanical obedience is nothing; obedience for fear of loss or for hope of gain is not obedience; the motive must be love, even as the blessing comes from love. To rely on one's own performance, even when acting from unselfish motives, is selfishness in disguise—the selfishness of conceit. Law in itself, St. Paul says, is "good." It is the slave who leads the child to the school where perfect love is taught. So Christ said, "I come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil"; so Christ, reproving Pharisaic pride, taught that every moral precept goes far below the literal fulfilment into the motive, where the hidden springs of action lie. If the Apostle says, "The strength of sin is the law," because without law there can be no law-breaking, so in the teaching of Christ the consciousness of having broken the everlasting law of right and wrong underlies real repentance. "I have sinned against Heaven," the penitent cries in the parable, when he would set his face homeward. When St. Paul bids the Galatians "stand fast in the liberty wherein Christ has made

¹ In the *Romans* St. Paul evidently means by νόμος not the Hebrew code only.

them free," because they are emancipated not only from the bondage of the Mosaic ritual, but from the *slavish* spirit generally, he echoes the word of Him who said, "The truth shall make you free," and who, in the very forefront of His ministry, chose for Himself the motto, "I come to set the captive free." When St. Paul says, "Love is the fulfilment of the law," and "All the commandments are comprehended in that word," he is announcing the same great principle as came from the lips of Christ, who, in the act of forgiving and of blessing, laid a special emphasis on the greatness of love in the recipient. Neither the Apostle nor his Master disparages law. Both reprove pride in the observance of it.

It is, most of all, on the great question of "At-one-ment" that St. Paul is said to have "invented" Christianity, and he is accused of teaching that justice is satisfied if innocence suffers, while guilt goes unscathed. But this is to overlook what is the foundation of all the Pauline teaching, the identification¹ of the Saviour with the saved. The Incarnation is the key to the Atonement. The Sinless One in pity condescends to make Himself really and truly one with man, taking on Himself not the suffering only, but the sin which lies under it. This complete oneness is proclaimed alike by Christ and His messenger. "I am the Vine: ye are the branches." "Abide in Me," as "I in you." So Paul said to his converts, "Christ in you, the hope of glory"; and, "No longer I, but Christ, that dwelleth in me." This identification of God with man is the very thing which the Jews could not—would not—see when they heard the Man who had "not where to lay His head" saying, "I and the Father are one." Thus St. Paul in the same breath speaks of Christ as Highest God, and yet made "a thing accursed"² for men. Christ in the upper room on the eve of His Passion, laying aside "the glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world," stooped down and washed the feet of His betrayer. The Apostle says that Christ, being God,

¹ "Why persecutest thou Me?"

² *κατάρα.*

“took on Himself the form of a servant.” Christ had said, “I am among you as He that serveth.”

Medieval schoolmen, imbued with ideas borrowed from the legal system of imperial Rome, were apt to speak of the Atonement as a forensic transaction. To the Christians of an earlier age the conception of what God the Son came to do for man was something far more real. In the struggle for life against the powers of darkness, man lay prostrate, helpless, till his Deliverer came to rescue him. This, and not competition with his fellows, is the “battle of life” for man. St. Paul teaches that man has to withstand the assaults of subtle, implacable foes, rebels against God, permitted for a time to do their worst. “Fight the good fight,” he cries; “we wrestle not against flesh and blood.” This thought of conflict with evil runs through all that he says of Christ and Christians. It is the probation, without which virtue is meaningless. Under all his daily, hourly conflict with the plottings of the Sanhedrin and the iron repression of Rome, Paul realized that he was contending with a deadlier foe—the “principalities and powers of evil.” So Christ warns the world against the “enemy who sows the tares,” the enemy “whose name is legion.” So He speaks of Himself as coming “to bind the strong man,” who would keep down mankind in thralldom. So, as the end draws near, Christ hears the closer onset of the Evil One approaching. “The Prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in Me.” This conflict runs through the older Scriptures. The Deliverer is to come to scotch (not yet to kill outright) the Serpent, and Himself to be sore wounded in the fight. “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?” “He shall lead captivity captive.” This is the lesson to be learned from the wars and fightings of the Old Testaments; this is surely the right way to understand the imprecatory psalms. In this sense St. Paul exhorts Christians “to put on the panoply of God,” and to fight “manfully” under the banner of the Captain of our Salvation.” Like his Master, St. Paul never tries to explain the mystery of the existence of evil; like his Master,

he teaches that "in the end" all things shall be subservient to good.

It would not be difficult to trace on other points the complete accordance of the Pauline teaching with the words of Christ. For instance, the mediatorial regency of God the Son is indicated alike by "The Father hath committed all judgment to the Son," and by the words familiar to Christian mourners, "Till He shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Father"; it would be easy to refute the allegation that St. Paul "invented Trinitarianism," or to show that Christ and His messenger alike understand the older Scriptures spiritually. Perhaps some younger student of these great subjects will do more adequately what I have attempted in outline only.¹



The Cities of the Seven Churches.

SOME PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS.

BY THE REV. M. LINTON SMITH, M.A.

II. PERGAMUM, SARDIS, AND PHILADELPHIA.

PERGAMUM at the present day is the least accessible of the cities with which we are dealing, for it lies thirty miles from rail-head at Soma. The roads runs first down the valley of a tributary stream to the Caicus, as green and as well watered as any English countryside. On the far side of the main valley runs a line of rocky hills, on a spur of which the Acropolis of Pergamum is built. The Caicus itself is split into many shallow streams as it makes its way through the broad valley, and on the mud-flats countless tortoises sun themselves, and buffaloes wallow and sink to escape the heat and the torture of the flies. Presently the features of the further hills become more distinct,

¹ See Professor Buckham's thoughtful words on the notion, that Christianity "is the echo of one man, Paul, only."—*Expository Times*, July, 1908, p. 476.