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ST. PAUL AND THE MYSTERY-RELIGIONS.

V. ST. PAUL AND THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE MYSTERY-RELIGIONS (*continued*).

WE have attempted to show that Paul's religious use of *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, and cognate terms, has its roots in the soil of the Old Testament. Endowment with the Spirit was never lost sight of, even in the most barren periods of Judaism. But the exuberance of religious feeling in the early Christian community brought the phenomenon into the forefront of experience. And one of Paul's most notable spiritual achievements was the regulation of all that was uncontrolled in these manifestations, in order that the spiritual energy which lay behind them might be conserved for the edification of the Church. Now it is abundantly clear that parallel phenomena existed in the ethnic religions. There also the *πνευματικός*, by whatever name he might be called, was a familiar figure. As possessed by the god, or partaking of the Divine *πνεῦμα* or *νοῦς*, he, too, burst forth into mysterious ejaculations and rapt utterances of the kind described in the New Testament as *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*. The experience is as wide-spread as the sway of intense religious feeling. It is found to a greater or less degree in all revival movements. Its psychological significance can, up to a certain point, be analysed. Here as elsewhere the tree is known by its fruit. The one criterion of such religious ferment is its ethical productivity.

It is interesting to note that Paul himself distinctly recognises the existence of such experiences in his Pagan environment, experiences belonging to the sphere of the Mystery-Religions. In the difficult passage (1 Cor. xii. 1 ff.) in which he introduces his discussion of *πνευματικοί*

(or *πνευματικά*) he refers to ecstatic conditions known to his readers in their pre-Christian days, and supplies a test (ver. 3) for distinguishing from these their new Christian enthusiasm. And then, among the gifts of the Spirit, he specifies that of *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*, the power of discerning between the Spirit of the true God, the Holy Spirit, and other spiritual manifestations which he regards as having no moral value. In the same paragraph he singles out an important endowment of the Spirit, the *λόγος γνώσεως* or "word of knowledge," which he classifies with such gifts as faith, power to heal, prophecy, glossolalia, and others. The salient fact about *γνώσις* for our investigation is its prominence in the terminology of the Mystery-Religions.

No better illustration of the meaning of *γνώσις* in the Hermetic Mystery-literature could be given than that afforded by the closing prayer of the *Λόγος τέλειος* of the Papyrus Mimaut, whose Greek text has been reconstructed by Reitzenstein with the help of the very valuable Latin translation found in the *Asclepius* of Pseudo-Apuleius.¹ Here the worshippers give thanks to the Highest that by his grace they have received "the light of knowledge." This *γνώσις* has been bestowed upon them "in order that knowing thee truly (*ἐπιγινόντες*) we may rejoice." And then the prayer proceeds: "Having been saved by thee, we rejoice that thou didst reveal thyself to us wholly, we rejoice that while in our bodies thou didst deify us by the sight of thyself." After further thanksgiving there comes the closing petition: "Having thus worshipped thee, we have made no request of thy goodness (?) but this:

¹ See Reitzenstein in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 393-397; *H.M.R.*, pp. 113, 114. The papyrus probably belongs to the third century A.D., but the condition of the text shows that it goes back to a much earlier original.

be pleased to keep us in the knowledge (*γνώσις*) of thee : hear our supplication that we should not fall away from this manner of life." With this may be compared the concluding prayer in *Poimandres*, § 32 (ed. Reitzenstein, p. 338) : "Listen to me when I pray that I may not fall away from knowledge . . . and strengthen me and [fill me] with this grace that I may enlighten (*φωτίσω*) those in ignorance." It is plain from the connexion of sentences in the first of these extracts that *γνώσις* means that apprehension of God which results in salvation or, in its more concentrated description, deification. This is made quite clear by a remarkable sentence in *Poimandres*, § 26 (ed. Reitz., p. 336) : "This is the blessed issue for those who have attained *γνώσις*, to be deified (*θεωθῆναι*)." Hence it may be said that *γνώσις* in the Hermetic Mystery-religion is the direct pathway to the highest point which can be reached by the initiate. It is essentially a supernatural gift, not to be attained by any mere process of intellectual reflexion. Its associations in the Hermetic literature are very significant. In *Corp. Hermet.* ix. (x.) 4, *εὐσέβεια*, piety, is defined as *γνώσις τοῦ θεοῦ*. In xiii. (xiv.) 8, the coming of *γνώσις* is accompanied by the impartation of the "powers" of God. So when in the hymn of regeneration the initiate calls on these *δυναμεῖς* to join in the praise he offers, he appeals to *γνώσις ἀγία* as the source of his illumination (xiii. 18). Akin to this conception is that of *ἐξουσία*, which belongs to the man endowed with *γνώσις*, and enables him to become holy like God (*Poim.* § 32). Now the term *ἐξουσία* is used in magical literature for the supernatural power which depends on a supernatural knowledge.¹ And so we need not be surprised to find *γνώσις* itself appearing in magical formulæ. Thus a magician in supplicating the god whose powers he desires to have

¹ See Reitzenstein, *H.M.R.*, p. 183; *Poimandres*, p. 48, note 3.

at his command, says: "I am he to whom . . . thou didst grant the *γνώσις* of thy mighty name, which I shall keep secret, sharing it with no one."¹ Occasionally *γνώσις* is associated with cosmological mysticism, and seems to be attained by the ascent of the soul through the elements.² This is its more philosophical aspect, which came to be accentuated in the speculations of Christian Gnosticism. It is worth noting that emphasis is laid upon the converse of *γνώσις*, *ἀγνοσία*. Thus in *Poim.* § 27, an appeal is made to "earth-born" men, who have given themselves over to slumber and drunkenness and to *ἀγνοσία τοῦ θεοῦ*. The brief conspectus of evidence presented suffices to indicate that *γνώσις* belongs to the same circle of ideas as *πνεῦμα* and *νοῦς* in this literature. Perhaps Reitzenstein does not exaggerate in saying that *γνώσις θεοῦ* as transforming into *πνεῦμα* is a fundamental conception in the phase of religion which we are considering.³

On the strength of the affinities between Paul and the Mystery-Religions in the "pneumatic" group of ideas, Reitzenstein finds the clue to the Apostle's use of *γνώσις* in the influence of mystery-conceptions. The term is used with considerable elasticity in the Epistles, but certain fixed ideas lie in the background. Paul undoubtedly regards *γνώσις* as a supernatural *χάρισμα*. So, e.g., in 1 Corinthians xii. 8, where it is grouped with *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων*, *προφητεία*, and other "gifts." Indeed its connexion with *προφητεία* is specially intimate, e.g., 1 Corinthians xiii. 2: "If I have prophecy and know all *μυστήρια* and all *γνώσις*," and vers. 8, 9, where, in contrast with love,

¹ Quoted by Reitzenstein from a Leiden Papyrus published by Diesterich (*Jahrb. f. klass. Phil.*, Suppl. xvi. p. 799, l. 19).

² *H.M.R.*, p. 121.

³ *H.M.R.*, p. 133. With *ἀγνοσία* (*supra*) cf. 1 Corinthians xv. 34. The relation between this passage and that from *Poimandres* admits of more than one explanation.

γνώσις, προφητεῖαι, and γλώσσαι are described as vanishing, in view of a complete γνώσις which is to come. "Knowledge," therefore, in Paul's sense, is the result of possessing the Divine πνεῦμα. In passages like Romans ii. 20 γνώσις may appear to have a more general sense, but we are inclined to agree with Reitzenstein that for Paul it never means merely "rational knowledge."¹ A most suggestive glimpse of the Apostle's conception is afforded by 1 Corinthians viii. 1-3. In consulting Paul about their attitude towards flesh which has been offered to idols, the "stronger" Christians at Corinth assert the claim: "We all have γνώσις." Obviously they mean the application of that γνώσις which they possess, as having the πνεῦμα, to this special case, and the words have a tone of contempt for the "weaker" brethren. Paul, as in ch. xiii., subordinates "knowledge" to love.² And then come the important words: "if any one presumes to have attained a measure of knowledge, he has not yet come to know in the manner in which he ought. But if a man love God, he is known by Him." Here is a surprising turn of thought. Love is the condition of mutual understanding between God and man. And clearly such an understanding means far more than intellectual comprehension: it is really fellowship of spirit. The same sense of γνώσις appears in 1 Corinthians xiii. 12: "At present I know partially, but then I shall know completely as already I am completely known (i.e., by God)." Galatians iv. 9 is parallel: "But now having come to know God, or rather having been known by God, how do you turn again to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits?" Reitzenstein has omitted to notice the most important passage of all, Phil. iii. 8-10: "I count all things but loss on account of the surpassing worth

¹ *H.M.R.*, p. 126.

² In ch. xiii. all manner of spiritual *χαρίσματα* are similarly subordinated.

of the *γνώσις* of Christ Jesus my Lord . . . that I may win Christ and be found in Him . . . in order to know (*γνῶναι*) Him and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings . . . if haply I may attain to the resurrection from the dead." Plainly *γνώσις* and *γνῶναι* here refer to the most intimate fellowship conceivable between the soul and Christ. We may compare with these passages *Corp. Hermet.* x. 15: "For God does not ignore man, but thoroughly knows (*γνωρίζει*) and desires to be known by him. For this alone is salvation for man, the *γνώσις* of God." While *γνώσις* in Paul, as in the Mystery-literature, is repeatedly emphasised on its intellectual side, its inherently religious significance is quite apparent. The question, therefore, arises: Was Paul's use of *γνώσις* shaped by the Mystery-terminology, or can we trace it back to a strain of thought in the Old Testament?

In a former article we indicated that the "knowledge of God" for the prophets was something experimental, a revelation of God in the inner being. Thus, e.g., Hosea ii. 22: "I will betroth thee unto me in faithfulness, and thou shalt know (*ἐπιγνώσῃ*) the Lord" (cf. v. 4)¹; Isaiah xi. 2: "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge (*LXX. γνώσεως*) and of godly fear (*εὐσεβείας*)." Cf. Proverbs ii. 5: "Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord [virtually = piety, *εὐσέβεια*] and find the knowledge (*ἐπίγνωσιν*) of God," where the parallel clauses describe a practical relationship towards God. These and other instances suggest a close affinity between the Old Testament conception and that of Hellenistic religion. In view of Paul's intimate con-

¹ It is possible that this *intimate* significance of *γνῶσις* may be the spiritual expansion of the earlier sexual application of the term. Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 15-17.

nexion with the prophetic standpoint it is scarcely possible to doubt that his use of *γνώσις* is affected by the *תָּוֶה לַעֲבָד* of the Old Testament. But it seems equally certain that in employing the term and the idea it embodies, he presupposed his hearers' acquaintance with these through the medium of the Mystery-religions, and to some extent at least identified himself with the current usage.¹

There are several noteworthy utterances in which Paul hints at a direct relationship between *γνώσις* and *ἀποκάλυψις*, "revelation." In 1 Corinthians xiv. 6 glossolalia is said to be unprofitable unless accompanied by *ἀποκάλυψις* or *γνώσις* or *προφητεία* or *διδαχή*. In verses 29, 30, the *προφήτης* appears as the recipient of *ἀποκαλύψεις*. In Ephesians i. 17 he prays that God may grant his readers the spirit of wisdom and *ἀποκάλυψις* in the full knowledge (*ἐπιγνώσει*) of Him.² Obviously *ἀποκάλυψις* signifies for the Apostle a special Divine communication of spiritual truth, the illumining by the *πνεῦμα* of some matters of spiritual moment,³ and it depends on fellowship with God in Christ. Now Paul himself closely associates *ἀποκαλύψεις* with *ὄπτασιαι*, "visions," in 2 Corinthians xii. 1. And the description there confronts us with a definite instance of an experience which is appealed to as a proof of his inherent sympathy with the phenomena of the Mystery-cults. The breathlessness and brokenness of the sentences reflect the intense emotion with which Paul defends himself against unscrupulous opponents. Any unprejudiced exegesis, however, of 2 Corinthians xii. 1-5 must conclude

¹ See further an admirable excursus on 1 Corinthians xii. 10, by J. Weiss (Meyer⁹), and Lietzmann's note on 1 Corinthians viii. 3.

² Dr. Armitage Robinson, as against Lightfoot, Hatch, and others, endeavours to prove that *ἐπιγνώσις* is not an intensified *γνώσις*, but rather means "knowledge directed towards a particular object" (*Comm. on Ephes.*, pp. 248-254). We have not found his arguments convincing.

³ Cf. Galatians i. 12; ii. 2; Ephesians iii. 2.

that this was an experience in which the Apostle gloried (vers. 1, 5), and which he regarded as a momentous element in his spiritual history. The abrupt fashion in which he breaks off his narrative, combined with the plurals used in verse 1, suggests that he could have recounted other occurrences of the same kind. The reason he refrains is clear from verse 6: "I hold back (i.e., from enlarging on experiences of this kind), lest any one should place to my credit anything beyond what he sees me to be or hears from me." "His authority must not rest on any trafficking in mysteries which cannot be controlled, but only on that which the Corinthians can see and hear—namely, the 'weakness' of Paul, i.e., his sufferings for Christ's sake and the courage with which he faces them" (Lietzm. *ad loc.*). The occurrence described belongs evidently to the "ecstatic" type. It is definitely dated, "fourteen years ago," like the analogous events in the lives of Old Testament prophets.¹ It was a time of spiritual crisis for Paul, apparently some seven years after his conversion. The main detail of the description is characteristic of Jewish Apocalyptic. In the original recension of the *Testament of Levi* (ii. 9, 10; iii. 1-4, ed. Charles), God dwells in the third heaven, and there *Slavonic Enoch* (ch. viii.) places Paradise. The narrative as a whole is closely parallel to accounts of the ascent of the soul to heaven in Hellenistic Mystery-religions,² in Jewish Apocalypses, in Rabbinic mysticism, in Philo, Plotinus, Suso,³ and later mystics. Suso's account of his ecstasy is peculiarly suggestive. We noted in an earlier article the ecstatic accompaniments of Ezekiel's prophetic work, and corresponding conditions

¹ Cf. Isaiah vi. 1; Jeremiah i. 1; Ezekiel i. 1.

² An excellent summary in Wendland's *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, ed. 2 (much enlarged and completely revised), 1912, pp. 170-176.

³ See especially E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, pp. 225-227.

in Judaism.¹ "Mystics of all ages," says Miss Underhill, "have agreed in regarding such ecstasy as an exceptionally favourable state: the one in which man's spirit is caught up to its most immediate vision of the Divine . . . Clearly this apprehension will vary with the place of the subject in the spiritual scale. The ecstasy is simply the psychophysical agent by which it is obtained."² It is futile to regard such phenomena as pure hallucinations. But their worth can only be tested by the effect produced upon the spiritual life and activity of their subjects. St. Paul has nothing to fear from the application of such a criticism.

In the light of established facts, it is evident that no conclusions can be drawn as to the Apostle's relation to the Mystery-Religions on the strength of his ecstatic experiences. Yet it cannot be doubted that these would afford him important points of contact with men and women who had grown up in the atmosphere of mystic cults. The peculiar sensitiveness of temperament which made the great missionary "theopathic" in this special sense was an integral part of his equipment for the work to which he was consecrated. We need not dwell on Paul's further reference to ecstasy in 2 Corinthians iv. 13: *εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονούμεν, ὑμῖν*. Here, as in chapter xii., he will make no boast of his ecstatic experiences. These were, like the glossolalia (1 Cor. xiv. 2), a matter between him and God. His ordinary controlled life is what concerns them, and he is not afraid to confront his enemies with that, for it has been absorbed in the faithful preaching of the Gospel.³ It is illegitimate for Reitzenstein

¹ Similar states are recorded of themselves by such sober geniuses as Wordsworth and Tennyson. See Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 14.

² See the very valuable examination of ecstasy in *Mysticism*, pp. 427-432.

³ See Heinrici's admirable notes *ad loc.* *σωφρονεῖν* is the technical antithesis to *ἐκστήναι*. The evidence in Heinrici.

to connect *έκστηναι* and *σωφρονεΐν* directly with *έκδημοΐντες* and *ένδημοΐντες* of verse 9, and, further, to translate our passage: "Our ecstasies occurred and still occur for God, are a service to Him, a cult," in order to find a common Mystery-conception in St. Paul.¹ There is no trace of such a notion in the passage.

As we propose in our next article to discuss the two central doctrines of the Mystery-Religions, regeneration and communion with the Divine, we must defer until then our examination of *αναγεννώσθαι*, *παλιγγενεσία*, *σωτηρία*, *έν Χριστώ εΐναι*, and cognate expressions. Meanwhile we shall consider certain terms which, indeed, touch these doctrines, but admit of separate treatment. It has already been indicated that for the Mystery-cults *γνώσις* was the pathway to a transformation finally resulting in deification. From *Corp. Hermet.* x. 4 we learn that when the knowledge and vision (*γνώσις και θεά*) of the Divine light is attained, all the bodily senses are lulled into silence. The initiate forgets all bodily perceptions and movements. That which is beheld illumines the whole inner life, drawing the soul out from the body and transforming (*μεταβάλλειν*) it into *ούσια* ("the Divine or supra-sensible," Reitzenst.). "For it is impossible that the soul which has contemplated the beauty of the good should be deified *έν σώματι ανθρώπου*." Compare the direction given in the Mithras-Liturgy (14. 26 ff.): "Gaze upon the God and greet him thus: 'Hail, Lord, ruler of the water . . . potentate of the spirit. Born again, I depart, being exalted: and having been exalted I die: born through that birth which gives life, dissolved into death, I go the way which thou hast appointed.'" Here the transformation is compared to dying. In a magical papyrus² the following occurs: "I was

¹ *H.M.R.*, p. 193.

² *Wessely, Griech. Zauberpap.* i. p. 48 (?): quoted by Reitzenstein, *H.M.R.*, p. 69. The reference is not clearly given.

united with thy sacred form (*μορφῆ*), I was strengthened by Thy holy name." The new *μορφῆ* appears as the consequence of initiation. Reitzenstein refers to a remarkable passage in Seneca (*Ep.* vi. 1), where he tells his friend Lucilius that he is not only improved (*emendari*) but transformed (*transfigurari*), and speaks of his sudden change. This means, of course, for Seneca an inward experience.¹ But Reitzenstein believes that the metaphor is derived from the terminology of the Mystery-Religions, perhaps through Posidonius. We are unable to see the relevance of the parallels which Reitzenstein finds in the use of *reformare* and *reformatio* in the initiation-experience of Lucius (Apul. *Metamorph.* xi. 16, 27), for these surely refer to his restoration to human form.² But it is pertinent to note certain expressions in the vision of the alchemist Zosimus, who seems to have preserved a much older stratum of Mystery-theology. He speaks of a priest who, in his vision, "renewed" him (*καινουργῶν με*) so that he became *πνεῦμα*. This process he describes later as *μετασωματούμενος*, exchanging body for spirit.³

The material with which we have been dealing recalls Paul's utterance in 2 Corinthians iii. 18: "We all with unveiled face beholding (or, reflecting) as in a mirror the glory of the Lord are transformed (*μεταμορφούμεθα*) into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord, the Spirit." Romans viii. 29 declares that "those whom God foreknew he also predestined to be conformed (*συμμόρφους*) to the image of his Son." And in Philippians iii. 21 it is said of Christ that He "will transform (*μετασχηματίσει*) the body of our humiliation so as to be con-

¹ See Wendland, *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*,² p. 85, note 4.

² *H.M.R.*, p. 105. Possibly there may be some cogency in Apul. xi. 30: *Oisiris in alienam quampiam personam reformatus*.

³ Berthelot, *Les alchimistes grecs*, p. 108, 5, 17: *qu.* in *H.M.R.*, p. 141.

formed (*σύμμορφον*) to the body of his glory." With these passages we may connect Romans viii. 23: "We ourselves also who have the firstfruits of the Spirit [i.e., the *πνεῦμα* as pledge of what is to be], we also groan within ourselves, earnestly awaiting our sonship, the redemption of our body." Obviously Philippians iii. 21 and Romans viii. 23 refer to the transformation of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* (1 Cor. xv. 44), the ordinary body of flesh and blood, into the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, the organism which is the fit expression of the *πνεῦμα*. These two statements associate the transformation with the Parousia. But the mention of the "firstfruits consisting in the *πνεῦμα*" at least suggests that Paul may have regarded the process as having in some sense already begun. It is possible to find that idea implied in 2 Corinthians v. 4, 5: "Those of us who are in the body (*τῷ σκῆνῃ*)¹ groan under our burden, not that we desire to strip ourselves of it (*ἐκδύσασθαι*), but to put on another over it (*ἐπενδύσασθαι*), that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. Now He that prepared us for this very experience is God, who gave us the pledge of the Spirit." The germ of the future *σῶμα* is somehow connected with the indwelling *πνεῦμα*. How are we to estimate the crucial statement, 2 Corinthians iii. 18, in view of all the facts? The key to it is surely found in the expression *πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ*, in the introductory sentence of the paragraph. Paul has been accused of concealing something (iv. 2, 3). He repels the charge indignantly and emphasises the openness of his Gospel. This he contrasts with the veil on Moses' face (ver. 13), the veil on the heart of Israel (ver. 15), and the veiling of the Gospel in the minds of unbelievers (iv. 3, 4). Hence the prominent idea in verse 18 is the "unveiled face." Here we are plainly moving, to some extent, among

¹ A typically Hellenistic term: cf. *Corp. Hermet.* xiii. 15: Καλῶς σκεύδεις λύσαι τὸ σκῆνος.

metaphors, yet the occurrence of the terms *εἰκόν* and *δόξα* warns us against a merely metaphorical interpretation. No doubt in Romans xii. 2 *μεταμορφοῦσθαι* is used of a purely inward "renewal." But the combination, e.g., of *συμμορφιζόμενος* with *γινῶναι* in Philippians iii. 10 suggests a background for the Apostle's conception akin to that of the Mystery-terminology. In 2 Corinthians iv. 16, the very context in which the "spiritual organism" is introduced, there occurs the pregnant statement: "If our outward man is being destroyed, yet our inward is being renewed day by day." It is natural to connect this "renewal" with the growth of a "pneumatic" life in the believer, which ultimately issues in the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*.¹ And some colour is lent to the influence of the Mystery-conceptions upon this whole group of ideas by the doctrine of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* itself which we must proceed briefly to investigate. But before doing so, we would point out that, whatever links of contact may be here detected between Paul's thought and the Mystery-idea of transformation by the vision of God, there is a difference in the point of emphasis. In the Mystery-Religions the chief stress is laid upon a quasi-magical transmutation of essence. The very nature of Paul's conception of the *πνεῦμα* sets in the forefront the *moral* significance of the process. And so it is difficult even to surmise the nature of any "metaphysical" speculation on the experience which may have found a place in Paul's mind.²

This difficulty is not lessened by his statements regarding

¹ Reitzenstein refers to a conception of the alchemist Zosimus which assigns to the inner life of every man a *φωτεινὸς καὶ πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος* (*H.M.R.*, p. 177). But this may be a late development.

² Little light is shed on Paul's conception by Schweitzer's statement that for the Apostle, renewal, spirit, ecstasy, gnosis, etc., are all dependent on the entrance of the individual into a "new cosmic process" (*Geschichte d. Paulin. Forschung*, p. 175).

the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. The most lucid, in our judgment, is Philippians iii. 21. There, two things are said. Christ, at his Parousia, is to transform by His almighty power the earthly bodies (*σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα*, 1 Cor. xv. 50) of believers. The result will be assimilation to His own *σῶμα*, whose characteristic is *δόξα*. In 1 Corinthians xv. 49 Paul affirms: "Even as we wore the image of the earthly (i.e., Adam), so shall we wear the image of the heavenly (i.e., Christ)."¹ Plainly, the idea of the *σ. πν.* is modelled on his conception of the mode of existence of the exalted Christ. And it seems to us impossible to doubt that this conception is intimately associated with the Damascus-vision.² In the obscure passage, 2 Corinthians v. 1, 2, the *σ. πν.* is described as the "building from God," the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 38). The impression that this is a definite and sudden act of God is confirmed by 1 Corinthians xv. 51: "we shall all be changed, in a moment." In 2 Corinthians v. 1 ff. the suggestion is of a sudden event (*ἐπενδύσασθαι*). It is difficult to regard this passage as denoting a condition which already belongs to the constitution of the believer's life. Reitzenstein argues strongly for the conception of the *ἔσωθεν ἄνθρωπος* as the nucleus which, as, in a certain sense, an *ἔνδυμα* or garment, is to be clothed over (*ἐπενδ.*) with the *σ. πν.*³ His argument, however, depends largely for its validity on the very doubtful reading *ἐκδυσόμενοι* (for *ἐνδυσόμενοι*) in 2 Corinthians v. 3. And it reads into Paul a crassness of idea which we fail to trace in the passages

¹ The reading *φορέσωμεν*, although so widely attested, is plainly an error. The whole context demands *φορέσομεν*, which is read by B. This common interchange in MSS. between *ο* and *ω*, due to pronunciation, appears also in Romans v. 1.

² See some suggestive paragraphs in Feine, *N.T. Theologie*, pp. 362, 501, 502.

³ *H.M.R.*, pp. 177, 178.

adduced. Probably it is impossible, on the basis of our data, to determine how Paul conceived the relation of the *πνεῦμα* in the believer to the *σ. πν.* To say, as J. Weiss does, that "Paul evidently pictures it as an 'ethereal,' light, pure, heavenly material" does not conspicuously aid us in grasping the conception.¹ He is following a far more important clue when he urges that what concerned the Apostle above all else was the continuance of his individuality.

Reitzenstein holds that the notion of the *σ. πν.* has its roots in Hellenistic Mystery-religion. The passages to which he refers are of a highly philosophical character. The one (*Corp. Herm.* vii. 2, 3) speaks of the necessity of "tearing off the tunic which you are wearing, the robe woven of ignorance,"² but there is no hint of the Pauline conception. The other (*ib.* xvii.) deals with *σώματα ἀσώματα*, "incorporeal bodies," but a glance at the context shows that we are moving in the region of abstract metaphysics, from which there appears to be no path to the realm of Paul's speculations. More arresting are two extracts quoted by J. Weiss. In *Corp. Herm.* xiii. 14,³ Tat, who has just been regenerated, asks if his transfigured *σῶμα* will ever suffer dissolution. His father assures him that the former body was subject to disintegration, but that which has come from the birth of true being is indissoluble and immortal. "You do not recognise that you are now *θεός* and a child of the One." In the opening prayer of the Mithras-Liturgy, the initiate, after addressing the various elements, appeals to "my perfected body . . . formed by a glorious arm . . . in the world which is unlighted and in that which is full of light."⁴ In the first passage, apart altogether from its

¹ *Erster Kor.-Brief* (Meyer⁹), p. 373.

² The same metaphor in Plato, *Cratyl.*, 400 C.

³ *Poimandres* (ed. Reitz.), p. 345, 1 ff.

⁴ *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,² p. 4, 3 ff.

philosophical substratum, the notion of a completely transformed essence, which makes the subject already a god, is utterly alien to Paul's standpoint. Weiss himself admits that he is unable to explain the sentence from the Liturgy, but believes that at any rate we find here the notion of a "supra-earthly body." An examination of the context will show that we have in the passage a curious blend of Stoic speculation and cosmological tradition.¹ And it is noteworthy that the appeal of the prayer is made before the regenerating process begins. There is surely a wide gulf between such representations and the thought of St. Paul.

Some scholars, notably Reitzenstein² and Wendland,³ bring the Pauline conception of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* into direct connexion with the notion of the heavenly garments, which, in various phases of Oriental religion, purified souls receive in their ascent through the spheres towards their abode in the infinite light.⁴ Traces of the idea appear in the account of the initiation of Lucius given by Apuleius.⁵ But even if primitive imagination has left its impression on the Apostle's conception, the picture of the beatified soul in shining raiment is much too obvious to require explanation by any process of borrowing. If such a process had to be postulated, it would be more relevant to refer to parallels in the Apocalypses, e.g., Eth. Enoch, lxii. 15 (ed. Charles): "The righteous and elect will have risen from the earth . . . and will have been clothed with garments of glory."⁶ Paul's metaphor of "putting on Christ"

¹ See Dieterich's notes on the passage, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*,² pp. 58, 59.

² *H.M.R.*, pp. 106, 159, 175 ff.

³ *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*,² p. 172, note 2: *G.G.A.*, September 1910, p. 657.

⁴ See Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales*, pp. 235 f., 391 f.

⁵ *Esp. Metamorph.* xi. 23.

⁶ See Charles's notes, the parallel in Slav. Enoch, 22. 8 (with references), and Bousset, *Die Religion d. Judentums*,² p. 319.

(Gal. iii. 27) cannot be regarded as a true parallel to his speculations on the "spiritual organism," but must rather be compared with such Old Testament passages as Psalm cxxxii. 9: "Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness" (cf. 2 Chron. vi. 41 *et al.*), and such remarkable usages as that of Judges vi. 34: "The spirit of Jehovah clothed itself with Gideon" (cf. Job xxix. 14, etc.).

In discussing *γνώσις* we pointed out that for the Mystery-Religions its ultimate issue was deification. We must reserve our discussion of this conception for the present. We shall conclude with a brief survey of the terms *εἰκών* and *δόξα*, which have intimate affinities with the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. They are linked together in the important passage, 1 Corinthians iii. 18, which has already been before us. In connexion with 1 Corinthians xv. 49 we indicated that "the *εἰκών* of the heavenly" was virtually equivalent to the *σ. πν.* And Phil. iii. 21 is evidence that the character of the *σ. πν.* is *δόξα*. It may therefore be said that *δόξα* is that by which the *εἰκών* expresses itself. Where are we to look for the background of these ideas? Paul's use of *εἰκών* is very instructive. In 1 Corinthians xi. 7 he describes man as the *εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ*, and in Colossians iii. 10 he speaks of the "new man" as being "renewed with a view to complete knowledge *κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.*" Obviously these passages are an echo of Genesis i. 27 (LXX.): "And God created man, *κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ* created he him" (cf. v. 1). The idea is emphasised both in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism, e.g., Wisd. ii. 23, Sirach xvii. 3. Alongside of this usage in Paul is that which designates Christ as the *εἰκὼν* of God (2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15), and regards believers as destined to be conformed to that *εἰκὼν* (Rom. viii. 29). This combination is precisely parallel to his conception of the first and second creations (Rom. v. 12-21; 1 Cor. xv. 44-49). The *εἰκὼν* of God which

was lost in the first creation through sin is to be restored in the second through Christ, in whom sin's power has been broken. It is therefore impossible to doubt, in spite of Clemen,¹ that Paul's use of *εἰκῶν* has an intimate connexion with the Old Testament through the medium of the LXX. We believe that this holds good also of *δόξα*. The term is extraordinarily common in the Epistles with varying shades of meaning, from that of the radiance of a heavenly body to the energy which is exerted by the Divine nature, and including such senses as "honour" and "praise," as well as the eschatological idea of the "glory" which awaits the redeemed. Now *δόξα* is almost invariably the LXX. translation of *kabod*, which occurs an immense number of times in the Old Testament with a considerable flexibility of significance, and as expressing or interpreting *kabod*, a most important religious term, it must have been thoroughly familiar to all Jews of the Diaspora. To discuss the conception in the Old Testament and in Judaism would require a treatise. A somewhat careful investigation has convinced us of the validity of Professor Buchanan Gray's conclusions²: "The glory of J" was originally used to express the manifestations of J"'s power and might, or more generally of His nature; through Isaiah the phrase became enriched and deepened in meaning, and subsequently continued to express this idea. . . . The phrase first unmistakably expresses a physical phenomenon in Ezekiel, who uses it to express the form under which *in his visions* he realizes the movement of J" . . . It is not till we come to P in the fifth century that the phrase is used of a physical phenomenon actually supposed to have been visible to the natural eye."³ This statement requires to

¹ *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung d. NT.*, pp. 262, 263. †

² *Art. Glory (in Old Testament)*, *H.D.B.*, ii. p. 185.

³ See also Duhm, *Die Theologie d. Propheten*, pp. 170, 171, 279; Dillmann, *Handbuch d. A.T. Theologie*, 1895, p. 283, where *kabod* is defined

be supplemented only as regards the fact, probably exaggerated by Stade¹ and Von Gall,² that in the Psalter more especially the glory of Jⁿ. is closely associated with the Messianic Age.

Paul's use of *δόξα* corresponds remarkably to its Old Testament background and also to its occurrences in Apocalyptic writings, which usually emphasise its more "physical" aspect.³ From what has already been said, its close kinship with *πνεῦμα* is evident. Faithful to its Old Testament atmosphere, it denotes the manifested life or energy of the living God, e.g., Romans vi. 4: "As Christ was raised from the dead through the *δόξα* of the Father"; Colossians i. 11: "strengthened with all power according to the might of His *δόξα*." A second group of instances are distinctly eschatological, e.g., Romans viii. 18: "the glory destined to be revealed *εἰς ἡμᾶς*"; Colossians i. 27: "Christ in you, the hope of glory"; 1 Thessalonians ii. 12: "who calleth you into his own kingdom and glory." This usage seems to be parallel to the Old Testament notion of "glory" as characteristic of the Messianic Age. Finally there are passages which may be directly linked to Old Testament pictures of theophanies, e.g., 2 Thessalonians i. 9: "who shall suffer punishment . . . from the face of the Lord and from the glory of His might"; Philippians iii. 21: "the body of His (i.e. Christ's) glory"; 2 Corinthians iii. 8: "if glory (i.e., the reflexion of the Divine on the face of Moses) belonged to the ministry of condemnation." Obviously it will be difficult to draw a distinction between

as "the majesty of a self-revealing Being." For its connexion with holiness, see Cheyne on Isaiah vi. 3.

¹ *Ausgewählte Reden*, p. 49.

² *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, pp. 32-47. This discussion contains much that is suggestive for the New Testament.

³ See, e.g., 4 Ezra vii. 78, 91; Eth. Enoch lxi. 8; Iviii. 3; Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 49, etc.

such utterances and the eschatological group. For these have usually in view the unveiled Divine Presence, the sphere of the Divine existence. We have indicated that Paul's conception of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* was bound up with his vision on the Damascus road. Now the essential characteristic of the *σ. πν.* for him was *δόξα*. Hence *δόξα*, in its sense of the radiant self-expression of the (Divine) *πνεῦμα*, probably reflects a certain impression belonging to his conversion-experience, and this impression has imparted to it a quasi-physical significance.¹ But already in the Old Testament and the Apocalypses, a "sensible" element belonged to the conception. So that Paul has only followed his usual practice of re-moulding the earlier idea in the light of his personal experience.

In view of these facts, it is quite irrelevant, with Reitzenstein, to refer the "peculiar association of the conceptions *δόξα* and *πνεῦμα* of necessity to Egyptian-Hellenistic mysticism."² But we must glance at the interesting parallels to Paul's use of *δόξα* which he adduces from the Mystery-literature. In a magical papyrus, edited by Dieterich,³ it is said of the Creator: "Thou didst give to the sun its *δόξα* and all its might," where *δ.* evidently means "radiance," a sense unknown in ordinary Greek literature.⁴ Similarly in other parts of this document, and in a papyrus published by Wessely (I. p. 74, l. 1200): "I addressed thine unsur-

¹ See Sokolowski, *Geist u. Leben bei Paulus*, pp. 63, 64, 94, 162, 163. S. is inclined to exaggerate the "materiality" of *δόξα*, but it is true that Paul "was not accustomed to distinguish between the physical and the spiritual in our fashion."

² *H.M.R.*, p. 180.

³ *Abraxas*, p. 176, 5.

⁴ Deissmann, in his pamphlet, *Die Hellenisierung d. semit. Monotheismus*, pp. 5, 6, suggests that this may have been an ancient realistic meaning which survived in the popular language of the environment of the LXX. translators, and points to *Δόξα* as a name of women and ships as perhaps retaining this significance.

passable δόξαν." In a curious alchemistic treatise ascribed to Komarios, dealing with chemical processes in terms derived from the Mystery-religions, the phrase ἐνδύσασθαι δόξαν occurs repeatedly, but the evidence, it seems to us, is invalidated, as Reitzenstein himself admits that this work has undergone Christian revision.¹ Founding on this passage, Reitzenstein is inclined to ascribe the sense of "radiance" belonging to δόξα to the influence of an Egyptian verb, meaning "to shine," with a corresponding noun signifying "advantage," from which he attempts, without data, to derive the meaning "glory." This would connect the LXX. use of δόξα with Egyptian Mystery-terminology. Deissmann's suggestion, quoted above, appears to us far more probable. A notable parallel occurs in *Corp. Hermet.* x. 7, in which the transformed soul is represented as "joining the chorus of the gods," and then it is said: "this is ἡ τελειοτάτη δόξα of the soul." Here we are reminded of various Pauline passages. Perhaps the most remarkable instance is in Wessely, *Zauberpap.* ii. p. 37, l. 512, where a magician prays to Isis: δόξασόν με, ὡς ἐδόξασα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ σου Ὄρου.² Probably the prayer is one for Divine power, an idea characteristic of the Pauline δόξα, while the second clause contains the notion of "glory" in the stricter sense. Reitzenstein aptly compares ἐδόξασεν of Romans viii. 30. But the evidence we have adduced of Old Testament usage makes it wholly needless to seek for the explanation of Paul's employment of the terms in Hellenistic Mystery-Religion. What we do learn from the parallels is the ability of many of his readers to catch the meaning of a more or less technical terminology, not merely through a course of instruction

¹ *H.M.R.*, p. 142.

² *H.M.R.*, pp. 100, 170. Reitzenstein's interpretation of the whole passage Romans viii. 30 is quite arbitrary.

in the Old Testament, but by means of their acquaintance with a religious vocabulary already current among the Mystery-associations.¹

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

STUDIES IN CONVERSION.

IX. RABBI DUNCAN.

IN the New College, to which, after the Disruption, Chalmers' professorial activities were transferred from the University of Edinburgh, the subject of our last study had, as one of his colleagues, a kindred spirit, who was affectionately known throughout the country under the title of "Rabbi" Duncan; and among many points of resemblance connecting the two men the foremost was this, that each had gone through a strongly marked conversion, which became the gateway into all the profoundest experiences of the soul.

In outward fortunes, on the contrary, two men could hardly have been less alike. Duncan had been a minister of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow; then, when, through the rising tide of Evangelical enthusiasm, Missions to the Jews were founded, he was put in charge of such a mission at Buda-Pesth, the origin of which is associated with the venerable names of Robert Murray McCheyne and Andrew Bonar; and thence he was called home, when the Free Church was setting up a college, to be the professor of Hebrew. With all the leaders of the Disruption movement he enjoyed the closest intimacy, and he followed every step of the history of the new Church with sympathy; but his name holds no place in the public debates and controversies of the time; his gifts not being of such a kind as to fit

¹ Considerations of space prevent us from referring to the allied term *φωτισμὸς* (*φωτισμός*), but the same principles of investigation are justified in its interpretation.