

The Pauline Eschatology

Geerhardus Vos

**Foreword by
Richard B. Gaffin, Jr.**

I&R
P U B L I S H I N G
P.O. BOX 817 • PHILLIPSBURG • NEW JERSEY 08865-0817

First published 1930 by
Princeton University Press

Reprinted 1994 by
Presbyterian and Reformed
Publishing Company

Foreword © 1979 by
Baker Book House Company

ISBN: 978-0-87552-505-1

Printed in the United States of America

FOREWORD

The title of this volume can be misleading. The reader who understands “eschatology” in its conventional, still popular sense will expect a specialized study limited to those “last things” associated with the second coming of Christ. Vos, however, intends something more. His basic thesis is that to unfold Paul’s eschatology is to set forth his theology as a whole, not just his teaching on Christ’s return.

Few developments in biblical studies during this century are of such far-reaching importance as the growing recognition of the New Testament writers’ broadened understanding of eschatology. Christ’s coming, culminating in his death and resurrection, takes place in “the fulness of time(s)” (Gal. 4:4; Eph. 1:10), in “these last days” (Heb. 1:2), at “the end of the ages” (Heb. 9:26), in the fully eschatological sense. The present experience of those united by faith to Christ in his suffering and exaltation (Gal. 2:20; Eph. 2:5, 6; Col. 3:1), not only their future, is essentially eschatological; the Christian life is an eschatological life.

Vos was a pioneer in calling attention to this fundamental datum of New Testament teaching—what can be termed its eschatological, redemptive-historical orientation. His brief but perceptive volume, *The Kingdom and the Church* (1903), pointed out the eschatological nature of the kingdom proclaimed by Jesus as not only future but present in his person and work. It is also worth noting that the Pauline eschatology first appeared in the same year (1930) as the German original of Albert Schweitzer’s *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*. The latter is much more widely known and frequently credited with leading the way in bringing about a widespread awareness of the pervasively eschatological character of Paul’s teaching. Vos’s treatment, however, is more balanced and true to Paul, faithfully capturing the

controlling eschatological motif of his teaching without falling into what are now generally acknowledged to be the exegetical excesses of Schweitzer's notion of Paul's mysticism. Besides, it has the added strength of being fully congenial with Paul's understanding of himself and his authority as an apostle and instrument of revelation. In fact, the *Pauline Eschatology* is an elaboration of viewpoints arrived at nearly two decades earlier in the often overlooked but masterful essay, "The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit" in *Biblical and Theological Studies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, pp. 209-59).

Geerhardus Vos (1862-1949) was born in the Netherlands and emigrated to the United States with his parents in 1881. Following the study of theology in Grand Rapids, Princeton, and Europe, where he completed doctoral studies at Strassburg in 1888, he taught for several years at what is now Calvin Theological Seminary. In 1893 he accepted appointment to the newly created chair of Biblical Theology at Princeton Seminary, where he taught until retirement in 1932. There he did work in both Old and New Testament biblical theology. The truly monumental proportions of these labors, largely ahead of their time, have only in recent decades begun to have a measure of the influence they deserve.

The Pauline Eschatology is a classic of unprecedented insight into the structure of Paul's theology. Thanks are due to Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company for its commitment to make it available once again.

RICHARD B. GAFFIN, JR.
Westminster Theological Seminary

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
I The Structure of the Pauline Eschatology	1
II The Interaction Between Eschatology and Soteriology	42
III The Religious and Ethical Motivation of Paul's Eschatology	62
IV The Coming of the Lord and Its Precursors	72
V The Man of Sin	94
VI The Resurrection	136
VII Alleged Development in Paul's Teaching on the Resurrection	172
VIII The Resurrection-Change	206
IX The Extent of the Resurrection	215
X The Question of Chiliasm, in Paul	226
XI The Judgment	261
XII The Eternal State	288
<i>Bibliography</i>	317
<i>Appendix: Eschatology of the Psalter</i>	321
<i>Scripture Index</i>	367

DEUS CREATOR REDEMPTOR CONSUMMATOR
IN HIS TRIBUS RELIGIO NOSTRA UNIVERSA PENDET

PREFACE

CHRISTIAN faith has at various times put widely varying appraisals on biblical eschatology. The latter was first held in esteem because of the service it was able to render to early apologetics. The two at the outset were practically identical. The vindication of the new-born faith depended on the proof that the Messiah, that great Agent and Consummator of God's world-purpose, had appeared upon the scene. Whosoever believed in this found himself drawn into the center of the eschatological movement, by prophets long foretold. It is true, this apologetic subserviency did not always work in even measure to the advantage of the Scriptural scheme of Eschatology. The Old Testament was the chief armory from which weapons had to be drawn. Even Virgil's Fourth Eclogue could not quite replace this, whatever its ultimate provenience. And as to the Old Testament, who can deny that sometimes minor and isolated correspondences were subjected to a harder strain than they ought to have been asked to bear.

At all times through the life of the Church the eschatological hope remained securely fixed upon her mind. It was an uncontroverted, accepted belief. Perhaps the retention of it may sometimes have been largely of a formal nature. But there is something about these expectations and visions of the last things, that will send them into the light and focus of the consciousness of believers, whenever storms of persecution arise and hard distresses invade. The mediaeval Roman Church seemed so unshakably fixed beyond every chance of transitoriness, and it moreover so clearly typified the true image of the ultimate city of God, that in it, one would suppose, only little soil could have been left for the cultivation of super-terrestrial fields. And yet this appearance was to some extent deceptive. The finest products of the hymnody of that Church, with their unearthly aroma still clinging to

PREFACE

them after so many ages, are here to prove how rich a vein of piety ran through the hearts of their authors, derivable from the living waters of Paradise alone. Its hills still stood and the birds were still delighting the saints of God with jubilation from their leafy trees.

In the period of the Reformation the problem of the obtaining of righteousness before God filled hearts and minds. For the time this forced the eschatological hope into the background, although even then it would have been by no means paradoxical to say that the two strands of the justifying faith and the eschatological outlook remained closely intertwined. Paul knew the inevitableness of this and knew it better, perhaps, than the foremost heroes of the Reformation, not even Luther or Calvin excepted. While the Reformers were by no means unacquainted with the melodies of eschatological music, theirs was by preference martial music drawn from the storm and stress of the Psalter. But they received something better from Paul than either prophet or Psalmist had been able to give. Paul had been the first to grasp with his master-mind the single items of eschatological belief scattered through Scripture, and to weave them into a compact, well-rounded system, so coherent, that, speaking after the manner of man, it became next to impossible for any of the precious texture henceforth to be lost. He it was who made the single items of hope find themselves and group themselves into crystal formations with symmetrical shapes. Truly for this, not his smallest gift, he may justly be called the father of Christian eschatology.

With the rise of Rationalism Eschatology was bound to drift into troubled waters. Eschatology is preëminently historical, and Rationalism is from its cradle devoid of historic sense. It despises tradition; the past it ignores and the future it barely tolerates with a supercilious conceit of self. Moreover Rationalism is bent upon and enamored of the inward. To it the essence and value of all religion lie in purely-subjective ethico-religious experiences. Now in the eschatological process from the nature of the case, the forces of propulsion

PREFACE

must come from *ab extra*. No nature-force can possibly be conceived as producing them. All that remains of interest for Eschatology in such circles can spring from a "histori-cizing" curiosity only. Piety it is no longer capable of kindling. And yet, there was and may still further appear to be something good from the Lord in this modernistic setback. Driven by such a storm of denial from the old pastures, not a few of the pious sought refuge out of this chill-grown world into anticipations of the world to come. We cannot help but recoil from much distorted thought and morbid emotion, that makes present-day eschatologizing propaganda unlovable. But let us be sure not to overlook even the smallest grain of golden piety that may linger in it.

And meanwhile let us learn to reconcile ourselves to this outstanding sign of the times: Eschatology has become the large mountain of offense lying across the pathway of modern unbelief. That part of it which we call Messiahship was already a piece broken from that rock in the days of Jesus. The double offense was one at bottom. Neither will be tolerated in modern religious thought. And the results will inevitably be the same. Paul divorced from his Eschatology becomes unfit for his Apostleship; Jesus divested of his Messiahship can no longer serve us as a Saviour. What boots it to strive for minor (although in themselves sufficiently important) things, when we see all these treasures the Church has gloried in and all this nourishment we have lived on, burned up before our eyes in one and the same fire? Here, certainly, is the test-limit of what shall warrant a claim to continuity with historic Christianity and the right to further retention of the name of "Christian."

GEERHARDUS VOS.

Princeton, January 21, 1930.

CHAPTER I

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY

Eschatology is "the doctrine of the last things." It deals with the teaching or belief, that the world-movement, religiously considered, tends towards a definite final goal, beyond which a new order of affairs will be established, frequently with the further implication, that this new order of affairs will not be subject to any further change, but will partake of the static character of the eternal. Eschatology is a term of Greek derivation, which leads us to look for its linguistic antecedents first of all to the Greek Old Testament. Here we find the two phrases *ἔσχαται ἡμέραι* (occurring Gen. xlix. 1; Isa. ii. 2; Jer. xxxvii. 24;¹ Ezek. xxxviii. 16; Hos. iii. 5; Mic. iv. 1; Dan. x. 14) and *ἔσχατου τῶν ἡμερῶν* (occurring Num. xxiv. 14; Deut. iv. 30; xxxi. 29; Jer. xxiii. 20; xxv. 18).²

Back of these Greek phrases lies the Hebrew phrase *הַיָּמִים אַחֲרֵי*.³ It is important to determine the precise import of the term *אַחֲרֵי*, both etymologically and conceptually. "Acherith" is a derivation from "achar" and the latter means "hindmost." "Acherith" is applied to space as well as to time in the sense of "the hindmost part." An example of the application to space is Ps. cxxxix. 9: "the uttermost parts of the sea." Applied to time, as is the case in the phrase under review, it would proximately signify "the farthestmost parts of the days." The question arises, however, whether this is a purely chronological designation, or whether there enters

¹ In the arrangement of the Hebrew text this passage occurs xxx. 24.

² The last two in the Hebrew text, xlix. 39. Heb. Jer. xlviii. 47 has no corresponding Greek passage in Sept. Chap. xxxi.

³ Besides "*acherith hajjamim*," the combinations "*acherith hazza'am*" "of the wrath" and "*acherith hashshanim*" "of the years" are also found, the former in Dan. viii. 19, the latter in Ezek. xxxviii. 8.

into it likewise the idea of "eventuation," "issue of a fore-going process." In ordinary untechnical usage such a sense sometimes does attach to the word: Job viii. 7 draws a contrast between the small beginnings of prosperity and its abundant issue; the former is "reshith," the latter "acherith"; similarly xlii. 12; Prov. v. 4, 11 speak of the bitterness of the end of a man's relation with "the strange woman," implying that this bitter "acherith" is the inevitable outcome of the whole course of conduct involved. In the same way it is said of wine that "it goes down smoothly," but that "at the last ("acherith") it bites like a serpent and stings like an adder," xxiii. 31, 32; the "reward" hoped for is an "acherith," xxiii. 18; xxiv. 14. There can not, therefore, be drawn any objection *a priori* from the common usage of the word to its having carried a similar pregnant sense in technical eschatological language. The sole question is whether the presence of this climacteric element can be pointed out in the eschatological passages. The "Blessing of Jacob," Gen. xlix, contains an approach to this point of view in what it predicts concerning Judah, vs. 10. The "Shiloh," that is "the One to whom Judah's sceptre and ruler's staff belong" appears here as the ultimate embodiment and virtually as the eternalizer of Judah's preëminence among the tribes. In other words the One later called the Messiah is a Consummator in more than a purely chronological sense. This is still clearer if the Ezekielian reference to this prophecy is laid by the side of it, for here a succession of acts of overturning is held in prospect until shall come "He whose right it is," and to whom Jehovah gives the final government, Ezek. xxi. 32;⁴ both in Genesis and in the reproduction of the thought by Ezekiel the idea of progression towards a fixed end is marked by the word "until." To be sure the term "acherith" stands in Gen. xlix. 1 at the head of the prophecy with general reference to what is foretold concerning all the tribes, yet it is meant virtually so that in Judah's destiny alone it is realized to the full

⁴ Vs. 27 in English text.

extent of its import.⁵ The same phenomenon meets us in Nu. xxiv. 14: Balaam says to Balak, "I will advertise thee what this people (Israel) shall do to thy people in the acherith hajjamim." Upon this follows the vision of the star out of Jacob and the sceptre out of Israel, projected into the dim future ("not now" and "not nigh"). The introduction is abrupt; no intervening events nor preparatory stages are mentioned. In the last *mashal*, however, (vss. 20-24), there is a concatenation of successive overthrows befalling successive powers, in regard to which the idea of historico-causal connection suggests itself. The representation of one power overtaking and replacing another reminds strongly of the later prevision of political developments in Daniel, with this difference that Daniel places the kingdom of God at the close of the rise and rule of the profane kingdoms as something in which the entire movement comes to rest, whilst with Balaam, the Messianic culmination stands in the preceding *mashal* by itself, and before the picture of the intervening destinies in vss. 20-24. The occurrence of the simple "acherith" without determination in the first of Balaam's *meshalim*, xxiii. 10, ought not to be overlooked; it is here ostensibly applied to the individual, and used synonymously with "death": "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my acherith be like his." In Deut. iv. 30 the "acherith hajjamim" denotes the time of the return of Israel to Jehovah after all the calamities described in the foregoing discourse shall have come upon them; among these is the captivity, so that the use is from the O.T. standpoint truly eschatological. In Chap. xxxi. 29, on the other hand, it marks the period of the calamities themselves, and these are placed by Moses at the end of a process of corruption beginning immediately after his death; in this Deuteronomy anticipates some of the prophetic representations. No mention is here made of return, so that only the negative side of the eschatological outcome is touched upon. Isa. ii. 2-4 and Mic. iv. 1-3 are identical prophecies with this difference only that

⁵ Gen. xlix. 1, "Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter (acherith) days."

the idyllic picture of the new paradise in vs. 4 is added by Micah. In both the reference is to the last issue of things. Isaiah makes no direct connection between the events of the "acherith" and the preceding developments; the prophecy is introduced abruptly. In Micah, however, through the attachment to the exceedingly ominous close of Chap. iii a contrast seems to be suggested between the depth and the height in Israel's future; the translators of the English Bible (A.V., R.V., A.R.V.) express this view of it by giving the conjunction "waw" the sense of "but."⁶ Of the Jeremiah-passages two (xxiii. 20; xxxvii. 24, corresponding to Hebrew and English xxx. 24) link with the "acherith" (placed in or after the captivity) a new understanding of the divine judgment come upon the people. The two others (xxv. 18; found in Hebrew and English xlix. 39 and xlviii. 47, lacking in the Greek) speak of the return at the end of Elam and Moab. To these may be added the interesting statement in Hebrew and English xxxi. 17,⁷ to the effect that there is "hope" for the people's "acherith," thus associating the latter with a state of favor; this renders it probable that the "new understanding" of the judgment, predicted for the "acherith" in the references given above, is meant to bear the same auspicious meaning. Ezek. xxxviii. 16 represents the last great attack made by Gog upon the people as taking place in the "acherith"; this attack happens when the state of security has already become an established state for Israel (vs. 14).⁸ Hos. iii. 5 fixes the "acherith" as the point after the exile, when the children of Israel return and seek Jehovah their God and David their King, and come with fear to Jehovah and to

⁶ The *waw* occurs also in Isaiah; to be certain of its force as "but," we should have to know that the prophecy was taken from Micah by Isaiah, or that the connection of contrast found by the English Versions was intended in an assumed third source lying back of both Isaiah and Micah.

⁷ In Sep. xxxviii. 16, corresponding to the Hebrew above cited, the text is greatly different and the word "acherith" does not occur.

⁸ Cp. Mic. iv. 1, 11, where the attack of the "many nations" is mentioned after the description of the "acherith" as a state of blessedness. But the arrangement need not be strictly chronological; vs. 11 says "and now."

His goodness. Finally, according to Dan. x. 14, the interpreter proceeds to make the prophet understand what shall befall the people in the "latter (post-Persian) days."

The above survey includes all the Greek Old Testament instances of occurrence of the phrase. Certain conclusions can be drawn from it, which here may be briefly set down: *In the first place* the phrase belongs strictly to the field of eschatology. It does not signify some indefinitely subsequent point or period or complication of events. The note of epochal finality is never missing in it. This should, however, not be confounded with the idea of chronological fixity. It is peculiar to the Old Testament that it makes this "acherith" a sort of movable complex, capable of being pushed forward along the line of prophetic vision. Here is not the place to treat of the principle of the philosophy of revelation underlying this phenomenon; it may suffice to point to it as a fact borne out by exegetical induction.⁹ *In the second place* the conception relates to the *collective* aspect of eschatology: it deals with the fortunes and destinies of the people, not with the prospect and future of the individual.¹⁰ This, however, does not mean that the Old Testament, as sometimes alleged, is wholly lacking in individual eschatology, it only means that whatever approach to or teaching of such a doctrine there is has not found expression through the "acherith"-concept. *Thirdly* the idea is elastic as to its extent, no less than movable as to its position. It covers, as has been shown, unfavor-

⁹ Cp. Delitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis*,⁴ 1872, pp. 498-501.

¹⁰ A possible exception is Num. xxiii. 10; here "the death of the righteous" (parallel to his "acherith") is spoken of as something devoutly to be desired. Can this refer to Israel as the connection would seem to indicate? There is nothing strange in "the righteous" as a name for Israel; "Jeshurun" occurs as a name of the people in Deut. xxxii. 15; xxxiii. 5, 26; Isa. xlv. 2. For the idea of the death of Israel cp. Hos. xiii. 13, but there the representation is ominous. Even when individualistically interpreted, Balaam's words are eschatological; the blessedness is pronounced in view of the future after death (hence "*the righteous*"), not in view of things left behind (children or property). Individually interpreted the passage would yield an early instance of the eschatological conception of the state after death; Gen. v. 24 would furnish the only analogue.

able and favorable happenings occurring in the farthest visible plane to which the prophetic vision extends, and there is no clear marking of the sequence of these in time. This is what might be expected, taking into consideration the whole tenor of Old Testament prophecy with regard to the future. Sometimes *points* are mentioned as falling within the "acherith," sometimes a *condensation of events* occupying apparently a certain stretch of time. The principal question is whether the static outcome, the permanent state of blessedness predicted, is actually included, sometimes at least, in the "acherith." If so, then this would extend the latter indefinitely, in fact render it synonymous with what the New Testament considers the state of eternity, although, of course, the language of time would still be employed to describe it, the latter feature being inherent in the etymology of the phrase itself. Deut. iv. 30 has been quoted as an instance of this (on the usual construction): "When thou art in tribulation and all these things are come upon thee, in the latter days thou shalt return to Jehovah thy God." Thus construe R.V. and A.R.V., but A.V. has: "When all these things are come upon thee (i.e., the calamities spoken of) even in the latter days," etc. This, as an alternative construction, is also offered by R.V. and A.R.V. in the margin. The Greek Text is not clear; it reads: "and all these words (things) shall find thee in the "acherith of the days." The Hebrew represents the "acherith" as the period of adversity. But even if the construction of R.V. and A.R.V. be adopted, the passage still falls short of placing the blessed age in the "acherith"; what it puts there explicitly is only the act of conversion. And no more than this can be said for the passage in Hos. iii. 3: the people's coming unto Jehovah and unto His "goodness" is put in the "acherith." Here, however, it is possible, if "coming to his goodness" be taken in the pregnant sense of enjoying God's favor, to make the "acherith" cover the resulting permanent eschatological state. The only passage which unequivocally puts consummated eschatological things within the "acherith" is the duplicate prophecy, Isa. ii. 2; Mic. iv. 1. Here we read that in the "acherith" the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be estab-

lished (“*nakhon jihjeh*”) at the head (= on the top) of the mountains; the Niphal Participle must be understood of an enduring condition, and the same is implied in the representation in vss. 3, 4 of Jehovah’s teaching function, of his judging between many nations and of the state of peace and security prevailing, every man sitting under his vine and fig-tree, and none to make them afraid (the last in Micah only).¹¹

Coming now to the N.T., and first to the extra-Pauline New Testament material, we notice the fact that in the Synoptical Gospels the terminology of *ἔσχατος* does not appear with eschatological reference. In John it occurs; here we meet with “*eschate hemera,*” vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; xi. 24. On account of both the noun and the adjective being in the singular, and through the specific reference to the act of the resurrection, the Old Testament phrase has here become contracted in meaning. Acts has but one instance of the use of the phrase, ii. 17, and this in a quotation by Peter from Joel iii. 1, where the Hebrew does not contain it, but simply says “after that.” But this easy substitution proves that the formula was thoroughly familiar in early-Christian circles. Apart from Paul the other N.T. references are Heb. i. 2; Jas. v. 3; 1 Pet. i. 5, 20; 2 Pet. iii. 3; 1 Jno. ii. 18 (bis); Jude 18. In these passages the noun varies between “*hemera*” and “*kairos*,”¹² or “*chronos*,” “*chronoi*,” “*time*,” “*times*”; 1 Jno. ii. 18 the phrase runs, as in the Gospel, “*eschate hora*,” with this difference only that what figures in the saying of Jesus as a *point* of time (the point of the resurrection) becomes in the Epistle the last *stretch* of time.

The characteristic feature of these New Testament ap-

¹¹ Cp. Stark, “*Der Gebrauch der Wendung Becherith Hajjamim im alttestamentlichen Kanon*,” *Z. f. A. W.* 1891, pp. 247; Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesajakritik, Anhang*, pp. 187-220.

¹² The difference between “*eschatai hemera*” and “*kairos eschatos*” can best be felt through 2 Tim. iii. 1, “in the last days grievous times (*kairoi chalepoi*) shall come”; the former is purely chronological, the latter carries the note of qualitatively complexioned and specifically appointed seasons. This passage in 2 Tim. is the only case of technical use of “*eschatai hemera*” with Paul.

plications of the phrase consists in the idea accompanying them that the writers and readers are conscious of the last days being upon them, or at least close at hand. Indeed, this has to such an extent become inseparable from the phrase, that no longer any particular pains are taken to separate by means of precision of statement present from future or semi-present from present. Herein lies a very marked difference from the Old Testament mode of representation. Sometimes belief in the imminence of final happenings and the pervasive eschatological state of mind engendered by this, seem to lead to scrutiny of the contemporary state of things for possible symptoms of the approach of the end, 2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Pet. iii. 3; Jud. 18. At other times the observation of the symptoms leads to the conclusion, or at least the strengthening of the conclusion, that the last hour is there, 1 Jno. ii. 18. Again at other times the thought has a thickly ominous coloring, Jas. v. 3. It also may appear in more theoretical form, though even then never wholly detached from the present practical situation, 1 Pet. i. 5, 20. An interesting example of combination of the two motifs appears in Heb. i. 2: "God has spoken in the last days in a Son"; to this, which is so far a merely chronological construction of the history of revelation, the writer then as a sort of afterthought, by means of the pronoun "these" loosely attached at the close, adds the reflection that these days are the present days of himself and his readers; were it not for the subsequent supervention of that thought, the sense would have naturally been expressed by "ep' eschatōn (plural) tōn hemerōn." By all this the phrase which previously hovered in the mist of more or less remote futurity, has obtained a fixed appurtenance to the present and closely impending future. It is due to the correct perception of this that in our English Bible the Old Testament and Septuagint phrases are rendered by "the *latter* days," whereas the New Testament speaking of itself translates the identical phrases by "the *last* days."¹⁸

¹⁸ In thus rendering from the Old Testament A.V., R.V. and A.R.V. agree with the two exceptions of Gen. xlix. 1 and Isa. ii. 2 (Mic. iv. 1).

A feature which this extra-Pauline New Testament usage and that of the Greek Old Testament have in common is what might be called the "non-comparative" character of both. There is no conscious reflection upon the qualitatively specific complexion of "early" or "earlier" days: the attention is wholly fixed upon the future final segment of time, so as to make the contrast an almost entirely chronological one. In result of this the rendering by "latter days" might easily create a misunderstanding, the comparative degree inviting the idea that two *sorts* of days, the earlier and the latter ones were, at least by implication, set over against each other. But this is not necessarily implied; yet neither is it allowable to draw the conclusion, that the static result of the crisis foreseen will again be made up of "days," although that would suit the Old Testament perspective of a Messianic state in time quite well. The "eternal" as the negation of time is not envisaged here. What is envisaged is a point or stretch lying at the end of history; it forms part of what are called "days"; that thereafter there shall be no more days, but something of a different nature is not implied. The *acherith*, the *eschaton* have the stress, not the *jamim* or the *hemera*i. The phrase "*last days*" does not as yet carry the implication, that the time-order is soon to be ended to make place for a non-diurnal state of existence.

Now examining Paul with the technical phrases just discussed in mind, it is immediately apparent that his terminology is differently oriented than that attaching itself to the *eschaton*-idea.¹⁴ To be sure, Paul joins the adjective "*eschatos*"

In these two passages A.V. has "the last days." So far as Isaiah and Micah are concerned, this anticipation, as it were, of the New Testament usage may be due to the static character of what is located in the "*acherith*"; cp. above "the mountain of Jehovah's house shall *be* (and *remain*) established"; as a permanent, non-transitory phenomenon this seemed better expressible by "last" than by "latter." Num. xxiii. 10, where all three versions have "last end" is hardly an exception to the rule, for here the translators obviously found the death of the righteous *person* referred to; in xxiv. 14 where the point of view is nationally-collective, all three version have again "latter days."

¹⁴ If anywhere, then the phrase "the last days" might have been ex-

to a number of nouns and that with eschatological connotation. 1 Cor. iv. 9, the Apostles are represented as set forth *eschatoi* to death, which certainly can not mean that they are the most recent examples of such a destination; it relates to their place in the final tribulation impending. 1 Cor. xv. 26, "last" (with reference to death) in the order of enemies to be abolished seems to be purely numerical, although, of course, the eschatological association could not be entirely kept out of the word. The latter is distinctly present in "the last trumpet," vs. 52, for this does not refer to all the several trumpets blown in the course of the world's history, but it either means the counterpart to the tremendous trumpet-blast that accompanied the giving of the law, or it is named "last" because of a series of eschatological trumpets immediately preceding it, in which case there is no reflection upon ordinary, so to speak secular, trumpets.¹⁵ Most significant of all, however, is the designation of Christ as "the eschatos Adam," vs. 45, where "last" is entirely steeped in eschatological meaning, for this "last Adam" is the fountain-head of the resurrection, vs. 22, 23, a "quickening Spirit," "of heaven" and "heavenly," vs. 47-49, all this referring to the final celestial state and the conditions pertaining thereto, such as the peculiar kind of (bodily) image to be borne by believers after their resurrection. In how far this use of "eschatos" by Paul has its roots in the ancient idea of "the last days," can not here be determined.

In distinction from the O.T. point of view the structure of Paul's eschatology appears antithetical. It places the end expected in the "Man-of-Sin" prophecy, 2 Thess. ii; its absence from this piece seems significant. "The day of the Lord" is here the central conception; cp. also "in his own season" vs. 6.

¹⁵ How thoroughly "eschatologized" the trumpet is appears from its occurrence without the term "last" 1 Thess. iv. 16, and the verb 1 Cor. xv. 52; cp. Matt. xxiv. 31, "a great trumpet"; in Thess. "the trump of God"; in Rev. viii.-xi. 15, the seven trumpets are numerically distinguished, but, collectively speaking, they all belong to "the end." Rev. xv. 1 and xxi. 9, the attribute *eschatai* belongs to the seven plagues because "in them is *finished* the wrath of God."

under the control of one principle with the sway of which an opposite principle of equally comprehensive rule and of primordial origin is contrasted, so as to make the two, when taken together, yield a bisection of universal history. By giving the soteric movement this cosmical setting it claims for it the significance of a central world-process, around the core of which all happenings in the course of time group themselves.¹⁶ By this one stroke order is brought into the disconnected multitudinousness of events. The eschatology, without losing touch with history, nevertheless, owing to the large sweep of its historical reach, becomes philosophico-theological. It no longer forms one item in the sum-total of revealed teaching, but draws within its circle as correlated and eschatologically-complexioned parts practically all of the fundamental tenets of Pauline Christianity. Here this can only be briefly premised; it will have to be shown by detailed investigation at subsequent points. It will appear throughout that to unfold the Apostle's eschatology means to set forth his theology as a whole. Through a conceptual retroversion the end will be seen to give birth to the beginning in the emergence of truth. What we are here concerned with more immediately is the specific terminology in which this mode of thought has come to express itself. In 1 Cor. xv. 45-47, the presence of this antithetical orientation is clearly seen in the correspondence of the two names for Christ, "the eschatos Adam" and "the deuterios Man," the opposite to the former no less than to the latter being "the protos Man." "Eschatos" here bears technical meaning; it designates not so much the Adam that belongs to the order of the "eschata," but pointedly the One who is the last in contrast with one other who is the first; it is antithetical no less than "deuterios." As backward of "the protos" there was no other, so beyond "the eschatos" there can be none further. Typologi-

¹⁶ In the Epistle to the Hebrews there is a similar bisection of history with eschatological issue, but here this pertains to the sphere of redemption; the first age is the Old Diatheke, the second the New Diatheke, cp. ii. 5; (oikoomene melloosa); vi. 5 ("mellon aion") cp. "Hebrews, the Epistle of the Diatheke," P.T.R., 1914, 1915.

cally the same principle finds expression Rom. v. 14: "who is a figure (type) of him that was to come."

More comprehensively the antithetical structure appears in the distinction between the two *ages* or *worlds*. The only passage in Paul where this contrast is explicitly drawn is Eph. i. 21: "far above . . . every name that is named, not only in this world (or age), but also in that which is to come." There are, however, quite a number of other passages where, although only "this age" (*ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος*) appears the other member of the contrast is nevertheless present by implication. Thus Rom. xii. 2; 1 Cor. i. 20; ii. 6, 8; iii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Gal. i. 4; Eph. ii. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 17; Tit. ii. 12. In Eph. i. 21 there is a special reason for naming both terms, because the supremacy of the name of Christ above all other names was to be affirmed without restriction either as to time or sphere. The other passages deal with some feature or element within the pre-eschatological period, so that there was no need of naming the opposite. Still, apart from this, Paul might have in certain connections spoken of the "coming aeon" by itself, but the less formal, more expressive phrase "kingdom of God" was naturally preferred in such cases, just as we more easily speak of "heaven" or "eternity" than of "the future age"; cp. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10; xv. 50; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5; 1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. i. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 18. The scarcity of explicit reference to "the coming aeon" should not, therefore, be counted an instance against the familiarity of Paul with the correlated contrast nor against the importance of the part played by it in his eschatological scheme. There is no evidence that the term "*aion*" had *per se* an evil flavor, which would have rendered it unfit to the Apostle's mind for association with the perfect future life; Eph. i. 21 proves the contrary. And yet it cannot be denied that as a rule the phrases "this age," "this world" were apt to call up evil associations. Such is plainly the case in 1 Cor. i. 20; ii. 6-8; in both these instances the evil implied or expressed has a peculiar noëtic reference. Satan is in 2 Cor. iv. 4 called outright "the god of this aeon." According to Gal. i. 4, Christ gave Himself

for our sins that He might rescue us out of this present evil aion. 2 Tim. iv. 10, Demas is said to have forsaken Paul, because he loved this aion. The Apostle warns the readers, Rom. xii. 2, not to assume or bear "*the schema*" of this aion, but to let themselves be transformed in the opposite direction. The degradation of the concept of "aion" in these cases is probably a reflex of the evil meaning of "*kosmos*." Other passages like 1 Tim. vi. 17; Tit. ii. 12 are more neutral from an ethical point of view.¹⁷

There are two problems connected with this terminology, being to some extent interdependent. The first problem concerns the antiquity and origin of the contrast in general; the second concerns the relation of "*aion*" to "*kosmos*." The Johannine writings do not employ "this aion" or "the coming aion" for the purpose of eschatological contrast. Wherever "aion" occurs in them either in the purely-temporal or in the eternity-sense, the associations are thoroughly favorable; the pronoun "this" is not prefixed to it. The standing phrase is "eis ton aiona," "until eternity." This receives sufficient explanation from the older Scriptural time-use of "'olam" and the plural "'olamim." On the other hand, for the evil member of the antithesis the word "kosmos," "ho kosmos hootos" finds characteristic employment with John.¹⁸ Now this word "kosmos" with Paul also occasionally occurs synonymously with "ho aion hootos." So we find it Rom. iii. 6; 1 Cor. i. 20, 21; ii. 12; iii. 19; xi. 32; 2 Cor. vii. 10; Phil. ii. 15. That the word "kosmos" had evil coloring, when used in ethico-religious connections appears most clearly from the fact of its never being transferred to the state to come; "ho kosmos ekeinos," "that age," is neither Johannine nor Pauline. Jesus in his speech to the Jews shows conscious avoidance of it, Jno. viii. 23: "Ye are of this world; I *am not of this world*" instead of: "I am of that world." This

¹⁷ The wicked nature implied in the contrast to the other aion marks a further point of difference between the Pauline antithesis and that in Hebrews.

¹⁸ Cp. Jno. xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11, "ho archon too kosmoo tootoo"; cp. with "the god of this aeon," 2 Cor. iv. 4.

does not, of course, prevent either with John or Paul the ethically-neutral use of "world" as a comprehensive quantitative designation of the lower creation. For Paul, cp. Rom. i. 8; v. 12; I Cor. iv. 9 (vii. 31); xiv. 10; Eph. i. 4; Col. i. 6; I Tim. vi. 7; for John, cp. i. 9, 10; iii. 19; vi. 14; viii. 26; ix. 5; x. 36; xi. 27; xiii. 1; xvi. 21; xvii. 5, 24; xviii. 37; xxi. 25; I Jno. ii. 2; iv. 1, 3, 9; 2 Jno. 7.

The usage of both terms in Paul leaves the impression that the antithesis is not of the Apostle's own coining. The evil aspect of "the present age" he may have accentuated more than was done previously, but he certainly did not frame *de novo* either the phrase itself nor its close association with "ho kosmos." In the Jewish writing 4 Ezz., scarcely a generation later than Paul, it is said "that God made two aions," vii. 50; further, the present age and the future age are contrasted in a number of passages. The same appears in the Apocalypse of Baruch (of approximately the same period). Hillel speaks of "the life of the future aion." Jochanan ben Zakkai (about 80 A.D.) states that God revealed to Abraham "this aion" but not "the coming aion." To these may be joined, as a Jewish witness for the way of speaking, Eleazar from Modiim (somewhat later than Jochanan) who enumerates among the six good gifts bestowed upon Israel the coming aion and the new world. These Jewish authorities would certainly not have borrowed a phrase of this kind from Paul nor from the vocabulary of Christian eschatology in general. So that, even if earlier indubitable instances of occurrence could not be quoted, the ones just mentioned will suffice to prove the Pauline usage a derived one. Dalman, who is on the whole disinclined to carry the phrases farther back than is absolutely necessary, here also has critical suspicions, but is compelled to admit: "the existence of the phrases 'this aion,' 'the future aion' is at any rate established for the close of the first post-Christian century."¹⁹

Ascending backwards from Paul to the speech of Jesus in the Synoptical Gospels, we find the distinction between the two

¹⁹ Cp. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, I, pp. 122, 123.

ages both explicitly drawn and assumed by implication. The explicit contrast occurs Matt. xii. 32; Mk. x. 30; Lk. xx. 34 ff. Semi-explicit is Lk. xvi. 8, where as the contrast to "the children of this age (or world)" appears "the children of light." Impliedly the antithesis seems to be present Matt. xiii. 22 (Mk. iv. 19) "the care (Mk. cares) of the age (or world)" and in Matt. xiii. 39, 40, 49; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 20, "the end *συντέλεια* of the age (or world).²⁰ Dalman concludes that from a comparison of these parallels the occurrence of the phrase in the speech of Jesus cannot with any degree of certainty be inferred, and that, moreover, even should Jesus have actually employed it, it must have been for his mode of speaking of no significance. The inference of later intrusion of such a phrase from the mere fact of absence or variation in one or more parallel Gospel-texts seems precarious, because condensation no less than amplification on the writer's part may possibly account for the facts. But, even if one, with Dalman, were to call in doubt the presence of the phrase in the eschatological vocabulary of Jesus, its employment by the Evangelists, or by the antecedent bearers of the Gospel-tradition, would none the less retain considerable significance. For that the Evangelists or the tradition did not all borrow this phraseology from Paul seems certain. At their time of repeating or committing to writing, therefore, the terminology must have lain, so to speak, in the air, and this time was not so very far removed from the time of Paul or even of Jesus. In regard to the coloring of the contrast in the Gospel-passages we note that in certain instances it is chronological; so Matt. xii. 32: "it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this aion, neither in that to come." In Mk. x. 29, 30, "this aion" and "the aion to come" are the two time-instalments for restitution, the latter of which, to be sure, far surpasses the former. But in Lk. xx. 34 ff., it is implied that the children of "this aion" are ethico-religiously inferior, because unworthy to obtain the other aion. From

²⁰ Besides here, the phrase "*synteleia too aiōnos*" is found in Heb. ix. 26 only.

the point of view of inherent distinctiveness "the children of this aion in their generation" are in Lk. xvi. 8 set over against "the children of the light"; "light" here is certainly not a mere figurative characterization, but points to the element pervasive of the future aion (or world). "The care (cares) of this aion" in Matt. xiii. 22; Mk. iv. 19 seem to reflect an unfavorable estimate of the influence and tendency of the aion (or world) with which some of the hearers of the gospel are preoccupied.²¹ On the other hand, the five passages in Matthew containing the phrase "sunteleia too aionos" obviously take aion in a strictly chronological sense without admixture of a depreciating judgment.

Can this usage of the contrasting two ages (or worlds) be traced much farther back before the time of Jesus? In Sir. xviii. 10 the translated Syrian text distinguishes between "this aion" and "the aion of the pious," which yields both the formal opposition of the two and the different appraisal of each. But Dalman thinks that "in the day of the aion," corresponding to this in the Greek text, means no more than "in the life-time," and moreover considers the entire verse a later interpolation shedding no light upon the usage in the author's own time (about 175 B.C.). The Apocalypse of Enoch likewise speaks in lxxi. 15 of "the future aion," and in xlvi. 7 of "the aion of unrighteousness," but again these passages are regarded by Dalman as subsequent additions to the text. The harvest thus gleaned from the pre-Christian sources is not plentiful; indeed after Dalman's critical sifting it dwindles to practically nothing. We would thus seem to be forced down to the Jewish period about contemporary to Jesus and Paul for reliable attestation of the existence of the terminology, always keeping in mind that it must be somewhat older than this time in view of the easy way in which Paul handles it.

Before tracing the antiquity of "kosmos" as found with Paul, and in the Greek Gospels, partly as a comprehensive

²¹ Some textual authorities read "too aionos *tootoo*" in this passage; cp. Dalman, p. 125.

term for all that exists, partly as an evil-complexioned designation of the system opposed to God, and therefore doomed to pass away, i.e., more or less eschatologically colored, we shall have to put to ourselves the question what lies back of it in the Hebrew or the Aramaic vernacular. As is well known these languages originally possessed no word for "world," but helped themselves, where the idea of "the all" was to be expressed by roundabout ways of speaking; e.g., Gen. i. 1 says: "in the beginning God created *the heaven and the earth.*" In later times, through the contact with and influence of other languages and modes of thought, it was found necessary to employ a single word for the concept of "the world." The word that entered into this vacant place of speech was the word Ha-'Olām. But this word was from its very etymology a *time*-designation; in being adopted for "world" it was put to an extraneous new use. And yet the choice of precisely this word for that particular use can not have been purely arbitrary; there must have been some reason in the *time*-meaning that invited the transition to the *world*-meaning. Probably the inducement lay in the consideration that the time-course of things unrolling itself successively up to an expected end could be comprehensively surveyed so as to appear a coherent totality of specific character: the age constituted, as it were, a world when regarded as to its complexion. It will be observed, however, that this could scarcely have happened, had not "the age" appeared as strictly terminating at the farther end. In other words belief in a fixed nature and a temporal duration of the present order of things is inherent in the word "aion," where it inclines to pass over from the time- into the world-category.²² From that point on an "age" and a "world" had become so closely cognate as to be well-nigh inseparable, both being expressible by the same word. In this chronological semi-qualitative condensation of the entire content of a temporal development from beginning to end seems to lie the seed out

²² Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 134, thinks that no reflection upon the *terminus ad quem* was necessary to account for the new point of view:

of which the full-grown scheme of the two ages and the two worlds grew up.

It is obvious that the twofold meaning of the one word "'olam" thus established was bound to produce a degree of uncertainty in the understanding and rendering of the word in not a few cases. And this uncertainty attached not only to the term in the Hebrew or Aramaic original; it likewise passed over to the Greek employment. The Greek had a separate word for "world," and therefore was quite able to distinguish in each case. But this was not done in all instances. As 'Olam "age" had received 'Olam "world" for its twin-brother, so the Greek term *aion* for "age" was liable to be pressed into the same double service. Originally a pure time-concept, it now became an all-comprehensive space-concept as well. "Aion" may mean "age" in the New Testament and it may mean "world." In some cases the decision may be difficult, in other cases the sense "world" is from the context unmistakable. Matt. xiii. 22, "care of the *aion*"; Lk. xvi. 8, "the children of this *aion*" (as contrasted with "the children of the light") are examples of the former; 2 Tim. iv. 10, "having loved the present *aion*" and Heb. i. 2 and xi. 3 will illustrate the latter. The two last-named references from Hebrews illustrate the inevitable grammatical incongruousness arising from carrying over "*aion*" "world" into the Greek. "Aion" in its time-sense stood in the Semitic idiom not seldom in the plural, naturally so, since there were many ages or sections of time, or because the concept was subject to pluralization for the sake of stressing endlessness or majesty. Where with "*aion*" in the sense of "world" this pluralization was retained, we find the mode of speech that God *made* the "*aionas*," "*worlds*."

The equivocalness of the word "'Olam," or its Aramaic equivalent, has something to do also with the difficulty of

the *unsurveyableness* of the course of things sufficed to suggest it. He admits, however, that "'Olam" in such a case is distinguished from "world" by its temporal conception only; as to content, the two are equal.

ascertaining how old exactly the world-idea is in the religious sources, where it first with certainty emerges in them. In the Old Testament there is no assured instance; Daniel still says "the whole earth," where to us the whole "world" would have seemed to be in place; obviously the writer did not have the latter at his disposal; cp. ii. 35, 39; iii. 31; iv. 8, 19. Sir. xxxviii. 4 is a doubtful instance; the Greek "ktisma aionos" would naturally suggest "creation of the world," especially in view of the Syriac rendering with "da-'almah" for the second word. Still it is possible to maintain, as Dalman prefers doing, that "aionos" here goes back to the meaning of "eternity" for "'Olam" which would yield "the eternal creation," thus eliminating the idea of "world." En. i-xxxvi contains several times the designation of God as "the God of the aion," or "the King of the aiones," "the Ruler of the aion." Here again the first impulse would be to render "King of the world" or "God of the worlds." Dalman, however, objects to this on the ground of the obvious dependence of such phrases on the O.T. "God of the age," "Rock of the ages," "King of the age," "kingdom of all the ages," Gen. xxi, 33; Isa. xxvi. 4, xl. 28; Jer. x. 10; Ps. cxlv. 13, all expressive of the eternity of God. To be sure, in none of these phrases does the article stand before the second word, whilst in the Greek combinations it is found regularly. The force of this, however, is somewhat lessened by the observation, that the article need not have been intended to render "aion" by itself determinate, but only for the determination of the compound name. Or again, the qualification "(ha-)'olam" might have meant no more than to describe God as *God forever*, "(ha-)'olam" being used adverbially. But, while all this may be possible, it at the utmost allows bare possibility, of not-yet-existence of the world-concept; for disproving its existence it is insufficient, and on the whole unconvincing.²³ In the *Similitudes of Enoch* several times "the creation of the world" occurs; here the idea of creation forbids to think of "age." The passages are xlvi. 6, 7; lxix. 16, 17, 18;

²³ *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 133-134.

lxxi. 15. Dalman regards them as later additions, without, however, giving his reasons except in the case of the first. Be this as it may, the mere suspicion thrown upon them is bound to render them doubtful witnesses. In the Book of Visions (En. lxxxiii-xc) occurs "God of the entire world," lxxxiv. 2; because it stands in "a very verbose doxology" belonging to the introduction of the Visions, Dalman speaks dubiously about this; he thinks it may be later than the other parts. Besides, of the Visions as a whole he remarks, that their date cannot be determined with certainty. And his conclusion of the whole matter, to our mind somewhat rash, is that the use of the word 'Olam for "world" in the pre-Christian period is subject to strong doubt.²⁴

The Synoptical passages containing "world" (kosmos) are the following: Matt. iv. 8; v. 14; xiii. 38; xvi. 26; (Mk. viii. 36; Lk. ix. 25); xviii. 7; xxiv. 21; xxv. 34; (Lk. xi. 50); xxvi. 13; (Mk. xiv. 9); Mk. xvi. 15; Lk. xii. 30. Even these are attacked, so far as an underlying 'Olam for kosmos is concerned. The reasons adduced do not carry weight. That the appropriateness of "kingdoms of the *earth*" in the temptation-narrative is as great as that of "kingdoms of the world" not many exegetes, coming to the phrase without particular linguistic preoccupation would affirm. Was Satan's influence in its wide range, let us say at the time of the writing of this account, not more graphically depicted by "world" than by "aion"? Luke has for "kosmos" "oikoo-mene," which admits of the same remark. Where Matthew, Mark and Luke agree in rendering their original with "gaining the whole world," Matt. xvi. 26; Mk. viii. 36; Lk. ix. 25 the argument from absence of kosmos in a parallel text is eliminated. Hence Dalman acknowledges that from the saying some plausibility may be obtained for the use of the Aramaic term "world," but he thereupon straightway weakens the grudgingly granted concession by observing at the close "that the possibility exists to remove also this example of the use of 'alam' for 'kosmos' from the speech of Jesus,

²⁴ *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 135.

by either taking ' 'alma' in the sense of 'Zeitlichkeit' (time-expanse), or putting back of 'the whole kosmos' 'all the earth' (ar'a)." That in the combination "light of the *kosmos*" and "salt of the earth," Matt. v. 14, the translator must have found two different words in his original, is self-evident. There is a presumption in favor of light having been associated with "world" and salt with "earth." While as a matter of fact in both figures humanity is meant as that which is to be enlightened and to be salted, yet the diffusion of light as the more volatile element is more naturally joined to the idea of "world" and that of salt as a materially penetrating element joins itself most easily to "earth." The "woe" that is proclaimed upon the kosmos, could not very well, without falling into extremely realistic apocalyptic, have been called down upon the earth. The phrases descriptive of the preaching of the gospel to the kosmos, Matt. xiii. 38; xxvi. 13; Mk. xiv. 9; xvi. 15 would allow equally well of the rendering "to the (whole) earth," and therefore do not help to a decision. Quite synonymously with these are used "in the whole oikoomene," Matt. xxiv. 14, and "to all the ethne (nations)," Mk. xiii. 10; Matt. xxviii. 19; "to the whole ktisis"²⁵ Lk. xvi. 15, cp. "ta ethne too kosmoo," Lk. xii. 30; "from the foundation of the kosmos," Matt. xxv. 34; Lk. xi. 50; "from the beginning of the kosmos," Matt. xxiv. 41; "from the beginning of the ktisis," Mk. x. 6; xiii. 19; these are certainly more natural expressions when understood of "the world" than of "the earth"; the quotation in Matt. xiii. 35 from Ps. lxxviii. 2 puts "foundation of the world" for the Sept. "from the beginning" which has no further specification as to the beginning of what is meant. Taking all the evidence together it seems hard to escape the conclusion, that the Aramaic original of the Evangelist was not unfamiliar with "Alma" as "world." It would be highly precarious to assume that in all the instances quoted Jesus employed the word with a time-

²⁵ It ought to be remembered that "ktisis" can designate "the created race of men"; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 144.

meaning only, or did not speak the sayings in their present form at all.²⁶

Before dismissing these Synoptical cases the question may be put, whether the *kosmos*-¹olam, if assumed to be present in them, carries with it any association of evil. Is "the world" in the parlance of Jesus a bad or a neutral name? The kingdoms of the world offered by Satan are undoubtedly conceived as making up an evil world.²⁷ The *kosmos* upon which the "woe" is pronounced on account of the offenses bound to come in it, Matt. xviii. 7, is, at least in a potential sense, an object of condemnation, but to what extent this enters into the word "kosmos" itself is harder to determine.²⁸ The *kosmos* that needs to derive its light from the disciples is a darkened world in a moral sense. The *kosmos* comparable to the field into which the seed is sown is likewise a sphere outside the pale of salvation. The nations of the *kosmos* seek after the things of this life in distinction from the disciples who seek after the kingdom of God, and the character of these nations which are thus described can scarcely avoid impressing itself upon the world they compose. Into the other cases no ethical or religious appraisal need enter.²⁹

About to return to Paul we may cast a look around in the earlier or contemporary Jewish (non-canonical) literature.³⁰

²⁶ To think of "'Olam," "'Alam" as time-concepts exclusively is forbidden by the nature of the reference, e.g., "foundation of the world," where "foundation of the age" yields no sense. The choice lies among three things: "world," "earth," and the critical denial of the expressions to Jesus.

²⁷ Rev. xi. 15, "The kingdom of the world is become of our Lord and of his Christ," furnishes a parallel, although "kingdom" is here in the singular and might mean "kingship."

²⁸ The latter half of the verse individualizes the application "woe to that man," showing the evil nature of the object affected.

²⁹ The above survey shows that the evil connotation of "ho *kosmos*," so prominent in John, is not entirely absent from the Synoptics. It further indicates that Jesus' use of the concept "world" contains the same elements as that of Paul; although the ethical coloring is neither so emphatic nor so systematic as with the Apostle.

³⁰ Hellenistic writings like 2 Macc., 4 Macc., Wisdom, need not be considered here; they use "kosmos" freely. What we are endeavoring to trace is the *Semitic* equivalent back of "kosmos."

The section lxxii-lxxxii of the Book of Enoch (about 100 B.C.) refers several times to the created "world," lxxii. 1; lxxv. 3, 8; lxxxii. 1, 5, 7. In another division of the same book, xci-civ (about the same date), "the revelation of the judgment to the whole world" is spoken of, xci. 14; the ideas of totality and of wickedness mingle here. The Assumptio Mosis (preserved in Latin, about A.D. 50-100) speaks of the "orbis terrarum," and also of "saeculum."³¹ Both of these rest on the world-sense of the underlying original. The Apocalypse of Baruch (believed to contain sections of varying dates) has even in its older parts, not perhaps so very far removed from Paul, the Syriac term in the sense of "world"; the Greek lying back of the Syriac must have read "kosmos," liv. 1; lvi. 2, 3; lxxiii. 1, 5. The Book of Jubilees (last century before Christ) speaks of the "generations of the saeculum," and God is called "the God of the saeculum," phrases in which the Latin "saeculum" plainly seems intended to render the Greek "kosmos," although the time-conception is not wholly excluded, x. 17; xxv. 23; also the possibility that "earth was meant in the original may have to be reckoned with. Finally, 4 Ezra (Apoc. of Ezra), in the main dating at the latest from the close of the First or the beginning of the Second Century A.D., makes frequent mention of "the created saeculum" (in the Syriac text "'alma"), and while in some instances "aion" may be the word presupposed

³¹ In Christian Latin the noun "saeculum" signifies both "age" (from sequi "to follow") and "world," the latter with a sub-flavor of inferiority from the other-worldly point of view. Hence "secular," from "saecularis," "pertaining to the world." The saeculum is the transitory in its nature—no less than in its time-aspect. This way of speaking is not indigenously Latin; it seems to have been imported into the language from the Jewish or the Christian vocabulary. The phrase "in saecula saeculorum" of the liturgy means, quite after the Scriptural (both Hebrew and Greek) pattern "unto endless ages." It acquires a strange sound only when for the version into English "world" is used: "*world without end.*" This seems at first to imply a confusion between the two meanings of "saeculum," choosing "world" where "age" was indicated. But we are told by lexicographers, that in old English likewise the word "world" already had a time-meaning. Owing to this, "world without end" may not have sounded so strange to the first users as it does to us now.

in the original Greek, even this would not bar out the sense of "world," as Heb. i. 2; xi. 3 prove. The reason why Dalmán thinks that "aion" must have stood everywhere in the Greek is not plain.³²

The later Jewish literature has no further bearing on the situation in the words of Jesus or the writings of Paul. After having looked around in the environment, nearer or more remote, of our Lord and his Apostle, we now proceed to take up certain points yet undetermined and on which perhaps the enquiry just concluded may cast some light. The question naturally arises, whether, if in the surrounding literature (Jewish or Christian) "aion" was made to render double service for "age" and "world," traces of the latter are discoverable with Paul. For Rom. xii. 2; I Cor. ii. 6, 8; iii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Gal. i. 4; I Tim. vi. 17 the possibility of this must be admitted; on the other hand where not "this aion," but the present age ("ho nun aion") appears, the strict time-reference has more plausibility. With "kosmos" this "nun" is not found, whilst "hōtos" is, I Cor. iii. 19. That Paul, though closely associating "this age" and "this world," yet did not quite promiscuously employ them follows from their joint-occurrence in Eph. ii. 2; "wherein ye once walked according to the aion of this kosmos"; here the supposition is that to the kosmos (conceived as evil) an evil time- or life-complexion belongs, the one affecting the other and being inseparable from the other, but none the less conceptually and linguistically distinguishable the one from the other. On the whole we shall have to say that the world-scheme follows the time-scheme, not the reverse; this is not without theological importance for the interpretation of the Apostle's idea of the kosmos as evil.³³

³² *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 140.

³³ It may be of some interest to note the attitude of the Versions of the English Bible towards the more or less equivocal "aion." A.V. has rendered "aion" everywhere by "world," except in Eph. ii. 2, where "aion" and "kosmos" occur together in the phrase "aion too kosmoo," and consequently the former required some other term for which "course" was chosen; this would not badly render "aion" in its temporal sense, but

We have already seen that the distinction between "this age" and "the age to come" lies in the line of successiveness. Where, and as soon as, the one ceases, the other begins, or at least is at the point of beginning. Even pre-millennarians can have no objection to this statement, inasmuch as under their scheme the millennium could in part be identified with the age to come as the beginning thereof. The very name "coming aion" is not merely expressive of futurity, but also carries within itself the element of direct successiveness. Were this otherwise, then the entire closely-knit scheme intended to comprehend all happenings in the universe from beginning to end would fall into pieces, because of the lacking link in the

"course" inevitably awakens the erroneous impression as though "manner of conduct" were intended, which is not quite so large a concept as Paul wished to express. In Matt. xiii. 22 (Mk. iv. 19) "the cares of this world" A.V. has added the pronoun "this" which is not in the original; the adverb "nun" in 1 Tim. vi. 17 and 2 Tim. iv. 10, Tit. ii. 12, has not prevented the rendering "world"; nor has the pointed contrast between "this aion" and "the aion to come," in Matt. xii. 33, induced abandonment of "world"; in "synteleia too aionos," "world" is likewise retained; in Heb. ix. 26, the plural "aiones" did not prevent the rendering "world" (singular), which to be sure was warranted in view of i. 2 and xi. 3, where, however, the plural "worlds" is given; the case of ix. 26 and that of the two other passages is not alike, because in the latter the idea of "making" the "aiones" enters, which positively demands "world"; in the other passage (ix. 26) the matter is doubtful; R.V. has "ages" in the second half of the verse; this procedure of A.V. has the merit of uniformity; in some cases it is undoubtedly correct, in others certainly incorrect; the worst is that it covers up a problem to the reader who is unfamiliar with the original. R.V. and A.R.V., so far as the text-reading is concerned, have, in the main, conformed themselves to A.V., but by the marginal reading "age" in nearly all cases remind of the problem which linguistic investigation in modern times has more clearly brought to light. Still, they might have shown less conservatism in the matter; it would have been perfectly safe to place "age" in the text in more than one instance, where it now must put up with a place in the margin, e.g., Matt. xii. 32; Mk. x. 30; Eph. i. 21; Eph. ii. 2, on the other hand, "course of this age" would be scarcely an improvement on "course of this world"; here the marginal suggestion of "age" would have better been omitted. On the whole the Revisions are better guides, not so much because in their text-rendering they are more correct, but because in their margin they reflect the uncertainty of interpretation, which also may be an interpreter's legitimate function.

middle. To say that a sin will not be forgiven either in this age or in the age to come could never have served as a formula for absolute unforgivableness *ad infinitum*, Matt. xii. 32, if there were conceivable a gap between the two aions. "The rulers of this age" are in process of being brought to nought (present participle), 1 or. ii. 6, which implies that after their conquest the aion in which they have ruled ceases. We should also remember that Paul, no less than our Lord, inherited this distinction from Jewish theology or Apocalyptic, where it undoubtedly had the meaning of successiveness. Even, were one to deny its pre-Pauline currency in Judaism, the successiveness plainly belonging to it soon afterwards would be decisive on this point. The close association between aion and kosmos compels the same conclusion, for of the kosmos it is said, 1 Cor. vii. 31 that its *schema* passes away: it passes away to make room for another *schema*. "The ends of the aions" have come upon believers, 1 Cor. x. 11. As will be afterwards shown the "pleroma too chronoo," "the fulness of time" has nothing to do in the first place with the idea of "ripeness of the times"; it designates the arrival of the present dispensation of time at its predetermined goal of fulfilment through the appearance of the Messiah, Gal. iv. 4; cp. Eph. i. 10. Thus understood it signifies the immediate transition from chronos to something else.

This straight horizontal way of looking at the eschatological progress was not with Paul a purely-formal thing. There belong to it a grandiose sweep and impressive inclusiveness with regard to the whole of history. When filled with the content of the latter it acquires the character of the most intense dramatic realism. It is drama, and, besides that, drama hastening on with accelerated movement to the point of dénouement and consummation. Hence it engages the Apostle's most practical religious interest no less than that it moulds his theoretical view concerning the structure of the Christian faith. Some writers have held, to be sure, that nothing but purely-Jewish, or at best primitive-Christian, eschatology

is with slight modifications reproduced in this teaching.⁸⁴ Even if this were correct, it would not necessarily prove the otioseness or perfunctoriness of such an inheritance of thought and life. Jewish religion was not entirely barren of genuine enthusiasm. Especially in its Apocalyptic phase it reveals a heartfelt interest in the final issues to come, such as went far beyond pessimistic other-worldliness or morbid curiosity inciting to speculation.⁸⁵ And, what is more than this, Paul's relation to these matters could never be as distant and at bottom speculative as was that of Judaism.⁸⁶ For to

⁸⁴ Cp. Pfeiderer, *Paulinism*, I, 259; Brückner, *Entstehung der Paulinischen Christologie*, pp. 173 ff.; Johannes Hoffmann, *Das Abendmahl im Urchristenthum*, p. 139; Deissmann, *Th.L.Z.*, 1898, Sp. 14.

⁸⁵ Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*, 3d ed. 1903, credits Apocalyptic with a considerable influence towards that transcendentalizing and spiritualizing of religion which in his opinion found its supreme expression in Christianity.

⁸⁶ This may be the proper place to add a few remarks about the relation of the Pauline to the Jewish eschatology. That the formal contrast between the present age and the coming age was derived by Paul (or by Jesus) from that source has already been shown. Nor is this contrast purely formal, for it implies a relative depreciation of the ethico-religious quality of the present age. But there are not a few other points of agreement between the Pauline and the Jewish teaching, although these relate rather to details than to comprehensive issues. We mention the following without laying claim to completeness of statement. The *ἀγιοι*, saints or angels, will accompany the Messiah at his coming, En. i. 9; 4 Ezr. vii. 28; xiii. 52; xiv. 9. There will be the sound of a trumpet to wake the dead, Orac. Sib. iv. 173; 4 Ezr. vi. 23. Both God and the Messiah bring about the resurrection, Apoc. Bar. lxxxv. 15; Psa. Sol. xi. 96. A distinction is drawn between the dead to be raised and the gathering to the Messiah of those found alive at His appearance, Apoc. Bar. xiv. 2; 4 Ezr. vii. 28. A change will take place both in the raised and in the living, En. cviii. 11; 4 Macc. iv. 22, although the exact point in time of the change is not fixed with uniformity (on which cp. later); the impossibility of having part in the future world without such a change is recognized; the conception of being "absent" from the body in death appears, Test. Abr. lxxxiv. 21; xc. 23; the representations that God will be the Judge, that the Messiah will be, that the saints will judge the world, are found En. c. 4; 4 Ezr. xii. 32; Sap. Sol. iii. 8. Fire is named as the means of testing man's work, Apoc. Bar. xliiii. 39. Of course, the Jewish eschatology has its basis in the Old Testament. This, however, can not wholly account for the agreement between it and Paul

Paul the chief actor in this drama *had come* upon the scene; the Messiah had been made present, and could not but be looked upon as henceforth the dominating figure in all further developments. And Christ was to Paul so close, so all-comprehensive and all-pervasive, that nothing could remain peripheral wherein He occupied the central place. We hope presently to show that, as a matter of fact, not only the

as to data going beyond the O.T. There is no escape from the conclusion that a piece of Jewish theology has been here by Revelation incorporated into the Apostle's teaching. Paul had none less than Jesus Himself as a predecessor in this. The main structure of the Jewish Apocalyptic is embodied in our Lord's teaching as well as in Paul's. And further, 1 Thess. iv. 15 shows that in an important point of his eschatological program Paul was directly dependent on a word from the Lord. Cp. also the figure of the Lord's coming as a thief in the night, 1 Thess. v. 2, which seems to have no parallel in Jewish literature, Matt. xxiv. 43. The exhortation to be watchful, 1 Thess. v. 6 ff.; 1 Cor. xvi. 13; Eph. vi. 18, may well be a reminiscence of similar words by Jesus. The term "epi-synagoge" "our gathering together," 2 Thess. ii. 1 is perhaps reminiscent of Matt. xxiv. 31, ἐπισυνάξουσιν "they shall gather together." The prophecy of great sufferings and persecution as preceding the end may have been derived, at least in some of its details from Matt. xxiv. 19 ff., cp. 1 Thess. iii. 4; 1 Cor. vii. 26, 28. The thought that the saints shall judge the world offers a partial analogy to the promise of Jesus about the Apostles' judging the tribes of Israel. The doctrine concerning the change in the body finds a point of contact in our Lord's argument with the Sadducees.

On the whole, however, it should not be overlooked that the Pauline eschatology differs from the Jewish Apocalypses in certain fundamental characteristics. For one thing it is non-political. As will afterwards be shown, there is no place in the Apostle's scheme for an earthly, provisional kingdom of the Messiah. Paul's polemic against heathenism is of a strictly religious nature, Rom. xiii. 1 ff. The great powers to be destroyed are "Sin" and "Death"; the victory to be won over them proceeds from "Grace" and "Life," Rom. v. 17, 21; 1 Cor. iv. 8. The Pauline Eschatology (though by no means preponderatingly so) is yet more individualistic than the Jewish. It is also much more restrained and sober, less luxuriant than the latter in which the over-heated phantasy plays no small part. With Paul the specifically-religious interest rules supreme. In such matters the imagination always tends to multiply and elaborate; the religious interest tends in precisely the opposite direction: it simplifies and concentrates. Hence the phenomenon, that the Jewish eschatology offers a multitude of unharmonized, and even unharmonizable, details, whilst with Paul we find a comparatively simple and consistent scheme; cp. Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 173.

Christology but also the Soteriology of the Apostle's teaching is so closely interwoven with the Eschatology, that, were the question put, which of the strands is more central, which more peripheral, the eschatology would have as good a claim to the central place as the others. In reality, however, there is no alternative here; there is backward and forward movement in the order of thought in both directions.

That the Apostle's religious mentality was of a forward-looking character appears first of all from the rôle played in his Epistles by the conception of "hope." The rôle would undoubtedly have been more prominent still, had it not been for the necessity of stressing the idea of faith on account of its controversial importance. In hope the believer must abound through the Holy Spirit, Rom. xv. 13. Together with faith and love it enters into the triad of abiding things, 1 Cor. xiii. 13.³⁷ The proximate fruit of the ripening Christian experience consists in such hope as does not put to shame, inasmuch as the foretaste of the life to come is shed abroad in the believer's heart through the preliminary gift of the Holy Spirit, Rom. v. 4. The Christian *is* saved "upon the basis of hope" (ep' elpidi), for hope and the things upon which it terminates constitute the supreme goal of salvation,

³⁷ That "*now*" in "now abideth" can not be restricted to the temporal state is clear from the contrast between the provisional and temporary charismata and the abiding three graces. That love, the greatest of the three, remains in the final state is easy to understand. With regard to faith the matter is more difficult, because Paul elsewhere (2 Cor. v. 7) puts the present walk in faith (or: through the region of faith) over against the future walk through or in sight (or: through the region of sight); cp. also vs. 12 in the same context. The presupposition might be that, side by side with the promises fulfilled, and as such requiring no further functioning of faith, there will always be elements in the apprehension and possession of God which must remain inaccessible to the creature except through faith. God, as God, by his own Being, under all circumstances, must to a large extent remain apprehensible by faith alone. But it is different with regard to hope. Hope ordinarily has its very terminus and object in the final state as such, and would accordingly with the arrival of the latter seem to supersede itself. Hence the word becomes suggestive of still ulterior vistas of realization within the final state. Nor is it sufficient to say that the abiding, assured *retention* of the attained things appears as an object of ceaseless hoping; this would introduce a

Rom. viii. 24. The pre-Christian pagan state is characterized by the absence of God and of hope, and these two are not meant as two simply-coördinated items of religious destitution; the second arises from the first and the implication is that foremost among the benefits of religion (that is of "having God") is to have hope, Eph. ii. 12; 1 Thess. iv. 13. God is called the God of hope, Rom. xv. 13. Hence the double theme of the Apostle's missionary preaching to the Thessalonians is to turn "unto God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, who delivers from the wrath to come," 1 Thess. i. 9, 10. Hope is one of the great telic categories of the divine vocation, Eph. i. 18; iv. 4. In the Christian armor it constitutes the helmet, as connected with salvation, 1 Thess. v. 8. Still in the Pastoral Epistles it occurs as "the blessed hope and appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ," Tit. ii. 13, and as "the hope of eternal life," Tit. iii. 7. In Gal. v. 5 Christians "through the Spirit by faith wait for the hope of righteousness" (that is for the realization of the hoped for things pertaining to the state of righteousness conferred in justification).

A mere survey of the above references places in very clear light the vividness and vitality pertaining to hope and the complex of future realities it calls up and keeps present to the Christian mind. So far from resembling a quiescent, non-productive capital, merely carried pro forma on the ledger of consciousness, it contains energy and actual no less than potential force. The etymological coloring of such words as "*apokaradokia*" and "*apekdechethai*" in itself bears witness to the eager state of mind depicted, Rom. viii. 19, 23, 25; 1 Cor. i. 7; Gal. v. 5; Phil. i. 20; iii. 20; cp. also the duplication by synonymy in Phil. i. 20.³⁸ The quiet, but none the less

discordant note into the Pauline idea of consummation, and be moreover in direct contradiction to the statement of Rom. viii. 24: "Who hopes for that which he sees?" Cp. Bachmann in Zahn's *Kom. z. N.T.*, Vol. VII, p. 405. The same triad of faith, love and hope occurs also 1 Thess. i. 3, where hope occupies the third place, and 1 Thess. v. 8, with the same sequence.

intense, energy of hoping appears most strikingly in this that it is equal to transforming the natural protest against pain and tribulation into that submission of patience which the word "*hypomone*" expresses.³⁹ The suffusion of the hoping state of mind with profound feeling and the strong concentration of interest upon it as a life-concern are well illustrated by I Cor. xv. 19, a statement which needs some paraphrasing in order to bring out its full force and exact meaning. It might be paraphrased approximately as follows: If we have turned out to be no more than Christ-hopers and staked on that our whole present life, then we are of all men most pitiable. In this one sentence the Apostle has woven two thoughts together at some expense of syntactical perspicuity. The one thought is that hope without corresponding reality, or at least a principle of realization, is the most futile and ill-fated frustration of life-purpose; the other is that when this futile hope so engrosses a man as to monopolize him for an unreal world such a state of mind involves the forfeit of all palpable realities of life, a sacrifice at bottom of all this-worldliness for an other-worldliness that has no substance.⁴⁰

³⁹ Cp. Hodge, *Comm. on Rom.* p. 423 (ad Rom. viii. 19): "*The earnest expectation, ἀποκαραδοκία from καταδοκεῖν, erecto capite prospicere, to look for with the head erect. The ἀπό is intensive; so that ἀποκαραδοκία is earnest or persistent expectation.*" The same idea is in the other word, although here the figures of the erect head and the stretching forward are not explicitly present.

³⁹ "*Hypomone*" literally signifies "staying under" as the opposite of "withdrawing from underneath" some burden or hardship. This metaphorical, and in particular N.T. spiritualized, meaning is not to be confounded with the Stoic "apathy," for the latter is an artificial indifference forced by the will, whilst the Christian patience is an inward submission inspired by other positive gains and satisfactions in view. Hence "hope" and "patience" in the Christian sequence of thought naturally go together. Cp. Rom. v. 3, 4; viii. 25; xv. 4; I Thess. i. 3.

⁴⁰ The "*monon*" at the end of the hypothetical clause is intended to apply equally much to the words "in this life (*only*)" as to the phrase "having had hope (*only*)."
The text which places ἡλπικότες ἐσμὲν after ἐν χριστῷ and directly before μόνον brings this out better than the ordinary sequence: ἡλπικότες ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον. The force of the periphrastic perfect, "have been hopers," will be noted; it describes such as have acquired hope and continued to live on that basis ever since; this looks backward to "in this life"; it suggests the idea of a whole life thrown away on mere hope.

The pagan, who lives without God and without hope in the world, has at least the enjoyment of the earthly and transitory; the Christian whose hope puts him to shame has not even this: he has lost what he had and received nothing in return, cp. vs. 32. It is significant also in the present connection that Paul makes hope the source of that peculiar exaltation which he calls "kauchāsthai." If the distinction between the so-called "enthusiastic" and the more stabilized elements in the Christian religiousness must needs be drawn, it will be necessary, on account of this association with kauchāsthai to recognize in the experience of hoping a genuinely enthusiastic element; cp. for this combination Rom. v. 2, 3; 1 Thess. ii. 19.⁴¹ Whatever relative appraisal Paul might put upon the two categories named, the fact stated makes it at any rate certain, if further assurance were required, that the believer's hope is a most potent ferment and stimulant in the religious consciousness of the early Christian, and not the least in the Pauline churches. After all, what is most convincing in this respect is the indubitable expectation of the nearness of the parousia which pervaded the Christian mind, and can, both as an expectation and a wish, be traced in the consciousness of the Apostle himself. It is a pity that through the chronological problem in its bearing upon the infallibility of the teaching, the far more important aspect of the fact as exponential of Paul's attitude towards the futurity-side of Christianity has been too little considered. A *mere* chronological datum the feature certainly is not. It would not be out of the way to suggest that the chronological element has been just as much affected by the eagerness of

⁴¹ It is true kauchāsthai is not descriptive of Christian states of mind exclusively. Paul reminds the Jew that it is his habit to practise this feeling with reference to God and the law, Rom. ii. 17, 20. With apparent allusion to the former he predicates the act of believers as exercised in God *through Jesus Christ*, Rom. v. 11; Phil. iii. 3. In the majority of cases it is used in a depreciating sense either of Jews or Christians, therefore negatively and often metaphorically; cp. 1 Cor. i. 29, 31; iii. 21; iv. 7; 2 Cor. v. 12; but cp. also 2 Cor. x. 15, 17; xi. 16, and the paradoxical vs. 30; xii. 9.

the intent upon eschatological consummation as the reverse. It is a not uncommon phenomenon till the present day that the acuteness or over-acuteness of the eschatological sensorium, brings with itself an inevitable foreshortening of the vista in time. To look contemptuously at the latter can never serve as an excuse for the practical neglect of the true principle of Christian hope as such.

In still another way the predominance of the eschatological note evinces itself through the disparaging judgment passed upon the present age or world. This is by no means to be interpreted as a reflex effect of the eschatological state of mind, as though preoccupation with the future had produced first indifference to and next dissatisfaction with or condemnation of the existing state of things. The attitude towards the world has its own reason, altogether apart from eschatological interest, although the latter may be nourished by the former. In this point eschatology is not so much the active as the passive factor. Nevertheless the intense revulsion from the world and the age, such as they are, affords convincing proof that without a secure anchorage in the world beyond the spiritual poise which the Apostle everywhere maintains would have been impossible. It has become customary to speak of "pessimism" in this connection. The term is badly chosen, not because it is too strong in degree, but because in philosophical nomenclature it denotes the assumption of an absolute, irremediable, metaphysically grounded despair of things. Such a belief was *a priori* impossible to Paul; in fact it forms a contradiction in terms with the concept of eschatology itself. As to the outcome of the eschatological process nothing but unqualified optimism could have existed in the Apostle's mind, not to speak now of the optimistic, because soteric, implications of the substance of his teaching as a whole. The idea of the creation of the world by God already is incompatible with even that qualified pessimism which is symptomatic of Gnostic speculation. Absolute pessimism would have had to attach itself within the scheme of Paul's thinking to the conception of the *σάρξ*, and there is no

evidence whatever either of the primordial origin of the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in creation or of its lasting persistence in the end. On the contrary, wherever Paul speaks of the two stages of existence he avoids the mention of the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$.⁴² The real source of this so-called pessimism lies in the Apostle's acute and pervasive sense of sin. It is the burdensomeness and depressive power of sin that impels irresistibly towards the thought of hope with regard to the eschatological deliverance.⁴³ Nor should it

⁴² Cp. 1 Cor. xv. 45-49, the one passage in which Paul goes back of the fact of sin to find the determining basis for the relatively inferior state of man, as compared with his eschatological destiny, in the mode of his creation. But the technical term for this is not here "sarkikos," it is "psychikos"; the idea of sin does not enter.

⁴³ A parallel to this intensification of the eschatological hope through the acute sense of sin and evil is furnished among the Apocalyptic writings by *4 Ezra* and *Apoc. Baruch*, both written not too far apart from the date of Paul. In both there is a depreciating judgment on the present state of the world. True, there appears between these two writings a difference in the severity of judgment expressed. *4 Ezra* is more sweeping in his view than the writer of Baruch. This appears in the explanation of the origin of sin. In the former Apocalypse the nexus between Adam's sin and that of humanity as a whole is much more direct: with Adam was *created* a principle of evil, the so-called "*yezer-ra*," and it was by yielding to this that the "*cor malignum*" was developed; hence Adam is the cause of spiritual death as well as of physical death in mankind, because all were made to share in this evil propensity. The scheme of justification through the law proved, and could not but prove, a total failure. All this, except the idea of concreated evil propensity, reminds of Paul. As a matter of fact the opinion is held that *4 Ezra* stood under Christian, specifically Pauline, influence. Box (*The Ezra-Apocalypse, Introd.* p. lxxi) reaches this conclusion all the more easily, because he inclines to the opinion that Paul likewise in some way associated the first beginnings of evil with creation, on which more below. On the other hand, Bar. keeps in line with the Jewish-Rabbinical theology; every man is his own Adam; there are at least a few who have kept the law and been justified thereby. But notwithstanding these differences as to the genesis of evil, the fact remains that the outlook upon the present world is a highly unfavorable one, in Bar. no less than in *4 Ezra*. The recognition of physical death alone as inseparable from this world was sufficient to effect this. To the righteous also, according to Bar. xv. 8, "this world is a trouble and a weariness with much labor"; it sounds like an echo of Paul's statement of 1 Cor. xv. 19, when Baruch declares: "For if there were this life only, which here belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than it." If this be not pessimism (in the specific sense of the word) it certainly is a most pessimistic kind

be overlooked that the drift towards the future was promoted by what the Apostle, and for that matter the nascent Church as a whole, were given to taste of the hostility of the world in its bitterest form of persecution. Rom. viii. 35-39; I Cor. xv. 19-34; 2 Cor. iv. 7-v. 10 clearly illustrate the force of this motive. Such passages are precisely the center of the great contexts in which, taking its departure from the fact of sin,

of optimism, Bar. xxi. 13. It remains true, however, that this sentiment of hopeless involvement in evil is stronger in the other Apocalypse. It is stressed that few are saved, ix. 159; there is none not a sinner, viii. 35; this age is full of sorrow and impotence, iv. 27; the ways of this world have become narrow and sorrowful and painful, vii. 12. Box truly says that the theology of such statements "is essentially other-worldly." The point, however, here most interesting us is the obvious connection between this despairing world-outlook and the liveliness of the eschatological hope, for it is in this respect that the two Apocalypses come nearest to the Pauline representation. We find in them likewise the eschatology *per contrarium*, that of the spring forcibly held down, but on that very account evincing a high degree of resiliency. Where the hope of renovation of the present world is given up, there precisely the gaze is fixed with intensity on the future world: "corruption is passed away, weariness is abolished, infidelity is cut off, while righteousness is grown, and faithfulness is sprung up," 4 *Ezra* vii. 114. In the future age (which is already prepared) "the evil root is sealed up from you, infirmity from your path extinguished; and Death is hidden, Hades fled away; corruption become forgotten, sorrow passed away; and in the end the treasures of immortality are made manifest, viii. 53, 54. Even the note of eager hope for imminence of the future in view of the intolerable situation of the present is not wanting: "The underworld and the chambers of souls are like the womb; for just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the travail, even so do these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning," iv. 41, 42. And: "If I have found favor in thy sight, and if it be possible, and if I be sufficient, show me this also: whether there be more to come than is past, or whether the more part is already gone by us," vss. 44, 45. Still at this point, speaking even without regard to revelation, the Apocalypses were bound to fall short of Paul and the New Testament in general; to the latter the appearance and eschatologizing of the post-resurrection state of the Messiah changes all this anxious, half-querulous questioning into an enthusiastic hope. Cp. for the Jewish teaching in the documents named: Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der Messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*, 3d ed.; Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896; Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, 1912; Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, 2d ed. 1913; Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha*, 1914.

the discourse rises through the consciousness of redemption to the highest summits of eschatological eloquence.

Thus far we have considered the structure of the Apostle's eschatology as built on the plan of consecutiveness. The antithesis is between a world (age) that *is* and a world (age) that *is to come*. The point of view is dramatic, the new being the outcome and termination of the forces of supernatural history propelling towards it in the old. This ancient point of view, while quite in accord with the Old Testament (and the Jewish) perspective to which the arrival of the Messiah still lay in the future, ceased to be in perfect harmony with a state of fact and belief looking back upon the arrival of the Messiah, and which in consequence had to recognize the eschatological process as in principle already begun. That nevertheless the scheme of successiveness was not straightway discarded, nor the full consequences from its abeyance drawn was due to more than one reason. An ancient scheme like this that had become an age-long tradition to the eschatological consciousness is not abruptly changed by the mere turning of a hand; revelation here as elsewhere prefers the mode of gradual transition to that of violent supersedure. Still this does not wholly explain the retention and continuing vitality of a point of view, which might appear to have been in principle overcome through the stupendous event of the Messiah's introduction into the process of history. The real and deeper reason lay doubtless in this that the Messianic appearance again had unfolded itself into two successive epochs, so that, even after the first appearance, and after making full allowance for its stupendous effect, the second epoch had, after the fashion of cell-separation, begun to form a new complex of hope moving forward into the future. In this way it will be seen that the scheme of successiveness had not been entirely abrogated but simply been reappplied to the latter half of the original scheme: the age to come was perceived to bear in its womb another age to come, so that with reference to the mother and the as yet unborn child, as it were, the category of what is and what is to be not only could, but had to be re-

tained. In accordance with this we find the Apostle speaking of "the age to come," not merely in his earlier Epistles but likewise in the later ones, cp. Eph. i. 21; ii. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 10; Tit. ii. 12.

Side by side, however, with the continuation of this older scheme the emergence of a new one, involving a coexistence of the two worlds or states, can be observed. From the nature of the case this principle did not allow of application to the age-concept, for the two sequences of time are mutually exclusive. So long as one age lasts no other can supervene.⁴⁴ It is different with regard to worlds or states, for here the existence of one does not exclude the contemporary existence of another, and there is nothing logically impossible either in the believer's belonging to both or at least preëminently to one rather than to the other. And what was logically possible became practically unavoidable through the shifting of the center of gravity from the lower to the higher sphere, as brought about by the removal of the Messiah to the higher world and his abiding there in permanence. The bond between the believer and Christ is so close that, from Paul's point of view, a detachment of the Christian's *interest* not only, but even a severance of his *actual life* from the celestial Christ-centered sphere is unthinkable. The latter consideration counts for more than the mere fact that through the appearance or resurrection of Christ the eschatological process has been set in motion. As soon as the direction of the actual spiritual life-contact becomes involved, the horizontal movement of thought on the time-plane must give way immediately to a vertical projection of the eschatological interest into the supernal region, because there, even more than in the historical development below, the center of all religious values and

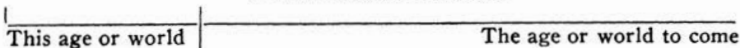
⁴⁴ This furnishes a certain test for determining whether in certain cases *αἰών* has the age-sense or the world-sense, where otherwise the choice might be dubious. For instance, in Gal. i. 4, the idea of lifting the believer from one age into another would be hyper-paradoxical, and for that reason "world" is indicated: "Who gave himself . . . that he might deliver us out of this present evil world." To be sure, in the idea of a removal out of the present world enough of the paradox remains.

forces has come to lie. The other, the higher world is in existence there, and there is no escape for the Christian from its supreme dominion over his life. Thus the other world, hitherto future, has become present. Now, if the present world had at the same moment ceased to exist, then the straight line would have been carried through unbrokenly, and for a concurrent unrolling of two lines of existence there would have been no call. As it was, a duplication had to ensue. The two diagrams at the foot of this page will make the principle in question visually plain to the reader.⁴⁵

The point of view thus attained may be described as *semi-eschatological*. It is characteristic of the Epistles of the First Imprisonment, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians. We can not expect that Paul should have used for it the formula of the Christian's belonging in principle to a higher "kosmos," for the word "kosmos" had through its evil associations become unfit for such usage. It is true "aion" in its world-sense might have served the purpose, and is by implication actually so employed in passages as early as Rom. xii. 2 and Gal. i. 4. But "aion" had to continue in use for the continued older simple distinction between "this age" and "the age to come." Consequently the idea of "heaven" and such metaphorical locally-oriented phrases as "the things above" had to take the place of the older technical terms. "Heaven" offered moreover the advantage of expressing that the provisionally-

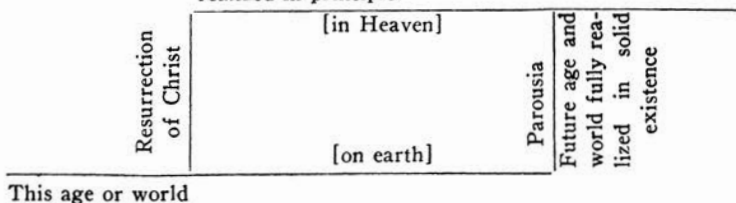
45

I. THE ORIGINAL SCHEME



II. THE MODIFIED SCHEME

The world to come,
realized in principle



realized final state lies on a higher plane than the preceding world-development. Thus we find the Apostle declaring that the Christian is blessed in Christ with every spiritual blessing "in the heavenly regions," Eph. i. 3, a way of expression, clearly indicating the Christological basis of the transfer of the believer's domicile and possessions to heaven: it is "in Christ," i.e., because of his being in heaven, that the affirmation can be made, cp. i. 20. Still stronger is the statement of ii. 6 to the effect that the believer is raised up with Christ, and made to sit with Him in the heavenly regions, and here the repetition of the phrase "in Christ Jesus" at the end of the sentence emphasizes with additional stress how the lever of the whole upward movement lies in the removal of Christ to the supernal sphere consequent upon his resurrection. In the Epistle to the Philippians the Christians' "πολιτεία" "commonwealth" or "citizenship" is said to be in heaven for the reason of Christ's being there, which, however, does not alter the other aspect of the believer's attitude described in the words: "from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ," iii. 20. From the Epistle to the Colossians may be added to this the translation of the readers into the Kingdom of the Son of God's love, because as a rule the phrase "Kingdom of God" bears for Paul eschatological significance, i. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 18; further the stress on the Christian's duty to seek the things above, and that from the motive of Christ's being there, and in consideration of the believers' life being there hid with Christ in God, Col. iii. 1, 2, is to be noted here.

It has sometimes been asserted that this deflection from the straight prospective line of vision to the upward bent towards the heavenly world represents a toning down of the eschatological interest. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In reality this whole representation of the Christian state as centrally and potentially anchored in heaven is not the abrogation, it is the most intense and the most practical assertion of the other-worldly tenor of the believer's life. Precisely because it is to a large degree *incipient* realization, it bears

the signature of eschatology written clear on its face. And because there is in it no *going back upon*, but a *reaffirmation* of the absolute ultimate hope, the other, more simple line of projection into the future continues to exist side by side with it in full validity. The idea of the future by no means recedes into the background; the *coming* of Christ is in continuance and without the slightest abatement of interest dwelt upon. The only thing that may be conceded to the view criticized is that the eager forward-stretching movement of the former period, characterized by a certain degree of restlessness, here gives place to a more quiet and serene attitude of contemplation of the other world and its content. But this is not the state of mind of one who has unlearned to hunger because of an often failure of his hope in the beginning of the feast. On the contrary it betokens the passing away of the acute, to some degree painful, sense of hunger as a result of the ample provisional satisfaction obtained. The partial enjoyment has rather whetted the appetite for the true food in its abundance. What gives rise to misunderstanding at this point is the confusion of eschatological two-sidedness with the philosophical bisection of the universe into a higher and lower sphere. While this cosmical distinction is presupposed by the view in question, it is in no wise identical with it. The heaven in which the Christian by anticipation dwells is not the cosmical heaven, it is a thoroughly redemptive heaven, a heaven become what it is through the progressive upbuilding and enrichment pertaining to the age-long work of God in the sphere of redemption. As such it not only in principle beatifies but also still beckons onward the believer to its final consummation. Heaven, so to speak, has received time and history into itself, no less than time has received unchangeableness and eternity into itself. Herein lies the inner significance of the repatriation of Christ into heaven, carrying thither with Himself all the historical time-matured fruit of his earthly stage of work, and now from there guiding with impartial solicitude the two lines of terrestrial and celestial development of his Church. Besides the Christ the Spirit holds the two aspects of the Christian's double life-process together, for

the Spirit in all his working and in all his present-state manifestations here is, as we shall afterwards have occasion to show, at bottom naught but the earnest and first-fruits of the adequate final possession of the celestial state. That is his fundamental significance, the focus from which all the Spirit's activities proceed and in which they consequently meet again. Notwithstanding a certain formal resemblance in the two-sidedness of the Christian life, it stands at a far remove from Greek philosophical dualism.⁴⁶ Its very genesis forbids identification with this even to the slightest degree. Its mother-soil lies in eschatological revelation, not in metaphysical speculation. For this reason it is important to be able to show that the horizontal historical line of perspective is the older one, out of which only through an eminently-historical event the parallel structure of the two spheres was begotten. The historical was first, then the theological. And because the latter came from the former every possibility of conflict was from the outset excluded, neither of the two could interfere with the other. Nor could the rearrangement of the perspective result in abatement of the eschatological interest, as inherent in the Christian faith. For this to take place would have meant a primal apostasy from the origins of Christianity. What is usually charged against the age of Constantine and the rise of Protestantism would actually have its root in a Pauline Hellenizing speculation, which under the guise of directing to heaven would have in its actual effect meant a worldly recurrence from the future upon the present. There is nothing of this in the Apostle's intent: the Christian has only his members upon earth, which are to be mortified; himself, and as a whole, he belongs to the high mountain-land above, Col. iii. 5.

⁴⁶ The same charge of infection with Hellenic (Alexandrian) dualism to the effect of softening down primitive Christian eschatologism has been brought against the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews. In regard to both the answer to the charge will have to be the same as that given above with regard to Paul. In John, no less than in Hebrews, the chronological perspective is retained without impairment. It is true, however, that the spiritualizing tendency of Hebrews assumes in part the form of correcting a too externalized, and consequently impatient, form of eschatological preoccupation.