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Now that Mr. Cannon's studies on Hosea are concluded, we begin the publication of two special studies in the Law and the Prophets of the Old Testament. There is a revival of interest at present in the ten commandments, both from the critical and from the ethical or expository side. The decalogue is being studied afresh, and Mr. Flowers begins a set of papers upon the sense and scope of the ten commandments which will prove a boon to many students of the subject. Also we begin the publication of an essay by the veteran scholar, Hermann Gunkel of Halle. Practically nothing of his work has been translated in this country, and yet he has been one of the pioneers in the newer movement of Old Testament criticism, which is not content to analyse documents but insists upon penetrating to the thought and emotion behind the letter. His edition of Genesis is one of the commentaries to which the most scrupulous would not hesitate to apply the term "great." The present essay is one contributed to a remarkable popular edition of the Old Testament called "Die Schriften des Alten Testaments," in eight volumes. The commentary began in 1915. It gives a fresh translation, and is accompanied by running notes and introductions. Gunkel's study is contributed to the volume on the Prophets, edited by his friend and pupil Hans Schmidt of Giessen. It has been translated for our columns by Rev. A. K. Dallas, M.A.

THE TEN BEST BOOKS ON THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.

A RECENT writer on St. Paul remarks that in the Library of the Theological School with which he is connected there are "more than two thousand volumes dealing with the life and letters of the Apostle Paul, or more than one for each year since his time, not to speak of the multitudinous commentaries and histories in which the teaching of Paul has a prominent place." And the Editor desires a list of the ten best books! It is obvious than any such list must be arbitrary and individual, and, as I look over what I

have written, though I refer to many more than ten books, I am conscious of a sense of ingratitude, for many books to which I owe much are not even mentioned. Books best for whom? It would be an impertinence to suggest books for the professional student, for a man does not go far in his studies without discovering what is for him the most necessary literature. I would like this article to serve preachers with little time for reading, and theological students who are looking forward, not to professorial chairs, but to the practical work of the Church, whether at home or on the mission field.

As preachers we have in regard to Paul a threefold problem: (i.) to get Paul loved, (ii.) to get him understood, and (iii.) to determine for ourselves what measure of authority we have the right to claim for his interpretation of Christianity.

Many in our congregations quite frankly dislike Paul. They regard him as a logician, or, worse still, what they call a "theologian." They believe they understand the Gospels, but Paul is to them a sophisticator of the teaching of Jesus—a strange belief, for, difficult as Paul may be to understand, his words present less serious problems than do the apparently simple words of Jesus. It is not surprising that, although Paul has been canonised, in the Roman Church he is not a "saint" whose intercession and protection are greatly sought, for the writer of the Epistle to the Galatians must always be alien from popular Catholic piety. But it is saddening that in the Protestant Churches, which owe to Paul their very life, there are so many to whom he is unattractive. Much is doubtless due to the reaction against the harsh Protestant orthodoxy for which he is wrongly held responsible. Plans of salvation, elaborate theories of justification and predestination, have had their day, and, since these were based chiefly on Paul's words,

the great Apostle of Christian liberty has been made to appear as the gaoler of the spirit, and many hold with Renan that "the reign of Paul is in our days on the point of coming to an end. . . . The true expression of Christianity is not to be found in the Epistle to the Romans but in the Sermon on the Mount. . . . Paul is the father of the subtle Augustine, the arid Aquinas, the sombre Calvinist, the sour Jansenist, and the ferocious theology which predestinates to damnation. Jesus is the father of those who seek repose for their souls in the dreams of the ideal world."

If there are some in our Churches who dislike Paul, there are more who confess that they are quite unable to understand him. Jesus spoke in words of seeming artlessness, and timeless simplicity, and drew His metaphors chiefly from the perennial scenes of country life. Paul was a townsman, and drew his metaphors from the fleeting scenes of a civilisation which has passed away, and, in his controversies with Jews and Gentiles, employed the categories of the men of his age—categories which to-day require to be translated.¹ Much of the failure to understand Paul arises from the popular fallacy of regarding him as a theologian of the schools, instead of as a prophet, gaining truth, not by reasoning, but by intuition, although defending his intuitions in the dialectic of his age. Paul's words are unintelligible only as they are left unrelated to his experience. We know the man through his epistles, but we can understand the epistles only as we know the man. His thoughts succeed each other quickly, and their connexion is often more of emotion than of logic. Our Authorised Version hides Paul here. Few get to know him who rely on that alone. It not only breaks up his

¹ For illustrations of this I would refer to Moffatt's *Approach to the New Testament*, 1921, a book full of fresh material for the preacher.

involved periods into verses, but makes him speak with the stately placidity of some great ecclesiastic, and, for all its beauty, fails to express the passion of his often broken Greek. Moffatt's translation of the New Testament is of inestimable service here. It enables even those ignorant of Greek to feel something of the tension of Paul's words, and depicts a Paul, not of the stained glass window, but of the crowded world in which he did his work.

(I.) There are two books which seem peculiarly well adapted to dispel prejudices against Paul, and win for him that love which is the secret of understanding: Weinel's *Paulus*, published in the popular *Lebensfragen* Series in 1904, an English translation of which appeared in the Theological Translation Library in 1906 under the title *St. Paul, The Man and His Work*; and Peabody's *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*, published last year. It is with the man Paul that Weinel is chiefly concerned. "One might almost as well envisage Frederick the Great merely as a historian" as think of Paul "primarily as a theologian." The book is a book, not to dip into, but to read through, an easy and delightful task. Weinel writes brilliantly, and the book is admirably translated, but no translation can have quite the charm of Prof. Peabody's style and to many his may seem the more attractive book.¹ Both these books are written by "liberals," unable themselves to accept Paul's full view of Christ,² and, as many would feel, unduly eager to meet the "modern mind," but, just on this account, they are peculiarly well adapted to win for Paul, the man, the admiration and affection of those within our Churches who, in their

¹ It has the further advantage of appearing after J. Weiss's great book, *Urchristentum*, to which reference will be made later.

² See Dr. Strachan's criticism of Peabody in the February EXPOSITOR of this year.

revolt against traditional theology, feel themselves repelled by Paul.

(II.) Closely connected with this problem is the problem of making Paul understood. Here it is useful to have books which incorporate in one whole Paul's life and teaching. Perhaps the best summary sketches in our language are the articles on Paul in Hasting's Dictionaries; Findlay in the *Dictionary of the Bible*; Sanday in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Stalker in the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, and Menzies and Edie in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Of books which largely supersede the older English books, there is McNeile's useful little book, *St. Paul, His Life, Letters and Christian Doctrine*, 1920, and the much larger work of David Smith, *The Life and Letters of St. Paul*, 1919, which, written from a conservative standpoint, admirably relates his letters to his life.

For the external events of Paul's life, Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, and many later editions, is still indispensable. The book is too well known to need description. It is extraordinarily successful in making vivid and actual Paul's missionary journeys.

On the teaching of Paul, there is a multiplicity of books, but as yet no consensus of opinion. Anyone interested in the bewildering variety of German theories can find them described with mordant wit in a book of Schweitzer's, translated under the title *Paul and his Interpreters*, 1912. There is also a full account of earlier theories given in Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 1897 (2nd and posthumous edition, 1911), which is an indispensable manual for advanced study. In English, some of the best aids to the interpretation of Paul's teaching are to be found in the standard commentaries. Thus Lightfoot's classic works on Galatians, Philippians and Colossians,

and Armitage Robinson's *Ephesians* in the same series; Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, and Burton's recent commentary on Galatians in the International Critical Commentaries; Denney's *Romans* and Peake's *Colossians* in the Expositor's Greek New Testament, are of the greatest value, not to students only, but to preachers.

Of books in English dealing with Paul's teaching, it is well to turn first to a book, now not only old, but obsolete; Pfeiderer's *Paulinism*, 1877, a translation from the first edition of the German, and so representing Pfeiderer's "pre-Hellenic" phase. Its criticism is largely out of date, and it attempts unduly to turn Paul's religious intuitions into the theologoumena of a systematic thinker, but it does seek to present the data "objectively," and its very failure to construct a unified "Paulinism" from the immanent necessity of Paul's logic, is useful as an indication of what the problems of Paul's thought really are. As we read Pfeiderer's or Holtzmann's exposition, we can understand Deissmann's remark: "I am afraid the people of Iconium, Thessalonica, Corinth would all have been overtaken by the fate of Entychus of Troas, if they had been obliged to listen to the Christological, hamartiological, and eschatological paragraphs of modern "Paulinism."¹

Two of the older books in English have still great value: Sabatier's *The Apostle Paul* (E. T. 1891), and A. B. Bruce's *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1896. Sabatier was among the first to emphasise the development of Paul's thought, and it is possible that he shows in this too much the zeal of the pioneer, but his description of the teaching of the Epistles is of unsurpassed lucidity. A. B. Bruce's book is one which time has not made stale. Naturally it does not deal with recent controversies, but I know no English book which so successfully relates Paul's theology

¹ *St. Paul*, p. 6.

to his experience. Bruce restricted his treatment to the four great epistles, and was, perhaps, unduly reluctant to recognise development in Paul's thought, even after he had written the Epistle to the Romans. But, on Paul's central doctrines, Bruce writes with rare insight and sympathy. Reischle, speaking of non-Christian religions, remarks that no description can be adequate unless it be a "hypothetical re-experience." It is this that Bruce provides in his description of Paul's Christianity, and no English book is of richer value to the preacher.

A very useful account of Paul's teaching is given in Stevens' *The Theology of the New Testament*, 1901, which summarises his earlier book on *The Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed., 1897. Dr. Garvie's *Studies in Paul and his Gospel*, 1911, shows those qualities of learning and lucidity, suggestiveness and sympathy, which have made him one of the most influential of Free Church Teachers. Dodd's *The Meaning of Paul for To-day* is a short and popular book, intimately related to modern needs. From the Anglican Church have come three books written from very different standpoints. Du Bose's *The Gospel according to St. Paul*, 1907, stands in a class by itself, and could have been written only by its author. It was very highly praised by Dr. Sanday in a review in the EXPOSITOR reprinted in his *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*. It is not a student's textbook. There is no index, no footnotes, no references to other writers. Catholic in doctrine, it is individual in treatment, the product of long and solitary meditation. As Dr. Sanday pointed out, the teaching of the book has much in common with that of Moberley's *Atonement and Personality*, and it thus makes its prime appeal to those who approach Paul's doctrines from the standpoint of an experience more Catholic than Evangelical. It lacks the note, say, of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*. But it is a great book, full of suggestiveness,

and closely related to human experience. And even for those of us who cannot accept much of its teaching, the book may help to show that "the mystery of the incarnation" is "the mystery which solves and illumines all others." With this book may be contrasted Gardner's *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, 1911, written by a Modern Churchman, who, approaching St. Paul from the standpoint of religious psychology, seeks to relate him to what he calls "modernity," and to show that "the great debt of humanity to Paul lies in that which he himself regarded as most important, 'his mystery of salvation by faith,' which has been not only the mainspring of his own life, but the source of the best life of the Christian Church from that day to this." The third book is Headlam's *St. Paul and Christianity*, 1913, written from a position intermediate between Du Bose and Gardner. It is needless to say that it is a book both learned and authoritative.

There are four brief accounts of Paul's teaching, too slight to be named among the best books on Paul, which should not be overlooked, as they have an importance out of all relation to their size: Moffatt's *Paul and Paulinism*, 1910; Andrews' *The Value of the Theology of St. Paul for Modern Thought*, 2nd edit. 1915; Peake's *The Quintessence of Paulinism*, 1917, and Dean Inge's in the first series of his famous *Outspoken Essays*. As a sign of the new interest in St. Paul by preachers, it is gratifying to notice the number of popular books on Paul which have appeared in recent years, written, not by professional students, but by men engaged in the active work of the ministry. Of these it must suffice to mention Cohu's *St. Paul in the Light of Modern Research*, 1911; Strachan, *The Individuality of St. Paul*, 1916; and last, and, for the preacher, perhaps, the most useful of all, D. M. Ross's *The Faith of St. Paul*, 1923.

No mention has so far been made of one of the most

important English books on Paul in recent years : Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, 1917. Morgan's treatment is strongly influenced by the attempts of German scholars to explain much of Paul's theology by the influence on him of the mystery-cults held to be current in his age and place. I mention Morgan's book last, because it makes a natural transition to the third problem of the preacher who has not only to get Paul loved and understood, but also to determine for himself what measure of authority he has the right to claim for Paul's interpretation of Christianity.

(III.) Was Paul the classic witness of the Christian experience, or, is his teaching a perversion of the "simple" teaching of Jesus? That is an old and familiar problem. It is inevitable that those who see in Jesus just the first true believer in God the Father, should feel that Paul has a different religion from his Master, for Paul preached Christ as a living and eternal Lord. This old controversy has in this century been discussed with fresh vigour, and from new standpoints. Paul's "Christ-cult" is assigned, not to the immanent necessities of his logic, but to (1) the influence of current Jewish beliefs in a Heavenly Man, or (2) of pagan mystery-cults with their redeemer-gods.

(1) Of the first view, Wrede was the best-known exponent. His book on *Paul*, 1904, (E.T. 1907) appeared in a series of popular "Religio-historical" booklets which were sold at a low price, and had a very large circulation. To Wrede, Paul is primarily a theologian whose theology is his religion. And this theology he had in substance before he was a Christian. He believed in a heavenly being, a divine Christ, before he believed in Jesus. At the moment of his conversion, when he thought he saw Jesus in His risen glory, he transferred to Jesus all the conceptions he already had of a heavenly Christ. Thus his picture of

Christ was not derived from any impression of the person of Christ. "What we prize in the man Jesus, His moral majesty, His purity and piety, meant, for His Christology, nothing."

Christ's humanity was to Paul purely formal and retained only because his theology demanded that the Christ should suffer and die. As, in an earlier book,¹ Wrede had asserted that it was only after the disciples believed that Jesus had risen that they claimed Him as the Messiah, it is clear that if we accept Wrede's interpretation, there is no possible transition between the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of Paul. Paulinism is the product, not of Christianity, but of a Jewish dogmatic, which, through his vision, Paul attached to the figure of Jesus. In the same series as Wrede's *Paul*, Bousset had written an account of *Jesus*, which is one of the loveliest of the "liberal" pictures of Him. In it Jesus appears, not as the Church's Lord, but as the gracious hero of the religious life, the first true believer in God the Father. It is impossible to accept Bousset's *Jesus* and Wrede's *Paul* without admitting that Paul was an innovator, the creator of a new religion.

Wrede's book seemed to many far too doctrinaire. As Jülicher wrote in his little book *Paulus und Jesus*, 1907, in the same series, "An apostle of Jesus Christ, who declined to learn anything of the earthly life of the Messiah, and who acted thus in order to support his own dogmatic theory, is the product of the modern mania for logical consistency. It is certainly not the Paul of history." But the publication of Bousset's and Wrede's books in a popular series, which sold by tens of thousands, naturally led to an acute controversy, and revived in Germany, and later in England, interest in the old problem of the relation of Paul to Jesus. In English there are admirable discus-

¹ *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901.

sions by Dr. Anderson Scott, *Jesus and Paul* in the *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1909, and by Dr. McNeile in his recent book, *New Testament Teaching in the Light of St. Paul's*, 1923, where Wrede's views are fully criticised. Dr. Ross's book, already mentioned, is also of great value here and seeks to show that we have to go back to Jesus, not from Paul, but with him, and deals with the *Faith of St. Paul* under the two heads: The Dependence of Paul upon Jesus, and Paul the Interpreter of Jesus.

(2) More popular in recent years has been the attempt to explain away Paul's theology by assigning the place he gives to Christ to the influence, not of a Jewish "Messiah-Dogmatic," but of Hellenistic Mystery Cults. Perhaps the best known writer of this school is Reitzenstein, whose book, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1910 (2nd edit. 1920) gives the most convenient summary of the evidence on which this view is based. The school is represented in English by the writings of Kirsopp Lake. Thus in his *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 2nd edit. 1919, Lake, while recognising that Paul cannot be held responsible for the innovation, asserts that at Antioch there began the transition from "the belief that the Messiah was Jesus, and that He was speedily coming to set up the Kingdom of God, to the creed in which the original meaning of the word 'Messiah' or 'Christ' was almost wholly forgotten; Jesus was regarded a Redeemer-God, and the Sacraments became the real centre of Christianity." The view receives a cautious expression in Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, which has been already mentioned. Morgan admits that Paul everywhere assumes that his conception of Christ is that of the Church in general, but Morgan is confident that "on the soil of a strict monotheism," the belief that Jesus was Lord "did not, and could not arise. There is but one possible explanation, and it

is to be found in the fact that at an early period of its history Christianity was carried from the soil of Judaism to that of Hellenism," where there were mystery-cults which called their patron divinities "Lord." The views of this school have been severely criticised by Kennedy in *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, 1913, and by Clemen, in the book translated into English under the title *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, 1912. Until the evidence has been thoroughly sifted, the question must be regarded as still *sub judice*. But the problem is not one for scholars alone, for the theory is not based only on historic evidence. Behind it lies the assumption that the Jesus of the Gospels was such that only an alien influence could account for the ascription to Him later of the title "Lord." Much of the discussion would have more reality if scholars were as ready to learn of the contact of Christianity with oriental religions to-day as they are of its contact with the Græco-oriental synthesis of the first century. Paul, after all, was a missionary. And, like the most influential missionaries in India to-day, he had a synthetic mind, and was responsive to his environment. That he expressed his Gospel in the terms of his age and place, and discovered new meaning in his message through contact with new needs, is natural. But, if he derived the essentials of his message from his environment, then he did what no other missionary we know of has done; he gave his life for a Gospel which derived, not its expression only, but its essence from the peoples among whom he worked. New needs reveal new resources, but a missionary does not increase his inheritance; he learns to possess it, and that we may believe is what Paul did.¹

¹ There is an interesting illustration of this in the life-work of one of the greatest of contemporary theologians, Julius Kaftan, till lately Professor at Berlin. His early writings (e.g., *Die Wahrheit der Christlichen Religion*, 1888) have much of the narrowness of the older Ritsch.

The Religio-historical School seems, in its extreme representatives, to fail just where the older expositions of "Paulinism" failed, by undue intellectualism. In vivid contrast to all such constructions is Deissmann's *St. Paul, A Study in Social and Religious History*, 1912, which seeks "to come back from the paper St. Paul of our Western libraries, Germanised, dogmatised, modernised, to the historic St. Paul, to penetrate through the 'Paulinism' of our New Testament theologies to the St. Paul of ancient reality." It is possible that Deissmann overestimates the lowly origin of Paul, and ignores unduly his intellectual interests, but many would agree with him when he says that "St. Paul is essentially a hero of piety, first and foremost. That which is theological is secondary with him. The naïve is stronger with him than the premeditated, the mystic stronger than the dogmatic. Christ means more for him than Christology. God more than the doctrine of God. He is far more a man of prayer and witness, a confessor and a prophet, than a learned exegetist and brooding dogmatist." Deissmann's book is unfortunately out of print, and hard to procure. His views are summed up in the latter half of his *Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul*, 1923, in which he declares that Paul is "not so much the great Christologos as the great Christophoros,

lianism. He has himself told us (*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, July, 1908) that it was as he realised that there were religions of redemption, and that Christianity was among their number, that he grasped the fact that Christianity is not only an ethical religion; it is an ethical religion of redemption from the world, so that Christians are meant to live in time as those who live in the eternal, the eternal, which is not an undifferentiated infinite, but the eternal whose content is given us in the Risen Christ. To this new realisation we owe not only his rich *Dogmatik*, but his very suggestive essay on St. Paul, *Die Paulinische Predigt vom Kreuz Jesu Christi. Zur Dogmatik*, 1904, in which he emphasises the place which the Resurrection of Christ had in Paul's preaching, and the place it must have in ours, if the Protestant Church is to meet the needs which the Roman Church seeks to meet by the other-worldliness of monasticism.

not so much the great thinker on Christology as the great bearer of Christ."

As this article is for preachers, not for professional students, I have referred almost exclusively to books available in English. But I should like, in closing, to refer briefly to two recent German books which it would be worth while to learn German to read: Johannes Weiss's *Urchristentum* (completed by Knopf, and published in 1917, three years after Johannes Weiss's death), and Feine's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 3rd edit. 1919, of which the 4th edit., 1922, is unfortunately an abbreviation.

Johannes Weiss's book is a big book of nearly 700 pages, but it is a book of quite unusual interest and freshness. He rejects what he holds to be the onesidedness, both of those who see in Paul a systematic thinker and those who, at the other extreme, see in him a mystic who was primarily a hero of piety. To J. Weiss, the distinctive element in Paul lies in the very fact that in him religion and theology, piety and thought, are not separated. He was a theologian, not a theologian of the schools, but a missionary theologian whose theology was a theology of conversion and evangelisation. Johannes Weiss does not share to the full Paul's faith, but he writes of it with extraordinary sympathy and insight.

Feine, as a "Positive" theologian, has the advantage of sharing himself, in essence, the faith of Paul which he expounds. To him Paul's faith cannot be explained by the immanent necessities of his logic on the basis of Jewish or Hellenistic thought, nor as a reflection of current beliefs in a Heavenly Man, or Redeemer-Gods. It was the exposition of what Christ actually is in the terms of Paul's age and place. There is a full account in Feine of recent controversies, and no book I know is so useful a guide through the complex problems of Paul's interpretation of Christianity.

Where the literature is so vast it seems presumptuous to attempt to name the ten best books. With considerable hesitation I venture to give the following list :

1. (To remove prejudices) : Weinel's *St. Paul, the Man and His Work*, or Peabody's *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*.

2. (For a general sketch of life and teaching) : McNeile's *St. Paul, His Life, Letters and Christian Doctrine*, or David Smith's *The Life and Letters of St. Paul*.

3. (For Paul's journeys) : Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*.

4. Deissmann's *St. Paul*.

5. A. B. Bruce's *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*.

6. Garvie's *Studies in Paul and his Gospel*, or Steven's *Theology of the New Testament*, or Headlam's *St. Paul and Christianity*.

7. Du Bose's *The Gospel according to St. Paul*, or Gardner's *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*.

8. Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*.

9. Johannes Weiss's *Urchristentum*.

10. Feine's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*.

SYDNEY CAVE.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

It is the prevailing custom among ancient peoples to regard their laws as being of divine origin and as resting ultimately upon the authority of the divine will. There are several grave moral dangers which lie in the wake of any community holding such an opinion. More than one of the evils that have persisted in religion and the injustices and harshnesses that have survived in a nobler civilisation have done so because, in their earlier stages, they were regarded