The Significance of Spirit Endowment For Paul

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D. G. Dunn’s *Baptism in the Holy Spirit* consistently underlines the point that the only receiving of the Spirit that the Apostle affirms is one which is integrally related to *conversion*. While this is a slight over-simplification of Paul, the major thrust of Dunn’s work is undoubtedly correct. Paul holds both that a man must have the Spirit to be a Christian and that receiving the Spirit constitutes a man as a Christian. Spirit-reception is the necessary and sufficient condition of true Christian faith. Our familiarity with Paul’s contention often blinds us to the radical nature of his claim. Judaism, for example, did not understand true ‘Jewishness’ to be bound with the issue of receiving the Spirit: the gift of the Spirit in the last days was to some extent a *donum superadditum*. By contrast to this and to some more recent interpretations, Paul’s understanding of the nature and work of the Spirit is such that he could not relegate the fundamental experience of the Spirit to a ‘second blessing’ or confirmatory rite. For the apostle, the Spirit we experience is eschatological in nature and Christocentric in quality. It is just this experience of πνεàμα that marks us off from other men as ‘Christians’. In what follows I shall attempt to clarify what I mean by referring to Paul’s pneumatology as ‘eschatological’ and ‘Christocentric’ and to show that these two descriptions are barely distinguishable when applied to certain areas of Paul’s teaching because of the apostle’s distinctive understanding of the resurrection of Jesus.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SPIRIT

(1) The Apocalyptic Framework of Paul’s Message

A number of scholars have pointed to the central role played by the apocalyptic two-age structure in Paul’s message. Paul is usually recognised as bringing to that structure a fundamental modification. The Messiah has already appeared and the new age has, in some sense, broken in. This state of affairs may be expressed in a diagram that contrasts Jewish and Christian ‘apocalyptic’ hope as follows:

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2 A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (ET London 1931, p. 97ff.) was the first to underline the importance of this for an understanding of Paul. The subject was then brought to the forefront of debate by O. Cullmann and E. Käsemann at different times. A polemical survey of the role that ‘apocalyptic’ has played in New Testament studies (or rather ‘not played’) is provided by K. Koch in *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, (London: SCM (SBT / 2/22) 1972). Curiously this makes no mention of one of the earliest and most sensitive treatments of Paul’s ‘apocalyptic’—that offered by G. Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1930 and 1974).
3 The diagram is a modified form of one that appears at G. Vos, *op. cit.* 38. It is, of course, an oversimplification. In many respects the Qumran community were nearer to the Christian ‘pattern’ than to the schema I have attributed to Judaism—see especially H.-W. Kuhn, *Ender wartung and Gegenwärtiges Heil*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1966, 201ff). G. E. Ladd has recently attempted to present the thesis that the framework schematised in Fig. 2 sums up *The Pattern of New Testament Truth* in a book bearing this title (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1968 passim). His essay entitled ‘Apocalyptic and New Testament Theology’ in *Reconciliation and Hope*, ed., R. J. Banks (Exeter: Paternoster, 1974) 284-296 and his newly published work *A Theology of the New Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974, 660 pp.) consistently applies this insight.
Two recent Cambridge theses have analysed detailed aspects of this framework in Paul. J. B. Hurley has maintained that Paul’s ethical teaching in 1 Corinthians must be understood as his correction to an ‘over-realised’ eschatology. In reply to the situation Paul stresses both our present participation in the world/age to come and our present commitment to the God-given social structures of this age. A. T. Lincoln in a thorough exegetical study of the concept of ‘the heavenlies’ in Paul concludes that ‘Our study... reveals that Paul’s Christian apocalyptic is defined both by the future and by the recent past and is about what happens when the life of the age to come has been made available through Christ’s resurrection and how that life does not remain centred in heaven but works itself out on earth in the present period of History.... Within this Christian apocalyptic references to the heavenly dimension have been given new content by being subordinated by the apostle to what has happened to his heavenly Lord.’

Lincoln goes on to dispute the view that Paul’s emphasis on our union with Christ in the ‘heavenlies’ represents either an abandonment of apocalyptic categories or a hellenizing development of his eschatology.

It is our contention that Paul’s use of Pneuma language further reflects this framework of Christian apocalyptic. The apostle uses Spirit terminology in close connection with activities which have already commenced in believers but which will be heightened at the consummation of all things. It is the inner connection between what Paul claims to be an activity of the Spirit now and what the same Spirit will do at the End that makes his pneumatology ‘eschatological’ in character: for an event or activity may usefully be designated ‘eschatological’ if it is closely related in inner quality (but not necessarily in time)

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6 The relationship of Paul’s eschatology to his pneumatology first received treatment by G. Vos in an essay ‘The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit’ in his Biblical and Theological Studies, New York (1912), 209ff. Since then it has become the subject of an important monograph by N. Q. Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul (SJT Occasional Papers No. 6, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1957) and has received its fullest treatment in C. H. Pinnock, The Concept of the Spirit in the Epistles of Paul, an unpublished dissertation presented at the University of Manchester in 1963. Some other literature on the subject will be cited below.
to the decisive End-events. Only an exhaustive exegesis of a wide range of Pauline themes could adequately demonstrate the degree to which experience of the Spirit, for Paul, is an anticipation of our future salvation. In this essay we shall only discuss one of these themes, namely what Paul has to say about the image of God and how this is related to his teaching concerning the work of the Spirit.

(2) Spirit and Image
Although Paul uses εἰκόν in a variety of ways, his usage in several contexts impinges directly on our thesis. In Romans 8:29 and 1 Corinthians 15:49 it is said that believers are to be conformed to the image of Christ, whom Paul elsewhere identifies as the image of God. In both contexts this transformation will take place at resurrection. In 1 Corinthians 15:49 Paul tells his readers that just as they have borne the image of the man of dust, Adam, so they shall (through resurrection) bear the image of the last Adam.

This thought is so fundamental to Paul’s theology that in Philippians 3:21 he can express the hope of the gospel in the words ‘we await a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform our lowly body to be like his glorious body....’ The same hope is expressed in Romans 8 particularly in verse 23 where Paul explains his statement ‘we wait for (full) adoption as sons’ by placing ‘the redemption of our bodies’ in apposition to it. Here we have the background to Paul’s assertion in verse 29 that God has predestined us to be ‘conformed to the image of His Son’.

On each occasion the transformation that is to take place is a function of the Spirit. In Philippians 3:21 the Spirit appears under the guise of the ‘power which enables him to subject all things to himself’. In Romans 8 we have both the context of the whole chapter in Paul’s argument and also the explicit statements of verses 9-11. In 1 Corinthians 15 whilst it is not actually said that Πνεῦμα will perform the transformation it is nevertheless entailed in the change from existence as σώμα ψυχικόν to existence as σώμα πνευματικόν about which more will be said below.

In a fourth context—that of 2 Corinthians 3:18—Paul refers yet again to our conformation to the image of Christ. The important difference between this occasion and those in Romans 8, 1 Corinthians 15, and Philippians 3 is that here Paul sees the transformation as already taking place: ‘And we all... beholding the glory of the Lord, are being changed into his likeness τῆς αὐτῆς εἰκόνας μεταμορφωθείς from one degree of glory to another—as from the Lord, the Spirit’. There are parallels to this statement in Colossians 3:10 and Romans 12:2. The presence of this

9 The ‘image’ that Paul sees is ‘the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ’ (4:6). Compare de Lacey, op. cit. p. 60; G. Kittel in TDNT ii. 396 and C. K. Barrett, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians (London: A. and C. Black, 1974) 124 as the latest commentator and representative of a consensus on this.
10 We take πνεύματος in apposition to κυρίου in accordance with the pesher exegesis which has identified the two in v. 17. See p. 61 below.
11 Especially if we take τοῦ κτίσαντος as a reference to God, with C. F. D. Moule, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and Philemon (Cambridge CUP, 1957) 120 and E. Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Kolosser and an Philemon, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1961) p. 141f. Bearing in mind what Paul has
emphasis is not to be taken as an indication of a different eschatology from that outlined in 1 Cor. 15, for Paul’s hope is still ultimately in resurrection existence to be had at the Parousia\textsuperscript{12} as 2 Cor. 5:1-11 affirms. Rather the apostle held his belief in the present experience of transformation side by side with his expectation of a future and fuller change. The relationship between the two aspects of the one hope is expressed more fully in 2 Cor. 4 (especially vv. 16ff.). It appears as part of his defence for an apostleship which on the surface is marked more by suffering and maltreatment than by a glory beyond that of Moses (2 Cor. 3).\textsuperscript{13}

In his defence in 2 Cor. 4 Paul distinguishes between two ways of looking at his ministry and the rather different men that the contrasting perspectives see. He speaks of ὁ ἐξο ἄνθρωπος who is perishing: that is, Paul, seen as a man whose existence is stamped with the frailties of this ‘visible’ age, is being broken up by the thousand natural shocks that human flesh is heir to. But ὁ ἐκσιο (ἄνθρωπος) is being daily renewed. The contrast between ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ men is parallel to and suggested by the more basic contrast in verse 18 between ‘the things that are seen’ which have to do with this present world/age (and in which we place no trust) and ‘the things which are unseen’ which Paul connects with the future eternal and glorious age which as yet belongs to the realm of the ‘unseen’ because at present we walk by faith and not by sight (2 Cor. 5:7).\textsuperscript{14} ‘Our outer man’ and ‘our inner man’ do not belong to a psychological dualism (e.g., as our body and soul respectively) but to the fundamental eschatological dualism of the man that is seen now and the man that will be revealed on the final day. The ‘outer man’ is Paul in so far as lie is viewed from the perspective of this present visible but transient order. The ‘inner man’ is the one who is not seen from such a perspective and belongs to a realm which is as yet ‘unseen’ and which is to be fully manifest in the resurrection existence. In other words, by the Spirit we are already becoming the man who we are to be through the resurrection. Although this transformation cannot be understood by those whose perspectives are limited to ‘the things which are seen’, it is very full and meaningful to Paul. As we shall bear the image of Christ then, so now, already, we share in that future glory. The eyes that can see the goal (the glory of God in the face of Christ) can also see the radiance of the present transformation. ‘Like all the gifts in which Christians share, the εἰκὼν is an ἀπαρχή. This means that it now is, and yet that it is still to be.... Its eschatology is even now at work, and its presence has an eschatological basis’ (sic).\textsuperscript{15}

This present transformation is seen by Paul to be effected by the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:18). This means that the Spirit is now ἀρραβὼν (2 Cor. 5:5).\textsuperscript{16} In the broader context of 2 Cor. 2:14-7:13, Paul’s term goes beyond the sense ‘guarantee’: the translation ‘first instalment’ is to be preferred. What is to come, in this instance, is a fuller measure of what is already taking place. The Spirit is operative both in our foretaste and in its eschatological fulfilment. In 2 Cor. 5:5 the Spirit may be designated ὁ ἀρραβὼν because entry into to say in Col. 1:15-20 Chrysostom’s view that τοῦ κωστονος refers to Christ is not impossible: see R. P. Martin, \textit{Colossians: The Church’s Lord and the Christian’s Liberty} (Exeter: Paternoster, 1973) 116.

\textsuperscript{12} Not merely at death: see particularly C. K. Barrett, \textit{op. cit.}, 149-61 and A. T. Lincoln \textit{op. cit.}, 80-104. For the immense literature on this most controversial subject, see F. G. Lang, \textit{2 Korinther 5:1-10 in der neueren Forschung} (\textit{BGBE} 16, Tübingen: Mohr 1973).

\textsuperscript{13} The fundamental contrast in chapter 3 is between Mosaic and Apostolic ministries rather than between the covenants of which these parties are ministers.

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. 2 Cor. 4:18.

\textsuperscript{15} G. Kittel, \textit{TDNT} ii p. 397.

\textsuperscript{16} The genitive τοῦ πνεύματος is in apposition. Cf. C. K. Barrett, \textit{op. cit.}, 80f.
resurrection existence is a fuller ‘receiving’ of that Spirit who already anticipates resurrection existence in us by allowing us to share, even now, a measure of the glory of the εἰκών.

In 1 Cor. 15 Paul approaches similar questions as he deals with the problems posed by a rather different situation. While in 2 Cor. 3–7 Paul stresses the already of eschatological existence to outweigh the visible effects of his arduous ministry, the tone of 1 Corinthians is rather that we are not yet ‘spiritual’ (πνευματικός), ‘heavenly’ and ‘perfect’ and these we shall only fully be beyond the grave in the resurrection existence. Paul’s argument leads up to a climax in 1 Cor. 15 in a most thorough-going contrast between present and future modes of existence expressed in the antithesis between σώμα ψυχικόν (now) and σώμα πνευματικόν (then).

The adjectives used here are relatively infrequent both inside and outside the New Testament and have varied nuances. However, in two contexts in the New Testament we find ψυχικός contrasted with ‘spiritual’. On one occasion, Jude 19, the scoffers of the End-time are called ψυχικόι which is immediately defined as πνεύμα μὴ ἔχοντες. In 1 Cor. 2:14 the contrast is between the ‘spiritual’ who are moulded by and taught by the Spirit who searches the deep things of God, and the ψυχικός or σαρκικός who for one reason or another do not walk in the Spirit. One group, by its dependence on the Spirit, can transcend its σώρξ and φυσική resources, the other either cannot or in any case does not.

In 1 Cor. 15 this dualism is seen as essentially eschatological. Man outside Christ, and even the mighty and spiritual Corinthians before the resurrection, can only aspire to be σώματα ψυχικά characterised by mortality and weakness. This is not because he is sinful but because he belongs to the present created order. In the context of 1 Cor. 15:45 what is said concerns man in Adam before the fall, as the reference to Genesis 2:7 makes abundantly clear. Only at the resurrection shall we become σώματα πνευματικά and thus partake in a bodily existence characterised by immortality and glory: the impress of the order of the Spirit.

Existence as σώμα ψυχικόν is further elucidated in v. 47ff. as bearing the image of the first Adam who is χούκος, i.e., ἐκ γῆς. The image we shall bear is that of the final Adam who is ἐπισωφρόνος, i.e., ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. The language only appears gnostic as long as we forget that Paul is not defining the ‘substance’ or ‘material’ of each humanity and is even less

17 By which is meant something like to live ‘in conformity to the eschatological wisdom of God revealed in the cross of Christ, which wisdom can only be derived from the Spirit’, E. Schweizer, _TDNT_ ix. 663.
18 R. Rietzenstein was the first to maintain that the ψυχικός/πνευματικός contrast was derived from gnosticism and his thesis is still influential. B. A. Pearson’s analysis of _The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians_ (SBL Dissertation Series 12, 1973) has shown that such a background is most improbable. His own explanation of the terminology is not very convincing. He argues that Paul is using his opponents terminology and that they are Jewish Christians whose hellenistic exegesis of Gen. 2:7 leads them to posit a future but nonsomatic existence in glory. Paul corrects their view by assimilating the disputed text to his own theology. There are difficulties: there does not appear to be any evidence in 1 Cor. 15 that Gen. 2:7 is disputed and we shall give reasons below that account for his use of this quotation to set forth what are clearly Pauline connections of thought. Nor is the argument of 1 Cor. 15 merely directed against a denial of somatic existence in the future!
19 I. Hermann, _Kurios and Pneuma: Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe_ (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1916) 119 (and footnote 39 for a list of those who have made the error that Hermann points out). D. Hill, _Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings_ (SNTS Monograph Series 5, Cambridge: CUP, 1963) 281, supports him. There have been other attempts to explain Paul’s use of Pneuma in terms of hellenistic models. The view that Paul draws on the Stoic conception of pneuma as an all-pervading fluidum has been rejected by most scholars since F. Büchsel’s _Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament_ (Göttersloh, 1927), though G. Verbeke, _L’Évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du stoicisme à S. Augustine_ (Paris, 1945) and W. D. Davies, _Paul and_
concerned to establish the evil nature of earthly matter as a whole. Paul has noted that different levels of glory attach to heavenly bodies and to earthly bodies (15:40ff.) and now describes Christ and Adam in terms that relate them to these respective spheres. The concerns are Jewish and the contrasts are Jewish apocalyptic reorientation of the horizontal dualism (this age/age to come) in a vertical direction. In contrast to much of Philo’s use—and even to Paul’s own use elsewhere—the two spheres are not opposed to each other and Paul’s use of the terms χοικός and ἐκ γῆς denote limitation, weakness and mortality but not evil or sin.

Paul was bound to use these terms (including ψυχικός here) in a neutral sense,

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for the thrust of his argument is that Jesus passed from the sphere designated by the terms ψυχικός, ἀσθενεία, φθορά, χοικός and ἐκ γῆς to the sphere of power and glory at the resurrection and that is thus ‘the firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep’ (vv. 20 and 23): the firstfruits too of those who pass from one sphere to the other. The thought is paralleled to a degree by that in Rom. 1:4 where Jesus, through resurrection, is seen as stepping from the sphere of humiliation and veiledness κάτα σώμα to that of exaltation κάτα πνεῦμα ἀχώσσαις (cf. 1 Tim. 3:16). So too the Christian is to follow in Christ’s footsteps. He will cease to be σώμα embodying the order of ψυχή (life of this age) and become embodying the order of Spirit and eternal life.

The Spirit in the future will definitively stamp our existence and we shall fully partake of the image of God’s Son because we shall be σώματα πνευματικά. This thought gives fundamental significance to our present experience of the Spirit. We receive the Spirit now as the foretaste and first instalment of heavenly existence of the age to come. When the Spirit impinges upon man in this age He reveals Himself as belonging to the End-time order and bringing that order into being. This understanding is the corner-stone of Paul’s pneumatology. From it the rest is derived. In the area of ethics this means that the ethics that are associated with the Spirit (Gal. 5:22f.) are fundamentally an invasion of the age to come. Thus in Rom. 14:17 they are directly related to the Kingdom of God. Similarly in Col. 3:1-10 they belong to the heavens where Christ is and flow from union with Him who has already entered, through resurrection, the life of the age to come. In Gal. 5:17 the invasion of the age to come into this age results in the fundamental opposition of the order designated σάρξ with that introduced by the Spirit which has as its consequence (Ἰάκωβος taken with consecutive force) that
the Christian is thrown into cosmic and moral tension and he must give firm allegiance to the inbreaking order if he is to participate in its final victory.25

It is not only an ethical tension that is introduced by the invasion of the Spirit as the principle of future existence.26 Receiving the Spirit introduces the Christian experimentally to the whole tension of salvation history: the ‘already’ and the ‘not yet’ of Christian life.27 In receiving the gift of the Spirit we become aware of God’s pronouncement of ‘not guilty’ over us and yet this assurance is only the first instalment of the reality which we hope to receive by the same Spirit.28 We observe a similar tension in our awareness of sonship and nowhere is this more clearly treated than in Romans 8:9-23. Christians are here assured that if the Spirit of God dwells in them, then not only will He give life to our mortal bodies=resurrection) but that even now that ‘life’ (8:2) constitutes us as sons of God and assures us of our sonship (8:14ff.). The Spirit brings us to pray ‘Abba’, which in a word crystallises our new relationship and assures us that we are indeed children of God (8:16f.). But this sonship is as yet a hidden thing and creation groans in subjection awaiting the day when it will be revealed (8:19). For the sonship to which Paul refers is ultimately an End-time sonship which consists in that redemption of the body through resurrection which conforms us to the image of God’s Son.29 Of this coming sonship Pneuma is only ò παράρχη firstfruits because the Spirit is already creating in us the sort of relationship which we shall then fully enjoy; firstfruits also because it is the Spirit that will consummate our foretaste by fully conforming us, in that day, to Christ and full sonship and thirdly firstfruits because the coming ‘harvest’ of sonship will itself be a fuller

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receiving of the Spirit by which we will be transformed from σώμα ψυχικόν to σώμα πνευματικόν.

**SPIRIT AND CHRIST**

At least since Deissmann’s thesis in 189231 we have been accustomed to hearing one form or another of the claim that Paul identifies Christ and the Spirit. Two sorts of evidence have been brought forward to substantiate the view. Firstly, a handful of texts are claimed to make such an identification explicit. Secondly, it is claimed (with Deissmann) that Paul uses the formulae ἐν Κυρίῳ and ἐν Χριστῷ in parallel with ἐν Πνεύματι and without change in significance. Of course, different things are meant by the claim that Paul identifies Christ and Spirit. In recent years Deissmann’s view that Paul assumes an ontological identity has given way to a much more widespread assertion that a merely functional or phenomenological identity was intended. N. Q. Hamilton32 was the first to appeal to 2 Cor. 3:17 in an attempt to establish this newer understanding and later his suggestion was taken up more forcefully by I. Hermann who dedicated a whole monograph to this verse in particular and to the case for phenomenological identity in general.33

26 See N. Q. Hamilton, op. cit., ch. 3 and the article by B. Rigaux cited earlier.
27 G. Stalder, op. cit., 321f.
29 Rom. 8:23, 29.
30 Ibid., 8:23.
31 *Die neutestamentliche Formel ’in Christo Jesu’* (Marburg, 1892).
33 Hermann sums up the nature of the identification of Christ and Spirit as:
(1) Does Paul Explicitly Identify Christ and Spirit?

Whereas there is much to be said for the general drift of the works by Hamilton and Hermann, it is doubtful whether their fundamental appeal to 2 Cor. 3:17 will stand. They both correctly argue that Paul does not make an ontological equation when he states that ‘the Lord is the Spirit’, for such a view is denied by the very next statement. Clearly ‘the Spirit of the Lord’ would be an impossible expression if Paul had held that the two were ontologically identical only one line earlier. Yet both Hamilton and Hermann believe that Paul does assert a functional identity between Christ and the Spirit here and that this is the key to Paul’s understanding of the Spirit.

Such a view has been severely criticised by J. D. G. Dunn in a recent article. Dunn argues further the case of Nigel Turner that the definite article with Κύριος in v. 17a is anaphoric and becomes virtually a demonstrative: this Lord (i.e., the one spoken of in Ex. 34:34) is the Spirit. Paul is giving a Christian midrash on Exodus 34 and thus the Spirit is not to be identified with Jesus at all but with Yahweh. ‘Verse 18 is seen to take up and amplify v. 16: the glory comes from the Lord to whom Moses turned and that Lord is the Spirit.’ Dunn’s case is cogent and we may dismiss the relevance of 2 Cor. 3:17 for our present inquiry.

Dunn himself, however, makes a case for the identification of Spirit and Christ in Paul’s teaching in an exegetical study of 1 Cor. 15:45. ‘Paul identifies the exalted Jesus with the Spirit... with... the Holy Spirit. Immanent Christology is for Paul pneumatology; in the believer’s experience there is no distinction between Christ and Spirit.’ Dunn sees the crux of Paul’s argument against those who deny both the somatic and the future eschatological character of the resurrection (p. 128) as based in experience. Paul has to demonstrate two things:

(a) that the exalted Jesus is known to possess a spiritual body and

(b) that He has a representative capacity in this mode of existence. Only from this does it follow that we too shall become spiritual bodies.

The strength of Paul’s case is seen to lie in what he has introduced by his careful

...selbstverständlich nicht im Sinn einer logischen Identität, wohl aber und da im vollem Ausmass—als eine der christlichen Glaubenserfahrung zugängliche Identität, in der sich der Kyrios als Pneuma erweist, und das Pneuma... den Erhöhten repräsentiert, das Wirken von Kyrios und Pneuma also für den Glaubenden ein und dasselbe Ereignis darstellt’ (op. cit., 140).

This is certainly overstated, especially when Hermann continues...

‘...jede Aussage über Christus als Aussage über den Pneuma-Christus verstanden werden muss und ... jedes wirken des Kyrios als ein Wirken mittels des Penuma vorgestellt werden muss’ (op. cit., 141).

34 See also G. Stalder, op. cit., 53ff.
37 ‘1 Corinthians 15:45—Last Adam, Life-giving Spirit,’ in Christ and the Spirit in the New Testament, eds., B. Lindars and S. Smalley (Cambridge: CUP, 1973) 127-42. The case had, of course, been presented much earlier (e.g., by Büchsel, op. cit., 407) and can be found in the majority of commentaries, but Dunn’s article is the only full argument of the case of which I am aware.
38 Ibid., 131.
39 Ibid., 130.
wording of the ‘quotation’ in 1 Cor. 15:45. Verse 44b was taken as common ground and v. 45 represents a further development in which Paul makes his bid to identify the two sorts of soma with Adam and Christ and thus to establish, in part, the necessary argument (b). What is essential to Paul’s midrash of Gen. 2:7 is the careful wording of his description of Christ. While Adam is ψυχή ζώσα (a living soul) Christ is not merely πνεῦμα ζών (a living spirit) but πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν (the life-giving Spirit). From this Dunn draws the conclusion that for Paul the believer’s experience of the life-giving Spirit is proof that Jesus is σώμα πνευματικόν. The risen Jesus is identified with the life-giving Spirit. The same wording is taken to be the clue to Paul’s second point which is that Christ is representative in his mode of existence. ‘Paul’s own experience of the life of the Spirit bearing the imprint of Jesus’ character and conforming him to that image is the ground on which Paul asserts the representative significance of Jesus’ risen humanity.’

A number of difficulties face this thesis. Firstly it is not at all clear how the Corinthians were supposed to deduce from the fact of their experience of the life-giving Spirit that Jesus partook of somatic existence—that he became σώμα πνευματικόν. It was just such an inference that was most liable to doubt if the argument up to v. 44 has any point at all. Along similar lines it is hardly likely that v. 44b (with its claim that if there is a ψυχικόν body there is also a πνευματικόν body) was common ground to Paul and his opponents for the latter were precisely prone to question whether ‘body’ and ‘Spirit’ were comfortable bedfellows. Rather v. 44a appears to form a conclusion to the argument that Paul has developed from v. 35 onwards which may be stated as a rule of thumb, ‘God provides every sort of existence with an appropriate body, so it will be with resurrection existence’. Verse 44b takes up and amplifies the ‘conclusion’ of v. 44a. For in v. 44a Paul introduces a new step in his argument (as well as providing a conclusion to what he has hitherto said) for which he has not prepared the ground and which was liable to doubt. In this verse he has not merely affirmed that each sort of existence has its appropriate body but has smuggled in the strongest of possible contrasts between the present and future bodily existences. What he must do now is strengthen his case that there are indeed these two sorts of body, the ψυχικός and the πνευματικός, by demonstrating that there are two different orders and that the eschatological strictly succeeds the creational and lies beyond it and above it in such a way that it is impossible for flesh and blood to belong fully to that final order. This he does by means of his pesher of Genesis 2:7. The ψυχικός nature of the present order of humanity is readily demonstrated by the scripture which designates Adam as ψυχή ζώσα by virtue of his creation and not merely through his sin and fall.

The second limb of Paul’s ‘quotation’ is the antithesis that he feels he can readily draw for the Corinthians. It is not an a fortiori argument, nor is it derived from hellenistic speculation (such as that witnessed in Philo) about creation of a heavenly man prior to the creation of Adam. The Corinthians would be familiar with what Paul was saying because his initial preaching had centred on Christ as the one in whom the full glory of the image of God was

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40 Ibid., 136.
41 Note that Paul treats both parts of 1 Cor. 15:45 as what ‘is written’ and both depend on the ἐγένετο which introduces the ‘quotation’.
seen and who thus stands as an archetype of the man we should become: the final Adam.\(^{43}\)

The foundation for Paul’s contrast between first and last Adam had thus already been laid for the Corinthians in Paul’s initial ministry to them.

If one side of the coin of Paul’s argument is that the glorious Adam before ‘the fall’ is designated as a being of the order of ψυχή the other is that the last Adam only became a being of the order of πνεῦμα at resurrection. This content is guaranteed to the use of ἔγνωσε in 1 Cor. 15:45 by the context as a whole and by v. 46, which is not a sideswipe at Philonic teaching but a statement of the order of salvation-history. The order of the appearance of the archetypes reflects the order of the two (somatic) existences of which we partake and there is no way from the one to the other except through death and resurrection: a point for which Paul has prepared well in advance in v. 42 and with which he concludes in v. 50ff.

Just precisely what does Paul mean, however, by designating Jesus as πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν (a life giving Spirit)? Here we must remember that his pesher is basically introduced to clarify his earlier statement that if there is a σῶμα ψυχικὸν there is also a σῶμα πνευματικὸν (vv. 44b and 46). Adam is clearly σῶμα and Paul finds in Genesis 2:7 proof that the whole order of created humanity may be designated ψυχικός for the simple reason that its archetype was created a ψυχή ζώσα. The apostle brings to his reading of the creation account the assumption that the two ages will bear different forms of humanity reflecting the different ‘life principles’ (ψυχή and πνεῦμα respectively) which vitalise them. Accordingly he takes the word ψυχή in Gen. 2:7 to mean not simply ‘being’, but in particular ψυχικός ‘being’ belonging to the earthly realm of this present order and hence by nature χοίκος.

But if God (who gives to each form of life its appropriate bodily being) created the first Adam as an embodiment of ψυχικός existence it should not surprise us that the last Adam should embody the ‘life principle’ of the age to come. This last Adam, then, is not ψυχή, which designates, for Paul, a being vitalised by the ‘life’ of this age and ipso facto belonging to the realm of the ψυχικός. Rather he is πνεῦμα by which Paul ‘leans an eschatological ‘being’ vitalised by πνεῦμα which is the life-giving principle of the age to come. This unusual use of πνεῦμα is forced upon Paul by the need to find a direct and yet antithetical parallel to what is said about the ‘first’ Adam in Gen. 2:7. Jesus as πνεῦμα in this sense is not only life-giving but is also σῶμα ψυχικόν in accordance with the parallel in Adam and so Paul’s case is clinched. Verse 46 confirms our interpretation as it assumes that Paul’s discussion has been about do το ψυχικόν (σῶμα) and το πνευματικόν (σῶμα) and thus that ψυχή ζώσα must be a strict correlate of σῶμα ψυχικόν and πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν of σῶμα πνευματικόν.

The view of the majority of commentators that takes 1 Cor. 15:45b to identify Christ and Spirit appears to have little to commend it:

\(^{43}\) 2 Cor. 4:4ff. In this respect the essay by M. E. Thrall in Christ and the Spirit in the New Testament, 143-56 is important. Paul does not have to argue that Jesus is representative—his use of last Adam terminology asserts it and reminds the Corinthians of what they first heard him preach.

\(^{44}\) ζωοποιοῦν need not refer to the Holy Spirit. For Paul it could equally apply to God or Christ (cf., Phil 3:21), both in the present age and at the resurrection.
(a) even given that Paul is forced to misleading ellipsis it is very hard to see any parallel between the limbs of his quotation in 1 Cor. 15:45 if the verse is taken to assert functional identity of Christ and Spirit.

(b) If only the activities and functions of Christ and the Spirit are identified then there is no connection by which it might be established that Jesus shares in bodily existence of the age to come, which is the point at issue.

(2) Does Paul Implicitly identify Christ and Spirit?
Neither of the texts which are claimed to make an explicit identification of Christ with Spirit can bear the weight that proponents of such a view place upon them.

[p.64]

The best evidence that we can put forward to support the view that there is some degree of functional identity is (a) that much of the work described in one context as attributable to the Spirit is in another context said to be performed by Christ and (b) the phrase ‘in the Spirit’ appears in some contexts to be a formal parallel to ‘in Christ’, while at the same time ‘Christ in you’ appears hard to distinguish from ‘the Spirit of Christ’ in you.

These two lines of evidence are important though they require careful qualification. The work that is attributable to the Spirit and to Christ is also attributable at times to God and thus the question of ‘functional identity’ must be handled very carefully indeed. Secondly G. Stalder provides an impressive list of activities which Paul could only predicate of the Spirit and others that could only be said to be undertaken by Christ.

Deissmann’s case that one cannot distinguish between activities done ‘in the Spirit’ and those done ‘in Christ’ has been subjected to severe modification by M. Bouttier. Firstly he points out that Paul much prefers ‘in Christ’ to ‘in the Spirit’ (165 occurrences of the former compared with a mere 19 of the latter) and that a good number of the alleged parallels are indeed decidedly strained. Usually too there is some discernible difference of nuance and, on the whole, ‘in Christ’ has reference to the objective basis of salvation where a parallel ‘in the Spirit’ depends on it, flows from it and is concerned with a more subjective aspect.

Romans 8:9-11, it has been argued, makes no distinction between ‘Christ in you’ and ‘the Spirit of God... in you’, nor between you having the ‘Spirit of Christ’ and being ‘in the Spirit’. But while it may be conceded that the context of Romans 8:9-11—does not rigidly distinguish between the various uses of these expressions, two points must nevertheless be noted. In so far as ‘Spirit of Christ’ is parallel to ‘Spirit of God’ in this passage, the Spirit is not simply identified with Christ. In verse 11 they are particularly clearly distinguished: the Spirit raised Jesus. Secondly an overall view of Paul’s usage makes it clear that we have two opposite tendencies in his writings, which when seen together set a question mark over the common assumption that Paul usually identifies Christ and Spirit. Paul much more commonly asserts that we are ‘in Christ’ than that ‘Christ is in us’ and conversely he tends to say ‘the Spirit... in us’ rather than ‘we... in the Spirit’.

45 See G. Stalder, op. cit., 35, for a list.
(3) The Spirit of Jesus
Given these caveats we may nevertheless assert that Paul’s pneumatology is essentially Christocentric and we may support the claim with three lines of evidence.

(a) Stalder by cumulative argument establishes that Paul’s use of Pneuma goes well beyond the notions of ‘power’ or ‘activity’ and includes the idea of true ‘Being’ of such a definite and clearly stamped nature that the Spirit can even be set over against some activity of God. Thus in Gal. 4:6 God sends the Spirit of His Son. In Romans 8:26f. God knows the mind of the Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 2:11-12). Yet for all the potential importance of this ‘Being’ for dogmatics, Paul rarely portrays the Spirit as anything other than an ‘actor who has become so absorbed in his role and plays it so skilfully that we forget the actor himself and he becomes for us the person he is portraying’. Paul usually depicts the Spirit as a representative figure, an ambassador acting on behalf of God or Christ. On the majority of occasions the Spirit is the power of Christ, present and exercising Lordship over the Church. Some words penned by Hamilton may best sum up

(b) The Lordship that Jesus exerts over the Christian community through the Spirit is, in part, a recapitulation of the life of Jesus. Thus the Philippians are urged in their corporate life, which is κοινωνία τοῦ πνεύματος, to follow Christ’s example and not to allow the bond of unity to be broken by individual self assertion and insistence on ‘rights’ (Phil. 2:1-11). Similarly Paul urges those at Corinth who seek to be ‘spiritual’ to follow in his footsteps as he indeed follows Jesus (e.g., 1 Cor. 11:1). This recapitulation extends beyond the realm of ethics to the quality of relationship that existed and still exists between Jesus and the Father. Just as the Gospel tradition records Jesus as addressing God with the familiar ‘Abba’, so now when God sends the Spirit of His Son into our hearts we too cry ‘Abba’.

(c) The goal of the Spirit’s work may be said to be ‘Christ in all’ and we have dwelt at length on the subject of conformity to the image of God’s Son. Paul is not interested in life beyond the grave for its own sake, but for the fuller measure to which resurrection life will allow us to partake in the full riches of Christ.

THE MEETING POINT OF PAUL’S APOCALYPTIC AND CHRISTOCENTRIC PNEUMATOLOGY

51 Op. cit., 6. We have already expressed our opinion that his use of these words to describe the situation in 2 Cor. 3:17f is mistaken, but they apply in a more general way.
52 Gal. 4:6 and Rom. 8:15.
Paul’s pneumatology is in considerable measure an expression of his Christian apocalyptic. He identifies the future as the age of the Spirit and recognises that many of the transformations that will then take place are already in some sense under way. Our experience of the Spirit is essentially our experience of the age to come. This emphasis on experience of the Spirit as orientating us towards a future existence, which is itself the full expression of the Spirit, is distinctively Pauline and requires explanation.

Background to Paul’s Distinctive Emphasis

There is hardly a sufficiently developed pneumatology in inter-testamental apocalyptic to account for Paul’s understanding of the age to come as an age of the Spirit. In the Old Testament some emphasis was put on the presence of the Divine Ruach as a criterion of the future age and the Messiah was certainly expected to be endowed with the Spirit. Ezekiel and Isaiah both expected God’s ‘vitality’ to transform nature and the relationships of God with His people. But apocalyptic did not develop these expectations. The dualism of flesh and Spirit in Isaiah 31:3 which contrasts the strength and power of God with the frailty of His creatures became expressed in other terms—chiefly in a Heaven/earth dualism. Even the Qumran community, which tended to be more conscious of the presence of Ruach than other sections of Judaism, only related future experience of the Spirit to the function of cleansing Israel from sin.

When we attempt to ascertain what Paul drew from his rabbinic background we must proceed with utmost caution for rather disparate claims are made for the importance of the Holy Spirit in rabbinic theology. Here again the Messiah was expected to be endowed with the Spirit. Beyond this Rabbinic Judaism appears to have held a hope for the Spirit which bound it to Israel and to the future age. The Spirit given would be poured out universally as the Spirit of prophecy (Num. R. 15:25) upon those whom the Spirit had brought to life (Ex. R. 48:(102d)) in the resurrection of the just. How close a parallel this is to Paul’s thought is difficult to assess because the Spirit of prophecy, however much we stress the implications for moral renewal, is merely a benefit of the age to come, not constitutive of it.

Paul has considerably developed the pneumatology that he was heir to as a Jew and as a Rabbi, though its elements may still be detected. It was quite possibly his rabbinic background that allowed him to draw the conclusion that Jesus was raised from the dead by the Spirit (e.g., Rom. 8:11) and also to recognise in the diverse prophetic gifts manifested in his churches (as well as in their corporate nature) the dawning of the age of the Spirit—although we should remember that he regarded worship of the kind at Corinth as merely a foretaste of the fuller worship to come which would be radically different at some points (1 Cor. 13:8f.). Another formative influence on his thinking may well have been the

53 J. D. G. Dunn’s latest work, Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament (London: SCM 1975) which was published during the time that this manuscript was being typed up maintains a similar position (cf., especially pp. 308-318).

54 I regret that J. S. Vos’s work Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur paulinischen Pneumatologie (Assen 1973) has not yet been available to me. Space permits only the sparse comments made below and I have made no attempt to cite the enormous literature on the subject.

early preaching of the Church which depicted Jesus as one who by the Spirit worked miracles of the Kingdom.  

The Apostle has taken these important elements and moulded them and developed them in such a way as to give them an entirely new stamp. H. Gunkel tried to express Paul’s originality in the claim that he was the first to ethicise the Spirit. In stating the matter this crudely he was undoubtedly wrong. Ruach in Judaism—especially at Qumran—was already associated with ethical life. Nevertheless there remains a grain of truth in Gunkel’s thesis; Paul did give to Pneuma a very distinctive ethical quality, but this was only a side effect of the much greater modification he wrought. Paul’s essential contribution lies in the interreaction of his modified apocalyptic and his Christocentric pneumatology.

Paul’s vision of the risen Lord, resurrected and glorified in the Spirit, gave him a Christology that was important in his early preaching. Christ, depicted as the image of God and the second Adam, was presented as an archetype of a new humanity. At the same time Paul received a future and apocalyptic focus for his understanding of the nature and work of the Spirit. The Spirit had brought Jesus to fullness of glory as σώμα πνευματικόν. This one act revealed the nature of the Spirit as the life principle of the age to come. The same Spirit who raised Jesus as the firstfruits from the dead will bring the full harvest in the last day. The Spirit who through resurrection constituted Christ as the Second Adam would conform us to his image and with this blue-print of the Spirit’s activity before his eyes Paul could the more readily see that the process of transformation was already under way. The ethics of the Spirit consists precisely in the putting on of the Christ who is in the heavenly places, where the age to come is anticipated (Col. 3:10 and Gal. 3:27) and where eventually we shall fully bear the image of God’s Son when we too enter that existence of which the Spirit is the very life-principle. Christian experience may be summed up epigrammatically as ‘Christ now’ by the Spirit as first instalment of ‘Christ then’ by the Spirit.

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56 That the early preaching had this character has been argued in the context of a different thesis by G. N. Stanton, Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching (Cambridge: CUP, 1974), especially chs. 3 and 4. A combination of an understanding of the Spirit as the power behind miracles of the new age and a recognition of the Spirit of prophecy possibly led Paul to recognise the Galatian experience (3:1-5) as the outworking of Pneuma. In this context Paul’s statements about the Galatians receiving the Spirit almost have the sense that they then received the power of the Spirit (cf., J. Kremer, Pfingstbericht and Pfingstgeschehen (Stuttgart: KBW, 1973) 28ff), but if such distinction can be made at all in Paul we must nevertheless remember that the Galatian experience of the power of the Spirit was temporally coincident with (and evidence of) Spirit-reception in Paul’s more usual sense, for the argument of Gal. 3-6 is derived from the pneumatology we have outlined above.


58 Further, exactly the sort of evidence that Gunkel draws upon to demonstrate his view that earliest Christianity used pneuma as an explanation of the miraculous, and did not think of the Spirit in ethical terms, could be used against him, for he mainly relied on the miracle tradition in Acts and a number of these (e.g., Acts 5:1-11) are intensely ethical!