PROLEGOMENA TO THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS LITERARY AFFINITIES

By

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The Epistle to the Ephesians has four main problems — those of its destination, its authorship, its date, and its literary affinities. In this study I have primarily concerned myself with the last of these problems though some attention has necessarily been paid to the remaining three since the four are complementary. The examination of any one of these problems requires a treatment of the others; while the particular investigation in progress serves to cast light on the temporarily secondary problems. I have, therefore, included brief discussions (at what appear to be the most natural points) of the destination, authorship, and date of the Epistle.

Still the major part of my essay has been given over to an enquiry into the nature and extent of the literary relationships of Ephesians. Throughout I have assumed that Ephesians is directly linked with Colossians in the most intimate manner — a fact which no student of the New Testament will dispute — and I have turned to the question of the literary relations which may exist between Ephesians and writings of the New Testament other than Colossians. It is unfortunately true that the peculiar fascination of the Ephesian-Colossian problem has tended to blind enquirers to the quite extensive use of the rest of the Pauline Corpus made by the writer of Ephesians. On the other hand the failure to recognize or the temptation to ignore the vast amount of 'common' and catechetical material that underlies many documents within the New
Testament has often led to an over-enthusiastic detection of direct 'parallels' and dependencies between Ephesians and other writings where indeed none exists. This is particularly true in the case of the supposed interdependence between Ephesians and James and 1 Peter.

In treating the problem of the literary affinities of Ephesians I have in Part I set out without comment all the 'parallels' between Ephesians and other writings of the New Testament which many scholars have at various times felt to be valid.

Having thus displayed the data, real or supposed, I have next endeavoured in Part II to uncover 'common' and catechetical elements that are incorporated in Ephesians and other documents of the New Testament.

In Part III I have scrutinized the data given in Part I in the light of my findings in Part II.

The result of this final examination has been to demonstrate that the literary affinities of Ephesians are very many fewer than is often thought. Indeed it is only with the fully Pauline Corpus that direct affinities are to be found.

Throughout this study I have constantly been under a great debt to previous workers in this field even if I have often disagreed with their conclusions. In Part II my indebtedness has been considerable and from four scholars in particular I have derived the greatest assistance. These are P. Carrington, E. J. Goodspeed, A. H. Hunter, and E. G. Selwyn.
The Greek Text of the New Testament which I have used is that of Eberhard Nestle. All citations in English from the New Testament are from The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament, New York, 1946; all from the Old Testament are from the Authorized Version of 1611. All citations in Greek from the Old Testament are from H. B. Swete's edition of the Septuagint.

The enumeration of the footnotes recommences at the beginning of each Part of this study.

July, 1950.                        A. C. K.
iv.

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PART I.

A. The Destination of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

i. The Reading ἐν Ἐφεσῳ in Eph. 1:1.

To whom is the Epistle addressed? The answer to this question is largely conditioned by the view taken of the words 'at Ephesus' in 1:1. The problem is that of deciding whether the indication of place in the opening salutation is or is not original. If it is original the riddle of the Epistle is by no means solved for other difficulties would still have to be met from the internal evidence of the Epistle. If it is not original, there remains the further riddle as to whither the Epistle was written, or indeed even if it ever carried a particular address at all.

The main facts of the external evidence concerning the words 'at Ephesus' are as follow:

The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus did not at first read 'at Ephesus'. In the cursive 424 the words are marked for non-insertion by the corrector, and in 463 they are not included. That is to say, four outstanding authorities for the text of the New Testament omit the reading 'at Ephesus'.

2. Formerly known as 67.
Besides this evidence there is the testimony of certain ancient writers. Thus Origen's exegesis of Eph. 1:1 makes it perfectly clear that 'at Ephesus' was not in his copy of the Epistle. It is inconceivable that Origen would have resorted to a metaphysical explanation of the phrase τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς ὦσιν, arguing from Ex. 3:14 and 1 Cor. 1:28, if the local designation had been present in his text. In the century following Origen there is a statement of great interest from Basil in which he asserts that the words 'at Ephesus' were absent from the older copies of the Epistle to which he had access, and not only that, but also that the tradition he had received from earlier writers confirmed their absence. Almost certainly he has Origen in mind when he appeals to tradition, for Basil offers the same interpretation of 'the saints who are ...' as his great predecessor. The importance of Basil's comment lies not in his interpretation, which has been influenced by Origen, but in his observation that the old manuscripts extant in his day had no place name after 'who are ...'. The deduction is obvious. Origen did not know the reading 'at Ephesus'. Basil, a hundred years later, did know this reading, but he knew it, on his own implication, only from some manuscripts and these were not old copies of the Epistle but recent ones.

Still another piece of evidence is provided by Marcion. In his 'Apostolicon' he entitled Ephesians 'ad Laodicanos'. This
evoked the censure of Tertullian who assailed Marcion for having falsified the received title of the Epistle. There is a certain amount of dubiety attached to the meaning of 'titulus', but as used by Tertullian it appears to imply the superscription alone. From this it is plain that Marcion could not have read 'at Ephesus'. If 'at Ephesus' had been in the address of the Epistle as known to Marcion he could hardly have entitled it "ad Laodicenos". Indeed Marcion's testimony is of very great value, for he can have been moved by no bias on this occasion and his evidence is that of a very old writer who was closer to the apostolic age than any other relevant witness and who, in addition, lived during the first half of the second century in a province of Asia Minor. Of course there is always the possibility that Marcion's title may have been due to an inference on his part. He doubtless observed that Ephesians strongly resembled Colossians and that at the end of Colossians (4:16) mention was made of a Laodicean epistle. But, even if this be the case, it still points to the conclusion that Marcion's copy or copies of Ephesians lacked the phrase 'at Ephesus'.

But Tertullian's criticism of Marcion reveals implicitly an interesting feature of the manuscripts which Tertullian himself had at his disposal. Perhaps Tertullian's remarks may even cast some light on the original reading of the Latin version for the pristine form of that text can only be somewhat inadequately reconstructed from the writings of the Latin Fathers. The reason for this is simple. The principal surviving manuscripts of the
Latin version are D, E, and G. All three are Graeco-Latin manuscripts and the tendency to bring the Latin into line with the Greek would be exceedingly strong in an instance like that under consideration. Further, the oldest of these three manuscripts is to be placed in the sixth century. What Tertullian has to say, then, may indicate the original reading of the Latin version. Now the manuscripts Tertullian used could not have had the local designation in Eph. 1:1. Would Tertullian have appealed solely to Church tradition, veritas ecclesiae, if he had had 'at Ephesus' in his text? Had Tertullian read the place-name in the address of the Epistle he could easily have invalidated the Marcionite title by quoting it. But he never suggests that he had anything in his copy of the Epistle with which to confound Marcion. Even if 'titulus' should here refer to the first few words of the Epistle and not simply to the superscription the inference remains unaltered. The fact is that Tertullian did not seek to find support from the manuscripts of the Epistle. He relied exclusively on the tradition and authority of the Church, maintaining that the canonical title must be the correct one since the Church had always said so. There is only one deduction to be drawn from the data. Tertullian had no textual evidence, no reading 'at Ephesus', to bring against Marcion.

Besides Tertullian, there are a few other Latin Fathers to be noticed, though their importance for the present purpose is slight. It is possible, but by no means certain or even probable,
that these writers either did not read the word 'Ephesi' in the texts they employed or else were indebted to manuscripts in which the position of 'Ephesi' fluctuated and by so doing gave a hint of its later interpolation.

Thus Victorinus Afer has been held to have known a different ordering of the words in Eph. 1:1. As his text stands he seems to be committed to the interpretation of Origen. But the fact is that Victorinus gives not the slightest clue that he followed Origen's exegesis. Indeed elsewhere he quotes the passage in the normal way. Probably the words of Victorinus have been subject to some scribal error in the course of transcription.

Ambrosiaster certainly has nothing to say on the word 'Ephesi' in his comment on Eph. 1:1, but it would be rash to conclude that he did not have the word in his copy. Indeed the likelihood of its omission is considerably lessened when it is recalled that this Father has nothing to say on the place-name in his corresponding comments on Galatians and Colossians.

Much later Sedulius Scotus expressed himself in a somewhat puzzling way on the first verse of Ephesians. The difficulties inherent in his comment are of a subtle character and it cannot be said definitely either that Sedulius knew or did not know the reading 'Ephesi'. But the weight of evidence tends to favour the inference that he may have been familiar with a text which included 'Ephesi'.

On the whole there is no reasonable evidence that the texts used by certain early Latin Fathers, with the exception of
Tertullian, did not have the local designation or did not include it in its customary position. According to what Jerome has to say on the passage it would seem that centuries before Sedulius Scotus 'Ephesi' was found in the Latin copies of the Epistle. Jerome may not in fact have known of any manuscript that lacked the place-name, for clearly he does not appreciate the hermeneutic difficulty that faced, for example, Origen and forced him to an ontological explanation.

To sum up the data supplied by the foregoing Latin Fathers, excepting Tertullian, requires extreme caution. It may be that they did not know the reading 'Ephesi', or that they were acquainted with the place-name but in a slightly different position in the text. On the other hand this is at the most a possibility, perhaps merely a critical conjecture. There is not one unassailable fact to be brought forward in support of any theory to the effect that they were ignorant of, or omitted, 'Ephesi'. Still there is left the element of doubt which prevents the opposite conclusion from being drawn with absolute confidence. Nevertheless the evidence as it stands swings in favour of the view that the reading 'Ephesi' was probably in the texts of these Latin Fathers.

At this point a brief recapitulation of the facts reviewed is necessary. But before summing up these facts and before forming an opinion as to their import, it is only fair to point out that the Textus Receptus, a great number of manuscripts, and all the versions support the reading 'at Ephesus'.

The only two versions about which there can be any query are
the Latin and the Old Syriac. In the case of the former
suspicion as to the originality of its support of the reading
'at Ephesus' rests on the rather unsafe foundation of conjectural
possibility; while in the case of the latter any suspicion there
may be springs from evidence of the flimiest sort. The witness
of these versions, however, is not so impressive as might
initially appear. The oldest surviving manuscripts of any of the
versions that include the opening sentence of Ephesians are the
best part of three hundred years after $\text{P}^{46}$ and at least two
hundred years after $\text{K}$ and $\text{B}$. Obviously, too, the manuscripts
of the versions must be much further removed from the manuscripts
to which Origen and Basil resorted than they are from $\text{K}$ and $\text{B}$.

But what are the facts that have emerged from the main dis­
cussion, and to what conclusion do they lead?

$\text{P}^{46}$, $\text{K}$, $\text{B}$, and 424 do not read 'at Ephesus'. Origen in
the third century does not know the reading; while Basil in the
following century states unequivocally that the words were not
found in the ancient manuscripts that he had seen and so, by
implication, were present only in the more recent ones. The
evidence of these two Fathers is strengthened by the fact that
Marcion regarded the Epistle as written to the Laodiceans.
Tertullian at the beginning of the third century does not seem to
have known the reading 'at Ephesus'.

The recent Greek manuscripts obliquely alluded to by Basil
in the second half of the fourth century are the first that can be
definitely stated to include the words 'at Ephesus'. To put the
mater otherwise, there is no direct evidence that any Greek manuscript before the 'modern' ones known to Basil in the fourth century contained the place-name.

Such textual evidence as this is compelling and demonstrates beyond all reasonable doubt that the reading 'at Ephesus' is not original.

ii. The Internal Evidence of the Epistle.

Having examined the evidence supplied by certain manuscripts and by several patristic writers concerning the destination of the Epistle, and in particular concerning the reading 'at Ephesus', it is now necessary to consider the internal data provided by the Epistle itself. What has to be determined is whether or not the inner witness of the Epistle is compatible with its having been sent solely or primarily to the Church at Ephesus.

If, for the moment, the position is adopted that Paul is the writer of Ephesians then a number of surprising features at once emerge.

(1) "Like all true letters, those of St. Paul were occasional in their origin. He did not compose them as studies in theology, or as treatises on Christian doctrine which he desired to give to the world; even the Epistle to the Romans is only an apparent, not a real, exception. Events of moment to him and his converts called them into being. He was appealed to on some point of faith or conduct, and he replied. Or, he heard good news, or received tokens of
affection, and he wrote to express his joy, to encourage, and
to exhort. Again, he heard of the presence of teachers who
calumniated him, denied his authority, and undermined the faith
of his followers. This drew forth his bold definitions of
doctrine, his impassioned defences of the gospel, and his no
less impassioned apologies for his own life".

Put briefly, this question simply states that behind each
of the Pauline Epistles there lies a concrete situation, a
situation that can be detected, and a situation that serves both
as background to and occasion of the particular writing. Even
a cursory glance at the Epistles of Paul makes this assertion
abundantly plain. There is but one Pauline Epistle that does
not conjure up a definite set of circumstances and that is
Ephesians. It alone does not envisage a clearly outlined,
precise state of affairs. Something must obviously have
occasioned its composition, but what that elusive factor was, is,
on the assumption of Pauline authorship, unknown or at the best
only to be partly known as the result of weighing against one
another a series of mere probabilities. In this respect
Ephesians is unique within the Pauline Corpus. If the Epistle
were chiefly intended, or only intended, for the Ephesian
Church, a Church so well known to Paul, this lack of local
colour and circumstance is indeed remarkable.5

(2) With the solitary exception of the mention of Tychicus in
6:21 no person is named in Ephesians, apart of course from Paul
himself. This phenomenon is unparalleled in any of the Pauline
letters unless perhaps in Romans. Paul normally named persons in his letters so far as we possess them. Further, it is worth observing that he singled out individuals both when writing to churches which he knew at first hand and also when writing to churches which he knew only from hearsay.

5. The only passage that reveals anything like a concrete situation is 6:21-22, and it is very general and of little importance to the present issue.

In Ephesians Paul does not link his name with that of another in the opening salutation. He writes simply in his own name. He does not mention anyone by name throughout the body of the letter. At the close of the Epistle in 6:21 he refers to Tychicus alone. No personal greetings are sent. Yet Paul had worked in Ephesus for three years. Moreover, if Ephesians is Pauline, it must be very close to Colossians and Timothy was with him when Colossians was written. But there is nothing in Ephesians corresponding to the numerous intimate touches of Col. 4:10-18. Yet Paul did not know Colossae at first hand, while he did so know Ephesus. On the other hand perhaps it would be wrong to lay too much stress, in the case of Ephesians, on the lack of greetings to individual members of the church if the Epistle were indeed addressed to Ephesus. In writing to the Corinthian and Philippian churches, which he knew intimately, Paul includes no special salutations. In writing to Colossae,
of which he had but second hand knowledge, he includes several salutations. The reason may be that in writing to a community of strangers it was easier and more tactful to single out friends than when corresponding with a well known church. Still it does seem odd if Ephesians were sent to Ephesus that it is so bereft of personal references. Their absence, indeed, runs counter to antecedent probability. Even when Paul did write letters lacking greetings, e.g., the Thessalonians Epistles, those letters at least contained personal allusions. The only intimate touch in the whole of Ephesians is the phrase "my brethren" in 6:10, and that is an insertion omitted by the best texts.

6. In Col. 4:10-18 nine persons are actually named; see verses 10,11,12,14,15,17. Groups of Christians are anonymously alluded to in verses 13,15,16.

7. See Col. 2:1.

8. The words have probably entered Ephesians through an attempt to make this passage conform with others where το λαον or λαον or τον λαον is found. Compare 1 Cor. 7:29; 2 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 3:1; 4:8; 1 Thess. 4:1; 2 Thess. 3:1.

(3.) It would seem, too, that the Writer of Ephesians was personally unknown to the recipients. This inference is drawn from Eph. 1:15; 3:2; and 4:21.

a In Eph. 1:15 Paul says that, because he has heard of his readers' faith in the Lord Jesus and their love towards their fellow Christians, he does not cease to give thanks
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for them and to remember them in his prayers.

'Ακούσας has been explained as referring to that advance in the faith which the Ephesians had made since Paul had last been among them. But in this case what explanation can be given of the fact that progress in the faith is the very thing that Paul prays that his readers may have only two verses further on (1:17 ff.)? Others have sought to avoid the difficulty inherent in 'Ακούσας by maintaining that the Epistle was composed before Paul had reached Ephesus. But the Epistle can hardly have been written prior to Paul's lengthy stay at Ephesus if only because of its intimate relationship to Colossians and Philemon. Again this explanation tacitly assumes that some one other than Paul must have been the founder of the Ephesian Church. Yet when Paul reached Ephesus in the first instance there was no Christian Church there if we may judge from Acts 18:19. Between this visit of Paul to Ephesus and his eventual settling there some Christian teaching was done (Acts 18:24-26), but in the synagogue, and even Paul taught in the synagogue for the initial three months of his Ephesian residence (Acts 19:8). As Moffatt says of this view of 'Ακούσας, it is "a desperate hypothesis which need not be seriously refuted."

In the present section of Ephesians 'Ακούσας apparently

10.e.g. Theodore of Mopsuestia.
points to recipients whom Paul knew only by hearsay. That this is indeed the case appears to be established by the parallel term in Col. 1:4, for Paul did not know the Colossian church. A useful comparative phrase is also provided by Col. 1:9, while Rom. 1:8 carries virtually the same sense of derived knowledge as do the Colossian passages and the Roman church was not of Paul's founding. But Paul was the father of the Ephesian church. How could he have spoken of the faith of its members as something of which he had merely 'heard'? He obviously must have had direct personal experience of it. It would be extremely difficult, if not quite impossible, to find anything in any of the letters to churches planted by Paul himself corresponding to this unexpected phrase.

b. In Eph. 3:2, εἴ ὅτι ἀκούσατε ..., a great deal has been made of the precise force of εἴ ὅτι the question principally debated being whether εἴ ὅτι is used in the New Testament of matters that are certain or whether an element of real doubt is always present. Apart from Eph. 3:2 and 4:21 εἴ ὅτι occurs at the most four times in the New Testament, i.e. probably in Rom. 5:6 and 2 Cor. 5:3, and certainly in Gal. 3:4 and Col. 1:23. In these four instances it appears that the employment of εἴ ὅτι

in Paul is little more than a rhetorical device. The doubt inherent in ἐὰν ὤ is admittedly theoretically present, but the statement that in each case follows is virtually a certainty. In brief ἐὰν ὤ by itself does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the recipients were in ignorance of what had been entrusted to Paul. For this reason it cannot fairly be inferred that the use of ἐὰν ὤ ἠκούσατε in 3:2 definitely disproves that Paul is writing to the Ephesian church where he was a familiar figure.

Nevertheless on other grounds it is warrantable to deduce that Paul is not here addressing persons whom he had himself taught. For, as Abbott remarks, the phrase, "could not be used of a fact in the writer's own experience. A preacher addressing a strange congregation might say 'I am sure' or even 'I know that you have been taught so and so', but no preacher addressing those whom he himself had taught would ordinarily express himself in this way."14

c. Eph. 4:21 is open to the same arguments as were applied to 3:2, and leads to the same view, namely, that it is not the kind of expression that a writer would usually resort to when addressing Christians whom he had personally instructed in the faith.

Thus in Eph. 3:2 and 4:21 it is how Paul writes, rather than what he writes, that provides a distinct clue pointing towards a non-Ephesian destination for the Epistle. On the other hand, it is highly probable that Paul did in fact doubt whether his readers

had heard of his divine commission. It has been shown that the form of the language in 3:2 and 4:21 tells against Ephesus. It should now be demonstrated that the contents of the entire section 3:1-12 lead to a simple finding. The evidence led in the following paragraph will clearly illustrate that Paul did question whether his readers were familiar with his mission and took pains to explain it to them in order to remove their ignorance.

(4.) For instance 3:7 ff. seems a peculiar passage for Paul to have written to the Ephesian church which he had founded. If the passage is addressed to that Church then it verges on the platitudinous. Would a man writing to a church which he had started, and one moreover that had always held him in the highest regard, carefully explain that he was a minister of the gospel and had been given grace to preach to such people as he had preached to at Ephesus? This passage carries a bilateral implication; first, that Paul did genuinely doubt the extent of his reader's knowledge in 3:2 and so went off into the whole explanatory section 3:2-3:12; second, that Paul should have felt such an explanation necessary indicates that he was not the founder of the church to which his readers belonged. How can this implication be accounted for if he were writing to Ephesus?

The impression that Paul is speaking as though his readers' first conception of his view of Christianity were derived from the present letter is confirmed by other remarks, e.g., in 1:13; 4:1 ff.; 4:21., where by the Apostle hints that the preaching to which the recipients owed their faith was an activity
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in which he had had no personal share.\(^{15}\)

(5) Again, the Epistle appears to be the first communication between Paul and the recipients. The only possible hint to the contrary would be in 3:3, \(καθὼς προέγραψα ἐν ὄλιγῳ\). But it can be shown that \(προέγραψο\), whatever its precise sense, does not refer to an earlier communication, but to a passage in the letter which the Apostle had just written — in all probability to 2:11-22.

(6) A further curiously impersonal feature of the letter, akin to (2) supra, is the absence of anything by which to differentiate the readers from other Christians. Indeed the only point by which the recipients are marked out is their Gentile origin in 2:1 f.; 2:11 f.; 3:1-13; 4:17-24. Perhaps it is of interest to note that Paul had also laboured with success among the Jews at Ephesus according to Acts 19:10 and 20:21\(^{16}\).

None of these six points that have been discussed can by itself be held to be decisive against the possibility of the writer of Ephesians having had direct personal knowledge of his readers.

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15. Paul makes these references in Ephesians just as he does in his letter to the Church at Colossae where he had not preached. Compare Col. 1:5f or 2:6. He does not, as in Col. 1:17, mention the missionary who had instructed the readers in the faith. The inference from this is that, while Epaphras was with Paul and told him of his concern for the Colossians, no such personal bond existed between Paul and the readers of Ephesians.

16. Eph.1:11-12 and 2:1f. do not modify this view. Paul may be, probably is, referring to Jewish Christians, rather than to the old Israel. But he does so only to emphasize that Gentiles are now fully members of the Church. The Jewish priority was strictly temporal in its nature. Those passages do not imply that there was a Jewish section among the recipients.
But a merely atomistic attitude to the facts is inadequate. The cumulative effect of these features is remarkable and seems to prove conclusively that the writer did not know the recipients. If this is so, and if the Epistle is regarded as having been written by Paul, then it cannot conceivably have been addressed, solely or primarily, to the Ephesian church. Even the benediction at the end of the letter is in the third person, a phenomenon unknown in any Pauline or sub-Pauline writing.

Thus the internal evidence of the Epistle itself tells against an Ephesian destination. The vague impersonal tone of the letter is unintelligible on the supposition that it was addressed to Ephesus where Paul had spent the greater part of three years (Acts 20:21, 25,31,37,38). Nor is it of any avail to say that this unusual lack of epistolary warmth would have been made good orally by Tychicus who was to carry and deliver the letter. The other letters which are full of personal matter were also personally conveyed, e.g., Titus and the Corinthian correspondence. As a matter of fact letters could only be privately delivered in New Testament times. The Imperial post, based on the Persian model, was for official use only. "Even if it had been otherwise, it is obvious that the Apostolic communications could only be entrusted with safety to Christian messengers in full sympathy with their object, who would be able to reinforce and supplement the message they contained." So far as the Epistle to the Ephesians is

17. 2 Cor. 2:13, 7:6, 13 f.
concerned the conclusion cannot be avoided that "Nowhere do we see more of the Apostle and the less of the man in St. Paul; nowhere more of the Church, and less of this or that particular church." 19 Could a letter from Paul to his beloved Ephesian church ever have merited this accurate description? 20

The internal evidence of the Epistle must now be examined from another standpoint, namely that Paul is not the author of Ephesians, but that it is the work of a sub-Paulinist. Working on this assumption too an Ephesian destination for the Epistle seems to be ruled out. The point immediately springs to mind that anyone writing in another's name usually takes considerable pains to add vraisemblance to his production. This is precisely what the unknown writer of Ephesians does not do. He may be making such an attempt in 6:21-22, on the model of Colossians, but the attempt is feeble and so belated as to have little, if any, value. His obvious course of action would have been to stress Paul's intimate relationship with the Ephesian Church, for if the Epistle was originally intended for that Church, this emphasis would have been natural and in harmony with Pauline practice. But the writer of


20. W. Bartlett in an article in The Expositor (Eighth Series, Vol. XVIII, pgs. 327-341) contends that the Epistle is not destitute of local or personal colouring. He explains the elevated and 'distant' tone of Ephesians as being due to Paul's joy in writing to a church in which, for the first time, the Gentile Christian element had come to outnumber the Jewish Christian section.
Ephesians does not do this. Rather he achieves the opposite effect. He infers on more than one occasion that Paul had no direct contact with the church addressed. It is unthinkable that any sub-Paulinist writing a letter to Ephesus in Paul's name would have followed so unnatural a course. Thus on the supposition that a pseudo-Paul composed the Epistle the internal evidence is decidedly against an Ephesian destination.

Therefore, whether Paul is or is not the author of the Epistle, the internal evidence tells the same story that, wherever the Epistle was sent, it was certainly not despatched only or chiefly to Ephesus.

iii. Tradition in the Early Church.

The reading 'at Ephesus' is not original and the internal evidence of the Epistle is markedly against an exclusively Ephesian destination. Against these facts has to be set the witness of the early Church.

Back into the second century the view was current that the Epistle was addressed to the Ephesians and by the end of that century this view seems to have been widely held, otherwise it is difficult to explain. Tertullian's bitter attack on Marcion for having altered the title to 'adLaodicensos'. The compiler of the Muratorian Canon, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen all regard the Epistle as a letter to the Ephesians.

The only scholar known by name to have dissented from this standpoint is Marcion and his dissent is of considerable importance. He belonged to Asia Minor and his testimony is more ancient than
that of any of the writers mentioned. Now it is obvious, on
the one hand, in this instance at least, Marcion can hardly
have been influenced by doctrinal considerations; while, on
the other hand, it is extremely improbable that he would have
made the emendation simply on the basis of Col. 4:16 if the
Epistle clearly carried an Ephesian address and if that
address were universally accepted. But if the reason for
Marcion's alteration is to be found neither in theology nor
in highly speculative conjecture, then the question remains
as to where it is to be detected. To this there seems to be
but one answer, namely that Marcion heard tradition speaking
with more than one voice, and amid the confusion he adopted,
on grounds now lost, the critical position that the Epistle
was actually sent to Laodicea. This explanation appears to be
strengthened by the fact that, although Marcion is the only
scholar who can be named as differing from the accepted view
of the Church, there were others according to Tertullian.
For Tertullian does not assail Marcion alone but those also
whom he calls 'haeretici'.

This, then completes the review of the data that have
to be borne in mind when attempting to solve the riddle of
the destination of Ephesians.

21. Marcion may, of course, have been influenced by Col.
4:16 and by the obvious resemblances between Ephesians
and the Colossian letter.
22. Moffatt, Introduction, pg. 394n., makes an interesting
observation on Ignatius. He writes, 'While his letter
to Ephesus has traces of 'Ephesians', it never suggests
that the latter had special Ephesian associations ... he
does not remind the Ephesians of Paul's letter to
them, as Clemens Rom. does the Corinthian Church.'
iv. **Summary of the Evidence relevant to the Problem of Destination.**

(1) The reading at Ephesus in 1:1 is not original.

(2) The internal evidence of the Epistle does not support the letter's having been addressed solely or primarily to Ephesus.

(3) All Greek manuscripts and translations have the title 'Ephesians'. 'Orthodox' Church tradition supports this.

(4) Marcion, and others unknown, maintained that the Epistle was addressed 'ad Laodiceanos'.

v. **Conclusion.**

It will be seen that the evidence points in two directions. The facts in groups (1) and (2) supra are opposed to an exclusively Ephesian destination but give no clue as to what the destination, if particular, really was. The facts in group (3) supra favour an Ephesian address. The facts in group (4) supra support a Laodicean destination. That is, an Ephesian address is indicated by data in group (3), and a Laodicean address by data in group (4); while the evidence of groups (1) and (2) only excludes the letter's having been sent solely to Ephesus.

Thus it would appear that any satisfactory theory of the destination of the Epistle would require to permit of the letter's having been destined for Ephesus and for Laodicea but not primarily for either. The hypothesis of a circular letter covers these facts. But it should be remembered that
this is only a hypothesis. Many features point towards it and indeed serve to confirm it; yet it remains simply a theory, a working explanation of certain phenomena which have not so far been accounted for in any better way. With this in mind, 'Ephesians' may be regarded as an encyclical. For it is only when the Epistle is thought of as intended exclusively for Ephesus that textual and internal difficulties become insurmountable; and, on the other hand, if the letter is by Paul, then it is demonstrable that he had the Laodicean church in mind at the time when Ephesians was composed.

Ephesians, therefore, was an encyclical sent to the churches at Ephesus and Laodicea. Other churches, e.g., that at Hierapolis, may have been among the recipients but what their identity was can only be guessed. Indeed the letter may well have encompassed the churches of Proconsular Asia. On this point, however, the past is silent.

The circular letter hypothesis requires, nevertheless, to be examined a little more closely. In its usual form this theory has maintained that Ephesians was borne round a series of churches by Tychicus. But the theory very often bears

23. The very strong tradition of the church almost proves by itself that Ephesus was one of the recipients.
the further refinement that a blank space was left in 1:1 between τοῖς ὁμοιοὶ καὶ πιστοῖς wherein could be placed the name of the local church in the copy intended for it. The reading 'at Ephesus' and the alleged obscurity of the text when the place-name is suppressed have clearly had much to do with this additional elaboration. But the idea of a blank space only creates fresh difficulties. It has too modern a tang about it and is reminiscent of the present day practice of taking carbon copies. And if a space were left to be filled in why was there no place-name in the archetype of Α, Β, 424\(^{26}\), and Π\(^{46}\)? Is it credible that there were spare copies of the letter or that Tychicus or some scribe was so absent-minded as to omit the address in this case? The difficulties of interpretation which have been found in reading τοῖς ἄγιοῖς τοῖς ὁμοιοῖς καὶ πιστοῖς without leaving any space are really of a much less formidable nature than those which arise when a blank space for the place-name is postulated. It may be indeed that this form of the text is not obscure at all, though it is usually assumed to be so. For it is quite possible that the participle (ὁμοιοί) is here being employed idiomatically as elsewhere in

\(^{26}\) In the case of 424 it is more accurate to say that there was no place-name in the copy available to the corrector, since in 424 the corrector marks 'at Ephesus' for non-insertion.

\(^{27}\)/
the New Testament. It is most important to observe that in Acts the participle of 

\[ \epsilon\iota\nu \] 
sometimes has a local or temporal force and carries the sense of 'local' or 'current'. If this usage is to be found here an intelligible rendering results, namely, "to the local saints and believers in Christ Jesus". This would fit perfectly into the pattern of an encyclical. There is no longer any obscurity or hermeneutic difficulty, the 'local saints' and 'believers' being clearly mutually definitive terms with a common reference. 

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28. A selection of suggestions as to what can be made of Eph. 1:1 if it is left with a blank space or if it reads 

\[ \tau\alpha\zeta\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma \]

shows the difficulties that have been felt, especially with the participle. Thus:—

(1) Shearer, W.C., Expository Times, vol. IV., pg. 129 suggests 

\[ \tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\varsigma \iota \varsigma \iota \varsigma \]

(2) Ewald, P., Die Briefe des Paulus an die Epheser, Kolosser und Philemon, (Zahn: Kommentar zum Neuen Testament), Leipzig, 1910, pg. 15, conjectures 

\[ \tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\varsigma \iota \varsigma \kappa\alpha \iota \pi\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma \]

(3) Dibelius, M., Kolosser, Epheser und Philemon, (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament), Tübingen, 1912, pg. 97 thinks the recipients are defined as 

\[ \tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\varsigma \iota \varsigma \iota \varsigma \kappa\alpha \iota \pi\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma \boxplus \varsigma \iota \varsigma \]

(4) Scott, R., The Pauline Epistles, Edinburgh, 1909, pg. 182, reads 

\[ \theta\nu\nu\varepsilon\sigma\omega \Box \theta\nu\nu\varepsilon\sigma\omega \nu \Box \theta\nu\nu\varepsilon\sigma\omega \tau \Box \theta\nu\nu\varepsilon\sigma\omega \] 

and


\[ \epsilon\nu \Box \iota \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron\omicron\lambda\omicron \omicron \]
But if this is a correct account of the original condition of the letter, then how did 'at Ephesus' enter the text and how did it come to be entitled 'Ephesians'? To these questions only tentative answers can be given. Probably the letter came to be associated with Ephesus for a variety of reasons. (1) The letter was an encyclical and tradition would seem to affirm that it went to Ephesus, though to other places as well. The original letter may have been transcribed at Ephesus and the local designation added in the course of transcription since the letter actually was, in a sense, a letter to Ephesus. (2) The Pauline Corpus was probably assembled at Ephesus and it may have been felt that this great 'unattached letter' should be dedicated to the important Ephesian Church which had no letter of its own. (3) Perhaps the mention of Tychicus in Eph. 6:21 was coupled with 2 Tim. 4:12, "Tychicus I have sent to Ephesus", and the critical inference drawn that the Epistle was intended for Ephesus. (4) It is quite likely that the insertion of a place-name was due to a desire to make the letter conform with Paul's normal epistolary practice.

Marcion's view that the Epistle was destined for Laodicea would spring from comparable causes. The letter did go to Laodicea in its cycle and Marcion may have seen a local copy bearing that name. But a modern development of Marcion's position to the effect that the Epistle to the 'Ephesians' was originally only intended for Laodicea is
altogether untenable. The absence of local colour tells as much against Laodicea as against Ephesus especially in the light of Colossians which was sent to a Church unknown directly to Paul. Nor is the explanation that the Laodicean address was suppressed in view of the ill-fame that came to be associated with that Church. (Rev. 3:14 ff.) at all persuasive. There is sound precedent for erasure of the name on account of the later acquisition of notoriety. But what is inexplicable is why the Laodicean church did not win back its title to the letter when it regained a fair reputation after only a comparatively brief lapse. It is much more natural to suppose that 'Ephesians' came to be linked with Laodicea because that town may have been chosen as the centre of circulation in the eastern area of the Epistle's scope just as in all probability Ephesus was for the western. Of course this is not to say that the reference in Col. 4:16 is not to Ephesians as it went on its rounds. It may well be, for there we read of a letter"from Laodicea". On the other hand Col. 4:16 may refer just as easily to a letter now lost.

Thus the circular letter hypothesis seems in a reasonably adequate manner to cover all the relevant data. It accounts

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29. For a detailed study of 'The Epistle from Laodicea', with the Latin text of the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans and a reconstructed Greek text, see Lightfoot, J.B., St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, London, 3rd ed., 1879, pgs. 272-298.
for the textual phenomena, the internal evidence of the Epistle, the tradition of the Church, the view of Marcion, and, if it is felt necessary, the reference in Col. 4:16.

B. The Literary Affinities of the Epistle to the Ephesians: the Data.

i. Introduction to the Problem.

The chief problem of the Epistle, however, is not that of its destination, but that of its inter-reations with other New Testament writings. The conclusions reached after an examination of this problem determine the answer to be given to the further problems of the Epistle's authorship and date.

The relationships of Ephesians show various degrees of intensity, being in some instances seen in no more than community of outlook on this or that Christian topic, but in others being revealed in a parallelism of identical thought and language. Between these two extremes are to be detected intermediate gradations of affinity. In other words, the relations of Ephesians run from those simply due to a shared background to those due to a more direct and formal type of dependence. It is with these latter that this study is primarily concerned, although it is impossible to discuss this particular type of relationship without often passing over into the much more spacious realm of affinity in thought that does not involve literary affinity.

The problem is one of great interest. Its study and elucidation makes plain, for example, that much of the
material found in Ephesians in common with other writings is not to be explained, as is so often supposed, in terms of literary indebtedness. It is material which was shared by Christians of the first century in general and which has been deposited in some of the documents that constitute the New Testament. That is, ideas are thrown into relief which are typical of normative contemporary Christianity. This uncovering of theological and ethical elements characteristic of primitive Christianity serves to redress those errors in emphasis which arise from attempts to label certain Christian material as, e.g., Jacobean, Johannine, or Petrine. Indeed the investigation of this problem shows that a considerable proportion of the content of early Christian works is common and apostolic rather than traceable to the particular religious standpoint of some gifted thinker or of some distinct school.

Again the study of literary relationships to some extent demonstrates the methods adopted by the author of Ephesians, whether he be Paul or not, in the composition of his letter. We see how he drew on material before and beside him in time; how he modified it; how he made contributions of his own; how he arranged the whole; how he left the stamp of his personality on the completed work. This in its turn corrects the tendency to imagine that because much in so early a
writer belongs to the common stock of Christian tradition therefore all is to be assigned to the accepted beliefs of the group. The writer of Ephesians, like the writer of any other New Testament document, was dependent and independent. He could be nothing else. He could not write in vacuo, and so partly he relied on and referred to those Christian tenets and practices in which both he and his readers participated. On the other hand he could not have written Ephesians at all unless he had been a remarkably able man, and so we find common material elaborated and primitive germinal notions developed as the result of passing through the mental alembic of a master in spiritual things. When to all this is added the vital factor of the writer's own religious experience it is obvious that there is ample room for original and independent thought.

In the following pages the main data pertinent to the problem of the literary affinities of Ephesians are briefly set out. So far as is possible the value of this data is not assessed at this juncture nor is any attempt made to draw deductions from them. They are simply displayed in order to give a picture of their nature and range. For convenience in reference the evidence is here formally arranged, Ephesians being compared with each relevant writing in turn. This treatment, however

30. Whether Ephesians is by Paul or a sub-Paulinist, the date of the Epistle is in the first century. On various grounds a second century date cannot be accepted.
is not to be understood as overlooking the fact that much material in the various documents overlaps. In the later statements and examinations of the data many features will, therefore, be listed and discussed 'horizontally' since this does greater justice to them than the 'vertical' treatment presupposed in the older synoptic tabulations.

Lastly the temporal aspect of the term 'the literary affinities of Ephesians' is taken in a dual sense. First, it is taken as describing data that prove or suggest that Ephesians is in a direct literary way dependent on an earlier writing or writings; second, as describing data that prove or suggest that a writing (or writings) later than Ephesians is in a direct literary way dependent on that Epistle.

ii. The Literary Affinities of Ephesians: the Data stated in respect of Individual Writings.

(1) Ephesians and the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>St. Matthew</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:6 in the Beloved</td>
<td>3:17. This is my beloved Son ...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17: 5. This is my beloved Son ...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. 12:18 (LXX).</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St. Mark.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:11. Thou art my beloved Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9: 7. This is my beloved Son ...</td>
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</table>


The points of contact between Ephesians and the Gospel of St. Luke are few. But the following deserve attention:
Ephesians.

1:5. The εὐδοκία of God. 1:9 cf.10:21
1:6. ... in the Beloved. 3:22. Thou art my Beloved Son ... 9:35. This is my Son, my Chosen ... (Many manuscripts read 'My Beloved').

2:1,5. The metaphorical use of 'dead'. 15:24, 32.
2:12. Commonwealth. 15:15 one of the citizens of that country.
2:17. far off, cf. 2:12. 15:20, at a distance.
5:7-14, espec. 5:13. Light and Darkness. 11:34-36
5:17. The will of God. 12:47 ... his master's will, etc.
5:18. debauchery. 15-13 in loose living.
6:10-18. Christian alertness and prayer, etc. 21:36.

31. But several important mss. omit the words 'and was carried up into Heaven'. See Plummer, A., The Gospel according to St. Luke, Edinburgh, 5th ed., 1922, pgs. 565-569.
32. Πολιτεία, only elsewhere in the New Testament in Acts 22:23 in sense of 'citizenship'.
35. Ἀσωτος, only occurrence in the New Testament.
There are several parallels between Ephesians and the speech attributed to Paul in Acts 20:18-35. The principal examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>Acts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:11. The divine ( \phi \omega \lambda \gamma ) 20:27.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:14. ... which is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it. 20:28</td>
<td>... the church of the Lord which he obtained for himself with his own blood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:2, cf. 3:6, 7. The Apostle's commission 20:24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4:11. The care of the Church; the pastoral metaphor. 20:28</td>
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</table>

In addition there are the following other affinities,

| 1:7. (Redemption) through his blood 20:28 | ... with his own blood 20:28 |
| 2:20-22; 4:12. The 'building' metaphor 20:32 | |
| 6:6-7; 4:2. Humble service of the Lord. 20:19 | |

36. \( \tau \alpha \varepsilon \nu \omicron \omicron \rho \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \nu \) only occurs here in Luke-Acts. Elsewhere it is only found in the later Pauline Epistles, viz. Eph. 4:2 (if Pauline); Phil. 2:3; Col. 2:18, 23; 3:12 and 1 Pet. 5:5.
Finally the use of certain words in the New Testament is confined to the vocabulary of Luke-Acts and Ephesians, ἀνίμη (Acts 16:26; 27:40; Eph. 6:9 - except for Heb. 13:5 - a quotation from Deut. 31:6; Josh. 1:5); ἀπειλή (Acts 4:29; 9:1; Eph. 6:9); ἐργασία (Lk. 12:58; Acts 16:16, 19; 19:24, 25; Eph. 4:19); ὀσιότης (Lk. 1:75; Eph. 4:24 in both cases associated with δικαλοσύνη); πανοπλία (Lk. 11:22; Eph. 6:11, 13); παθεία (Lk. 2:4; Acts 3:25 - cf. Gen. 12:3; Eph. 3:15); πολιτεία (Acts 22:28; Eph. 2:12); συνκαβίσω (Lk. 22:55; Eph. 2:6); το σωτηρίου (Lk. 2:30; 3:6; Acts. 28:28; Eph. 6-17); φρόνησις (Lk. 1:17; Eph. 1:18); χαρτόν (Lk. 1:28; Eph. 1:6).

Ἐὐαγγελισμός is found only in 2 Tim. 4:5, apart from Acts 21:8 and Eph. 4:11. It would not be unreasonable to append βούλη meaning 'divine counsel', to this list for apart from Luke-Acts and Ephesians it only carries this sense in Heb. 6:17.
(3) Ephesians and the Gospel of St. John, 1 John, and the Johannine Tract 2 John.

It has been said that in Ephesians "there is an approach towards the doctrinal position of the Fourth Gospel and 1 John". 37


Weizsäcker, C. von, The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church, London, Eng. trans. of 2nd ed., 1894-5, vol. 2, pg. 240, says that Ephesians and Colossians aim at a development of Pauline teaching "in a way which presents a real parallel to the Johannine school"; while Dobschutz, E. von, Christian Life in the Primitive Church, London, Eng. trans., 1904, pg.176, writing on Ephesians and 1 Peter remarks that they contain "many echoes of the Johannean world of thought". Note that Scott, E.F., The Fourth Gospel, Edinburgh, 1906, pg. 88, states, "The Epistle to Colossians is the connecting link between the Pauline writings and the Fourth Gospel, in several of its leading conceptions it approaches even more nearly to the Johannine type of thought than the sister Epistle to Ephesians."
**Ephesians and the Gospel of St. John.**

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:4. ... even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world,(^{38}) that we should be holy and blameless before him.</td>
<td>17:24. Father, I desire that they also, whom thou hast given me, may be with me, to behold my glory which thou hast given me in thy love for me before the foundation of the world.(^{33})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1:6. ... in the Beloved. | 3:35. The Father loves the Son... |
| 10:17. For this reason the Father loves me... |
| 17:23, 24, 26, and many other passages. |

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\(^{38}\) The exact phrase \textit{πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου} is only again in New Testament in 1 Pet. 1:20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>St. John</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:9. He has made known to</td>
<td>17:26. I have made known to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us ...</td>
<td>thy name, and I will make it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:10. ... to write all</td>
<td>1:1-18. The Logos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things in him, things in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heaven and things on earth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:13. The word of truth.</td>
<td>1:17. Truth came through Jesus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:22. ... He has put all</td>
<td>3:35. ... has given all things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>things under his feet</td>
<td>into his hand.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:23 ... the fulness of</td>
<td>1:16. ... from his fulness ...</td>
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<td>him ... 1:16. ... from</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>his fulness ...</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>10:10. I came that they might</td>
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<td></td>
<td>have life.</td>
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<tr>
<td>wrath.</td>
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<td>2:14. ... who has made us</td>
<td>10:16. One flock, one shepherd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>both one...</td>
<td>11:52. To gather into one the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>children of God.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:14. ... and has broken</td>
<td>17:20. That they may all be one.</td>
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<tr>
<td>down the dividing wall of</td>
<td>2:19. Destroy this temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hostility.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2:17. And he came and</td>
<td>20:19. Jesus came and stood</td>
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<tr>
<td>preached peace...</td>
<td>among them and said to them, &quot;Peace be with you&quot;.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:22 ... a dwelling place</td>
<td>14:23. If a man loves me, he will</td>
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<tr>
<td>of God in the spirit.</td>
<td>keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:7. grace was given ...</td>
<td>3:34. not by measure that he</td>
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<tr>
<td>according to the measure</td>
<td>gives the spirit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>of Christ's gift.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ascension of Christ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:13. The 'Fulness' of</td>
<td>1:16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Ephesians (Contd.)

5:6. The wrath of God and the disobedient.

cf. 5:8-14

5:25-26. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her, that he might consecrate her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word ... 

Ephesians and 1 John.

Ephesians

1:7. Redemption through the blood of Christ.  
Forgiveness.

4:13. The knowledge of the Son of God.

5:6. Let no one deceive you.

Fruit of Light in all that is true.

5:26. The cleansing of the Church by Christ.

6:16. The overcoming of 'the evil one'.

St. John (Contd.)

3:36

12:35-36  
cf. 3:19-21; 8:12; 12:35

17:19. I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth.

1 John

1:7. The blood of Christ cleanses from sin.


4:6. ... whoever knows God.

3:7. Let no one deceive you.

1:6-7.  
To live in darkness is not to live according to the truth.


2:13, 14. You have overcome 'the evil one'.

3:12. Cain was of 'the evil one'.

5:18. 'The evil one' does not touch the God-born.

5:19. World in the power of 'the evil one'.

17:19.
Ephesians and 2 John.

Ephesians

4:15. Speaking the truth in love.

5:2. Walk in love.

2 John

3. Grace ... will be with us ... in truth and love.

6. This is love - to follow his commandments ... follow love.

(4) Ephesians and the Pauline Corpus: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon.

It is in a comparison of Ephesians with the nine letters of the Pauline Corpus that the most striking affinities in word and substance emerge. This comparison, indeed, has led some scholars, notably Goodspeed,\(^3\)^ to regard Ephesians as a mere mosaic of Pauline thoughts, words and phrases. Such an apparently extreme judgment, however, amounts in fact to very little when it is recalled that the Epistle was written either by Paul or by an enthusiastic sub-Paulinist steeped in the thought-forms of his master.

Nevertheless, the problem remains that notable affinities exist between Ephesians and these nine\(^4\) letters, and this is specially true in the case of Colossians.

39. Goodspeed, E.J., The Meaning of Ephesians, Chicago, 1933, passim. This whole section owes much to his work, though many of his data have been modified or omitted for various reasons.

40. 2 Thess. is regarded as Pauline despite the difficulties.
**Ephesians and Romans.**

**Ephesians**

1:1-2. Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1:5. Sonship.

1:7. Redemption and forgiveness: redemption through his blood.

**Romans**

1:1. Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God ...

1:7. To all God's beloved in Rome, who are called to be saints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

9:5. God who is over all be blessed for ever. Amen.

8:29. For those whom He foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son, in order that he might be the first-born among many brethren. cf.8:15 ... you have received the spirit of sonship. cf.. 8:23. As we wait for adoption as sons...

3:24: ... through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus,

3:25. whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith.

5:9. Since, therefore, we are now justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God.

3:25... because in his divine forbearance he had passed over former sins.
Ephesians (Contd.)

According to the riches of his grace...

1:9. The divine 'mystery', purpose, and revelation: For He has made known to us in all wisdom and insight the mystery of His will, according to His purpose which He set forth in Christ.

1:10... to unite all things in Him...

1:11. The divine purpose and will:
... according to the purpose of him who accomplishes all things according to the counsel of his will...

1:12.

1:13-14. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and have believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit, which is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it...

Romans (Contd.)

the riches of his kindness and forbearance and patience.

c.f. 11:33. O the depth of the riches... of God!

16:25-26. Now to him who is able to strengthen you according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret for long ages but is now disclosed and through the prophetic writings is made known to all nations, according to the command of the eternal God...

8:28... who are called according to His purpose.

cf. 9:11.

13:9. The commandments... are summed up...

cf. 8:28-30.

8:28... according to his purpose.
9:11... in order that God's purpose of election might continue.

cf. 9:23-24; 8:30.

4:11. He received circumcision as a sign or seal of the righteousness which he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised.

41. 'Ἀνακεφαλαίω', only occurrences in New Testament.
Ephesians (Contd.)

1:15-17. For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you...

1:18. that you may know what is the hope to which he has called you, what are the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints.


1:21.

1:23... the Church, which is his body ...

2:1.

2:2. Disobedience.


2:6. The raising of believers with Christ.

2:7... that in the coming ages he might show the immeasurable riches of his grace ....

2:8. Salvation through the gift of grace

2:9. ‘works’.


2:14. For he is our peace...

Romans (Contd.)

1:8-10. First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for all of you, because your faith is proclaimed in all the world. For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers, asking that...

9:23... in order to make known the riches of his glory...

8:34-39. cf. 8:38.

12:5... so we, though many, are one body in Christ. cf. 6:11.

cf. 11:30.

cf. 5:5, 8.

6:5.

9:23 ... in order to make known the riches of his glory ...

3:24,28. cf. chaps. 3-5.

3:27; 4:2; 9:32.


5:1...we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. cf.5:2.
Ephesians (Contd.)

2:18...for through him we both have access in one spirit to the Father.

2:20...Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.

2:22...a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

Romans (Contd.)

5:2. Through him we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand...

9:32-33...They have stumbled over the stumbling-stone, as it is written, "Behold I am laying in Zion a stone ..."

8:9-11. But you are not in the flesh, you are in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God really dwells in you. Any one who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him. But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your Spirits are alive because of righteousness. If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you.

15:15...because of the grace given me by God...

16:25-26...according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret for long ages but is now disclosed and through the prophetic writings is made known to all nations...
Ephesians (Contd.)

3:6. that is, how the Gentiles are fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel.

3:7-8...according to the gift of God's grace which was given me...
To me...this grace was given...

3:9...and to make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things...


3:11. The divine purpose.

3:12. "Access".

3:14.

3:16....that according to the riches of his glory he may grant you to be strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man...

3:17. The indwelling Christ.


Romans (Contd.)

cf.8:17...heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ.

12:5...so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another.

cf.4:13,14,16,17.

cf.15:15.

12:3. For by the grace given me...


11:36. For from him and through him and to him are all things.

8:38.

8:28.


cf.4:11 (Is.45:23)

9:23...the riches of his glory...

15:13...by the power of the Holy Spirit...

15:19...by the power of the Holy Spirit...

7:22...in my inmost self.

cf.8:9-11.

8:35. The love of Christ.

42. The term 'the love of Christ' only occurs again in the New Testament in 2 Cor. 5:14.
EPHESIANS (Contd.).

4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to...

4:2-5.
4:4-6. There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all.

4:7. But grace was given to each of us according to the measure of Christ's gift.

4:8-10. The Descent and Ascension of Christ.

4:11. "Gifts".

4:12. "Ministry" or "service".

4:17-19. Now this I affirm and testify in the Lord, that you must no longer live as the Gentiles do, in the futility of their minds; they are darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them, due to their hardness of heart; they have become callous and have given themselves up to licentiousness, greedy to practise every kind of uncleanness.

ROMANS (Contd.)

cf. 11:36; 16:25-27.

12:4-5. For as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another.

cf. 3:30... God is one.

cf. 9:5. God who is over all be blessed forever.

cf. 11:36. For from him and through him and to him are all things.

12:6. Having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us...

10:6-8.


cf. 12:7.

1:21... but they became futile in their thinking and their senseless minds were darkened.

cf. 8:20.

cf. with the whole passage 1:18-32.
4:21... as the truth is in
  Jesus.


4:23... and be renewed in
  the spirit of your
  minds...

4:24... and put on the new
  nature...

4:25. Therefore, putting away..

4:30. And do not grieve the
  Holy Spirit of God, in
  whom you were sealed for
  the day of redemption.

5:2. Walking in love.

5:7-14. Light and darkness.

5:17...But understand what
  the will of the Lord
  is.


5:21. Mutual subordination,
  etc.

5:30...because we are members
  of his body.

6:9...and there is no
  partiality with him.

6:10-13. The Christian's
  warfare.

6:19. Prayers for the Apostle.


9:1. I am speaking the truth
  in Christ...


12:2... but be transformed by
  the renewal of your
  mind...

  Jesus Christ.

13:12. Let us then cast off...

4:11. He received circumcision
  as a sign or seal...

14:15.


12:2... that you may prove
  what is the will of
  God...


13:1-7. Subordination to the
  civil power

12:5...so we, though many, are
  one body in Christ, and
  individually members
  one of another.

2:11. For God shows no
  partiality.

cf. 8:35-39.

cf. 15:30.

16:20 (24); the text of Rom.
  is here uncertain.
Ephesians and 1 Corinthians.

Ephesians.

1:1-2. Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus.

1:4. . . . even as he chose us in him . . .

1:5. He destined us in love to be . . .

1:11.

1:15-17. For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you . . .

1:20. The Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ.

1:21. . . . far above all rule and authority, and power and dominion, and above every name that is named . . .

1:22. . . . and he has put all things under his feet . . .

1:23. (The Church) which is

1 Corinthians.

1:1-3. Paul, called by the will of God to be an Apostle of Christ Jesus, and our brother Sosthenes, to the church of God which is at Corinth. . . .

1:27. . . . but God chose . . .

2:7. But we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed . . .

cf. 1:26-31.


1:4-5. I give thanks to God always for you because of the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus, that in every way you were enriched in him . . .


6:14. And God raised the Lord . . .

15:24. . . . after destroying every rule and every authority and power . . .

15:27. For God has put all things in subjection under his feet . . .

cf. 15:28.
### Ephesians (Cont'd.)

- **2:9**... lest any man should boast.

- **2:11**. The reader's former heathen state.

- **2:20-21**. The "building" metaphor.
  - ... built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord.

- **2:22**. In whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

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### 1 Corinthians (Cont'd.)

- **12:27**. Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it.

- **15:28**... that God may be everything to every one.

- **1:29**... so that no human being might boast in the presence of God.

  cf. **1:31**.

- **12:2**.

- **3:5-17**. espec:-
  - **3:11**. For no other foundation can any one lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

  cf. **3:7**.

- **3:6**... God gave the growth.

- **3:9**... you are... God's building.

- **3:16-17**. Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you? If any one destroys God's temple, God will destroy him. For God's temple is holy, and that temple you are.

- **9:17**. I am entrusted with a commission.

  cf. **4:1**... stewards of the mysteries of God.

- **2:6-10**. Yet among the mature we do impart wisdom, although it is not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to pass away. But we impart a secret and
Ephesians (Contd.)

Christ, which was not made known to the sons of men in other generations as it has now been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit.

3:8. To me, though I am the very least of all the saints...

3:9. ...and to make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things.

3:10. ...the principalities and powers in the heavenly places.

3:17. ...that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith.


4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to ...

4:2-5. Faith, hope, love.

4:4-6. There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all...

1 Corinthians (Contd.)

hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages for our glorification. None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But, as it is written, "What no eye has seen...", God has revealed to us through the Spirit...

15:9. For I am the least of the Apostles, unfit to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.

2:7. But we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages for our glorification.

15-24. ...every rule and every authority and power.

3:16. ...God's Spirit dwells in you.

cf. 8:2; 13:2,8.

1:10. I appeal to you ...

4:16. I urge you, then ...

16:16. I urge you...


10:17. Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf.

12:13. For by one Spirit we were all baptised into one body...
Ephesians (Contd.)

and through all and in all.

4:11. And his gifts were that some should be Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers.

4:12...for building up the body of Christ.

4:14... so that we may no longer be children...

1 Corinthians (Contd.)

cf. 7:20. Everyone should remain in the state in which he was called.

8:6... yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist.

12:4...but the same Spirit.

12:5...but the same Lord.

12:6...but it is the same God...

cf. 1:13. Is Christ divided?

12:28. And God has appointed in the Church first Apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in various kinds of tongues.

cf. all chap, 12.

12:27. Now you are the body of Christ...

14:26. Let all things be done for edification.

3:1. But I, brethren, could not address you as spiritual men, but as men of the flesh, as babes in Christ.

14:20. Brethren, do not be children in your thinking; be babes in evil, but in thinking be mature.
Ephesians (Contd)

4:15...we are to grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ,

4:16. from whom the whole body...
... makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love.


4:28. Let the thief no longer steal, but rather let him labour, doing honest work with his hands, so that he may be able to give to those in need.

4:29. Let no evil talk come out of your mouths, but only such as is good for edifying...

5:1. Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children.

5:3-4. Certain vices.

5:5. Be sure of this, that no immoral or impure man, or one who is covetous (that is, an idolater), has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

5:18-20. And do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit; addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual

1 Corinthians (Contd).

cf.11:3. But I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ, the head of a woman is her husband, and the head of Christ is God.

14:12...strive to excel in building up the Church.

15:34.

4:12... and we labour, working with our own hands.

14:26. Let all things be done for edification.

4:16. I urge you, then, be imitators of me.

4:14 ... as my beloved children.

11:1. Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.

5:11.

6:9-10. Do you not know that the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God?...nor robbers will inherit the kingdom of God.

cf.3:16-17...God's Spirit dwell in you.

cf.14:15... I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the mind also.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians (Contd.)</th>
<th>1 Corinthians (Contd.)</th>
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<tr>
<td>songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart, always, and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father.</td>
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<td>5:26. ... that he might consecrate her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word ...</td>
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<td>5:30. ... because we are members of his body.</td>
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<td>5:31. For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:10-11. Finally, be strong in the Lord and in the strength of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:12. For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ephesians and 2 Corinthians.

**Ephesians.**

1:1-2. Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...

1:13-14. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and have believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit, which is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it, to the praise of his glory. 43

1:17... The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory.

2:10. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them.

**2 Corinthians.**

1:1-2. Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and Timothy, our brother, to the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...

11:31. The God and Father of the Lord Jesus, he who is blessed for ever...

1:22. He has put his seal upon us and given us his spirit in our hearts as a guarantee.

5:5. He who has prepared us for this very thing is God, who has given us the spirit as a guarantee. 43


2:10. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them.

2:15...that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two...

cf. 5:17. Therefore, if any one is in Christ, he is a new creation.

2:21-22...in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

6:16. For we are the temple of the living God...

cf. 10:1.

3:1. When you read this you can perceive my insight into the mystery of Christ...

11:6. Even if I am unskilled in speaking, I am not in knowledge; in every way we have made this plain to you in all things.

3:4. Such is the confidence that we have through Christ toward God.

3:12. Since we have such a hope, we are very bold.

3:13. Losing heart.

4:1, 16.

3:16 ... to be strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man ...

4:16... our inner nature is being renewed every day.

3:17... that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith...

3:5. Do you not realize that Jesus Christ is in you?

3:19... the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge...

cf. 9:14... the surpassing grace of God...

44. ἀπαράστατος is confined to these two Epistles in the New Testament. See Eph. 1:19; 2:7; 2 Cor. 3:10.
Ephesians (Contd.)

4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to...

4:12. ... for the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ.

4:16. ... upbuilds itself in love.


4:21. ... as the truth is in Jesus.

4:27. ... and give no opportunity to the devil.

4:30. Sealing with the Holy Spirit.

5:3-4. Certain sins.

5:7. Therefore do not associate with them...

5:7-14. Light and darkness.

5:18-20. And do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit; addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart, always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father.

2 Corinthians (Contd.)

2:8. So I beg you to...

12:19. ... and all for your upbuilding, beloved.

13:9. What we pray for is your improvement.

10:8. ... for building you up...

13:10. ... the authority which the Lord has given me for building up...

12:21.  

11:10. As the truth of Christ is in me.

2:11. ... to keep Satan from gaining the advantage over us; for we are not ignorant of his designs.

1:22, cf. 5:5.

12:21.

6:14-15. Do not be mismated with unbelievers...

cf. 6:14-15.

6:16. What agreement has the temple of God with idols? For we are the temple of the living God; as God said; "I will live in them and move among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."
Ephesians (Contd.)

5:21... out of reverence for Christ.

5:25-33. Christ as Bridegroom of the Church.

6:5. Slaves, be obedient ... with fear and trembling...


6:11. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the evils of the devil.

6:12. For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.

6:19... in opening my mouth boldly...

6:20... for which I am an ambassador in chains...

2 Corinthians (Contd.)

cf. 5:11... knowing the fear of the Lord... cf. 7:1... in the fear of God.

11:2. I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one husband.

7:15... the obedience of you all, and the fear and trembling with which you received him.

5:10.

2:11... to keep Satan from gaining the advantage over us; for we are not ignorant of his designs.

10:3-4. For though we live in the world we are not carrying on a worldly war, for the weapons of our warfare are not worldly but have divine power to destroy strongholds.

cf. 6:11. Our mouth is open to you...

5:20. So we are ambassadors for Christ...

Ephesians (Contd.)


Ephesians and Galatians.

Ephesians.

1:1-2. Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:5. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will...

1:10...as a plan for the fulness of time...

1:11...according to the counsel of his will...

1:13. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth... were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit.

2 Corinthians (Contd.)


Galatians.

1:1-3. Paul an apostle - not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead - and all the brethren who are with me,

To the churches of Galatia:

Grace to you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ ......

3:26...for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith.

4:5-7... so that we might receive adoption as sons. And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!"

So through God you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son then an heir.

4:4. But when the time had fully come ...

cf.1:4...according to the will of our God and Father.

3:2. Did you receive the Spirit by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?

3:14... that we might receive the promise of the spirit through faith.
Ephesians (Contd.)

2:3. Pre-Christian and post-Christian conduct.

2:8. Justification (salvation) through faith.

2:10.

2:11. Therefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh, called the uncircumcision by what is called the circumcision, which is made in the flesh by hands...

Galatians (Contd.)


cf. 2:16.

cf. 6:15.

6:12-15. It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh that would compel you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ. For even those who receive circumcision do not themselves keep the law, but they desire to have you circumcised that they may glory in your flesh. But far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation.

2:12...remember that you were at that time separated from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise, having no hope and without God in the world.

5:4...You are severed from Christ...

4:8. Formerly, when you did not know God...

2:14... who has made us both one.

3:28. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.

2:19...members of the household of God.

6:10... those who are of the household of faith.
Ephesians (Contd.)

3:1. 
3:2. 
3:3. The revelation to the Apostle.
3:4. 
3:5-6. The Apostle's message.
3:8. The Apostle's commission.
4:2-5.
4:13.
4:15...speaking the truth in love...
4:17.
4:24...and put on the new nature, created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness.
5:2...as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us...
5:5. Certain vices.
5-9...for the fruit of light is found in all that is good and right and true.
5:16...making the most of the time, because the days are evil.
5:21. Be subject to one another...

Galatians (Contd.)

cf. 5:2.
cf. 2:9.
cf. 1:12, 16; 2:2.
cf. 2:7-8.
cf. 3:26-29.
cf. 1:5.
cf. 5:5-6.
cf. 2:20.
4:16...by telling you the truth.
3:27. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ.
2:20...the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.
5:22-23. But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy ...
1:4...to deliver us from the present evil age.
5:13...be servants of one another.
Ephesians (Contd.)

5:25...as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her...

6:6...not in the way of eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as servants of Christ...


Galatians (Contd.)

2:20...the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.

1:10. Am I now seeking the favour of men, or of God? Or am I trying to please men? If I were still pleasing men, I should not be a servant of Christ.

Ephesians and Philippians.

Ephesians.

1:1-2. Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:4-6, 12, 14.

...that we should be holy and blameless before him.

...to the praise of his glorious grace...

1:9, 11. The divine purpose and will.

1:15-17. For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ,

Philippians.

1:1-2. Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus, to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi; with the bishops and deacons:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

cf. 1:10-11; 2:15.

...may be pure and blameless for the day of Christ.

...that you may be blameless and innocent...

...to the glory and praise of God.

cf. 2:13.

1:3-5, 9. I thank my God in all my remembrance of you, always in every prayer of mine for you all making my prayer with joy, thankful for your partnership in the gospel from the first day until now...
Ephesians (Contd.)

the Father of glory, may give you...

1:19.

1:20-22...which he accomplished in Christ when he raised him from the dead and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in that which is to come; and he has put all things under his feet and has made him head over all things for the church...

2:11-12. Therefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh, called the uncircumsicion by what is called the circumcision, which is made in the flesh by hands—remember that you were at that time separated from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel...

2:19. So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow-citizens with the saints and members of the household of God.

3:10...that through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places.

3:14. For this reason I bow my knees before the Father...


Philippians (Contd.)

And it is my prayer that your love may...

cf. 3:10, 21.

2:9-11. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

2:10... that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth...

3:20... that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth...

3:20. But our commonwealth is in heaven...

3:10...that through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places.

4:1. The Apostle a prisoner.

cf. 2:10.

cf. 4:20.

cf. 1:7, 12-14.
Ephesians (Contd.)

4:8-10. The Descent and Ascension of Christ.


4:13...until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

5:16. And walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God.

5:7-14. Light and darkness.


6:5. Slaves, be obedient... with fear and trembling...

6:12.

6:18. Pray at all times in the Spirit, with all prayer and supplication. To that end keep alert with all perseverance, making supplication for all the saints.

Philippians (Contd.)

cf. 2:10.

4:2-3.

cf. 3:11...that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead.

cf. 3:21.

4:18. I have received full payment, and more; I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus the gifts you sent, a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God.

2:12. Therefore, my beloved, as you have always obeyed, so now, not only as in my presence but much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.

4:6. Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God.
Ephesians and Colossians.

These two Epistles provide an outstanding example of close relationship. The connexion is more intimate than that between the Gospel of John and 1 John, or that between 1 and 2 Thessalonians, or that between 2 Peter and Jude.

Both Epistles claim to be by Paul. Both bear the appearance of having been written in captivity. Both follow approximately the one pattern, the same subjects occurring in the same order in each Epistle. A tabulation of the data clarifies this last point. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians.</th>
<th>Colossians.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salutation</strong></td>
<td>1:1-2.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Prayer and thanksgiving for readers</strong></td>
<td>1:15-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Christological material</strong></td>
<td>1:7-14, 19-23; 2:1-20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Writer's commission - the 'mystery'</strong></td>
<td>3:1-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Summary of teaching - Unity</strong></td>
<td>4:1-16</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Exhortatory material</strong></td>
<td>4:17-24</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Warnings about sins</strong></td>
<td>4:25-5:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social relationships:</strong> Wives and husbands</td>
<td>5:22-23</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children and parents</th>
<th>Ephesians 6:1-4</th>
<th>Colossians 3:20-21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slaves and masters</td>
<td>6:5-9</td>
<td>3:22-4:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion:**

- Request for readers' prayers 6:18-20 4:2-6
- Commendation of Tychicus 6:21-22 4:7-9 (and Onesimus)
- Benediction 6:23-24 4:18

This common framework is not, of course, rigidly impressed on the writings in question. Nearly always the material has a perfectly natural flow in either Epistle and it is often introduced and developed in a distinct way. But it is curious that the same topics rise to the surface in the same sequence in both cases. Moreover the treatment of the subjects also sometimes shows a considerable likeness. For example, in each Epistle Christ is placed in a transcendental relation to the cosmos; in each the Church is described as his Body; in each the need for knowledge is given a prominent position.

In addition to this the self-same words and phrases recur...

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46. For the structure and content of these Epistles see, Rutherford, J., St. Paul's Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea, Edinburgh, 1908, pgs. 27-30;
time and again in Ephesians and Colossians. It is a commonplace of New Testament Introduction that many verses in Colossians are closely paralleled in Ephesians. The following list of typical passages may be taken as illustrating this phenomenon.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:9</td>
<td>1:27</td>
<td>3:1-3,5</td>
<td>1:24-26</td>
<td>5:3-5</td>
<td>3:5</td>
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<td>1:10</td>
<td>1:20</td>
<td>3:7</td>
<td>1:23</td>
<td>5:6</td>
<td>3:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:15-16</td>
<td>1:3</td>
<td>3:8</td>
<td>1:27</td>
<td>5:5-16</td>
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<td>1:22-23</td>
<td>1:18-19, 24</td>
<td>4:1</td>
<td>1:10</td>
<td>5:27</td>
<td>1:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:6</td>
<td>3:3</td>
<td>4:18</td>
<td>1:21</td>
<td>6:9</td>
<td>4:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:11</td>
<td>2:11</td>
<td>4:19</td>
<td>3:5</td>
<td>6:18-20</td>
<td>4:2-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This yields a total of 84 (out of 155) verses in Ephesians bearing a more or less close relationship to verses in Colossians. Several of the more remote points of contact have been omitted, but enough examples have been given to show the extent and complexity of the data. It is important to observe that the Colossian material paralleled in Ephesians is scattered throughout the latter Epistle in an often quite different order. For instance, the parallels to Colossians, Chapter 1, are sprinkled over Ephesians, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; those to Colossians, Chapter 2, over Ephesians, Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4; those to Colossians, Chapter 3, over Ephesians, Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; those to Colossians, Chapter 4, over Ephesians, Chapters 5, 6.

Finally, though this is a minor point, eleven words and one phrase occur in Ephesians and Colossians and nowhere else in the New Testament. These are:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word in Ephesians</th>
<th>Word in Colossians</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἀνθρώπος</td>
<td>ἀνθρώπος</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀνθρώπος σου</td>
<td>ἀνθρώπος σου</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀφήνεις</td>
<td>ἀφήνεις</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀποκαταλλασσόμενοι</td>
<td>ἀποκαταλλασσόμενοι</td>
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<tr>
<td>αὐτῷ</td>
<td>αὐτῷ</td>
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<td>ἀμήν</td>
<td>ἀμήν</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀρισταρχὸς</td>
<td>ἀρισταρχὸς</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὀρθομακροδυνάμεις</td>
<td>ὀρθομακροδυνάμεις</td>
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<tr>
<td>ῥητόρ</td>
<td>ῥητόρ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἠγάπησεν</td>
<td>ἠγάπησεν</td>
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<tr>
<td>συνεγείρει</td>
<td>συνεγείρει</td>
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<tr>
<td>συνεισφέρεται</td>
<td>συνεισφέρεται</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We should note that although ἀναγκάζομαι is confined to Ephesians-Colossians, the later form ἀναγκαίζομαι is quite common in the New Testament. The verb συνθέω is sometimes erroneously included in this list. But the word occurs elsewhere in the New Testament, though only in Ephesians and Colossians in its first sense of 'to join' or 'to knit together'. The phrase peculiar to the two Epistles is ἐκ ψυχῆς, Eph. 6:6; Col. 3:23.

This sums up the chief evidence for the resemblances between the two Epistles. The impression left by it is that of the extensive coincidence between the writings. Yet against this must be balanced a weighty dissimilarity. It has been said, perhaps rather strongly, that, "the thorough diversity is even more surprising than the similarity". The most obviously divergent features of the Epistles are the lack in Ephesians of those polemical and personal elements which are so patent in Colossians. These, however, are not as telling as the much greater emphasis on the Church in Ephesians. But most important of all are certain differences of a subtler, less apparent, sort between the two documents. These are differences of thought.

49. E.g., by Westcott, B.P., Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, London, 1906, Introd., pg. XXXIX. The verb occurs in Acts 9:22; 16:10; 19:33; 1 Cor. 2:16, as well as in Eph. 4:16; Col. 2:2, 19. Even in Col. 2:2 it may mean 'to teach'.

that frequently emerge where there is close linguistic parallelism. This very significant feature is amplified and discussed at a later point.

Ephesians and 1 Thessalonians.

**Ephesians**

**1:1-2.** Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus: Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

**1:13.** In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation...

**1:14.**

**1:15-17.** For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you...

**2:2.**...the spirit that is now at work in sons of disobedience.

**2:3.** Among these we all once lived in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of body and mind, and so we were by nature children of

**1 Thessalonians**

**1:1.** Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, to the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace to you and peace.

**1:6.** And you became imitators of us and of the Lord, for you received the word in much affliction...

**1:14.**

**1:15-17.** For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you...

**2:13.**...the word of God, which is at work in you believers.

**2:3.** Among these we all once lived in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of body and mind, and so we were by nature children of

**5:9.** For God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ.
Ephesians (Contd.)

wrath, like the rest of mankind.

2:12... having no hope and without God in the world.

3:13.

4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called.

4:2-5. Faith, hope, love.

4:8-10. Descent and Ascension of Christ.

4:28. Let the thief no longer steal, but rather let him labour, doing honest work with his hands, so that he may be able to give to those in need.

4:30. And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God...

5:4. Thanksgiving.

5:7-14. Light and Darkness.

5:17-20. Therefore do not be foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is. And do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit, addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord with all your heart,

1 Thessalonians (Contd.)

4:5... like heathen who do not know God.

4:13... as others do who have no hope.

cf. 2:20

2:11-12... encouraged you and charged you to lead a life worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory.

1:3; 5:8.

cf. 1:10

4:11-12... and to work with your hands, as we charged you; so that you may command the respect of outsiders, and be dependent on nobody.

5:19. Do not quench the Spirit.

cf. 5:18.

5:4-8.

5:7. For those who sleep, sleep at night, and those who get drunk are drunk at night.

5:16-18. Rejoice always, pray constantly, give thanks in all circumstances; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus for you.
Ephesians (Contd.)

always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father.

5:29.

6:10-18. The Christian's warfare; armour; alertness; prayer.

5:6-8. So then let us not sleep, as others do, but let us keep awake and be sober ... But since, we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.

5:17...pray constantly...


5:28.

Ephesians and 2 Thessalonians.

Ephesians.

1:1-2. Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus:
Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:4... even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world...

2 Thessalonians.

1:1-2. Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, to the church of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ:
Grace to you and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

2:13...because God chose you from the beginning31 to be saved...

51. The text here is a little uncertain.
Ephesians

1:14. ...which is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it, to the praise of his glory.

1:15-17. For this reason, because 1:3. I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you...

11...

2:2.


3:6. ...through the gospel.

4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called...

4:29.

6:16.


Ephesians and Philemon.

Ephesians

1:1-2. Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, to the saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus:

Philemon

1-3. Paul, a prisoner for Christ Jesus, and Timothy our brother, to Philemon our beloved fellow worker and Apphia our sister...
Ephesians

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

1:15-17. For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you...

3:1; 4:1; 6:20. The Apostle a prisoner.

4:13...the knowledge of the Son of God...

6:20...for which I am an ambassador or in chains...

6:22. I have sent him to you...


Philemon

and Archippus our fellow soldier, and the church in your house:

Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

I thank my God always when I remember you in my prayers, because I hear of your love and of the faith which you have toward the Lord Jesus and all the saints, and I pray that the sharing of your faith may promote the knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ.

3:1; 4:1; 6:20. The Apostle a prisoner.

4:13...the knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ.

6:20...for which I am an ambassador or in chains...

6:22. I have sent him to you...


### Ephesians and 1 Timothy.

#### Ephesians (Contd.)

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<tr>
<td>2:1-7</td>
<td>The divine mercy in affording salvation to sinners.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:19</td>
<td>but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:8</td>
<td>To me, though I am the very least of all the saints, this grace was given...</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:5-6</td>
<td>... one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:18</td>
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<td>Marriage - the relation of husband and wife, Christ and the Church - a great 'mystery'.</td>
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<td>6:1</td>
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<td>6:5-8</td>
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<td>6:10-12</td>
<td>The Christian's warfare.</td>
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<td>6:11</td>
<td>The wiles of the devil.</td>
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#### 1 Timothy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
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<td>1:13</td>
<td>Faith in Christ Jesus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:16-17</td>
<td>3:15...how one ought to behave in the household of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:15</td>
<td>The saying is sure and worthy of full acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. And I am the foremost of sinners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:5</td>
<td>For there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:8</td>
<td>The great 'mystery' of the Christian religion - the Person of Christ.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:7</td>
<td>The snare of the devil (or slanderer).</td>
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<td>cf. 3:4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Ephesians (Contd)

6:23. Faith and love.

Ephesians and 2 Timothy.

Ephesians

1:4-5...even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will. cf. 2:4-8.

1:13. In him, you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation...

2:19. But God's firm foundation stands, bearing this seal...

2:20. built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone...

3:1-4. For this reason, I Paul, a prisoner for Christ Jesus on behalf of you Gentiles - assuming that you have heard of the stewardship of God's grace that was given to me for you, how the mystery was made known to me by revelation, as I have written briefly. When you read this you can perceive my insight into the mystery of Christ...

1 Timothy (Contd.)

1:14.

2 Timothy

1:8-9. Do not be ashamed then of testifying to our Lord, nor of me his prisoner, but take your share of suffering for the gospel in the power of God, who saved us and called us with a holy calling, not in virtue of our works but in virtue of his own purpose and the grace which he gave us in Christ Jesus ages ago.

1:9. (God) who saved us and called us with a holy calling, not in virtue of our works but in virtue of his own purpose and the grace which he gave us in Christ Jesus ages ago.

1:14. Do your best to present yourself to God as one approved, a workman who has no need to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth.
Ephesians (Contd)

4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called...

3:8-9. To me, though I am the very least of all the saints, this grace was given, to preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things.

4:2. Certain virtues.

4:11-12. And his gifts were that some should be Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pasters and teachers, for the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ.


Finally, be strong in the Lord and in the strength of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

2 Timothy (Contd.)

1:10. And now has manifested through the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus, who abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.

cf. 2:22.

4:5. As for you, always be steady, endure suffering, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil your ministry.

cf. 3:16-17. All scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work.

3:14-17. Reference to Christian instruction in childhood.

2:1ff.

... be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus.

Take your share of suffering as a good soldier of Christ Jesus.

4:7. I have fought the good fight...

2:26...the snare of the devil...
**Ephesians and Titus.**

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<th>Titus</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:1-3. The former way of life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:4-5. Salvation - God’s mercy.</td>
<td>3:3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:7... The immeasurable riches of his grace...</td>
<td>3:4-5. Salvation - the gift of God’s mercy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:8. Saved by grace.</td>
<td>3:6... which he poured out upon us richly...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:22-24. Duties of wives.</td>
<td>3:7... Justified by grace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:25-27. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her, that he might consecrate her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word, that the Church might be presented before him in splendour, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish.</td>
<td>2:13-14... the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity and to purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these tables it will be observed that sometimes similar material appears in Ephesians and the Pastorals, but

53. Αὐτεύ, only occurrences in the New Testament.
that it is introduced on different grounds and for a different end, e.g., Eph. 2:8 and 2 Tim. 1:9. Sometimes, also, an idea typical of Ephesians occurs but in a fresh linguistic dress and with a new turn to its meaning, e.g., Eph 2:1-6 and 1 Tim. 1:16-17.

(6) Ephesians and Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter.

### Ephesians and Hebrews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>Hebrews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:7. Redemption through the blood of Christ.</td>
<td>1:3; 8:1; 10:12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:20. Christ at the right hand of God.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:13. But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ.</td>
<td>7:18... On the other hand, a better hope is introduced, through which we draw near to God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:12. In whom we have boldness and confidence of access through our faith in him.</td>
<td>4:16. Let us then with confidence draw near to the throne of grace...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:25. Therefore, putting away... 12:1. Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us also lay aside...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:21-6:9. Teaching on submission—cf. 13:17. Obey your leaders and submit to them...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:18. Keep alert...</td>
<td>cf. 13:17...keeping watch...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following minor points may also be noted:—

(a) 'Blood and flesh', Eph. 6:12; Heb. 2:14, — in all other instances of the phrase in the New Testament the order is reversed and the phrase runs 'flesh and blood'.

(b) Υπεράνω is found in the New Testament only in Eph. 1:21; 4:10; and Heb. 9:5.

(c) Εἰς ἀπολύσεως is found in the New Testament only in Eph. 1:14 and Heb. 9:15.

(d) Αἰών μέλλων, this verb and noun are only used together in Eph. 1:21 and Heb. 6:5, except for Matthew 12:32.

(e) Πρεσβυρία καὶ θυσία are found in conjunction only in Eph. 5:2 and in reverse order in Heb. 10:5, 8 in the New Testament.

Ephesians and James.

Ephesians.

1:13. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation...


4:25. Therefore, putting away...


James.

1:18. Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures.

cf. 1:18.

1:21. Therefore put away...

cf. 1-27.

4:6-7. But he gives more grace; therefore, it says, "God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble." Submit yourselves there-
Ephesians 4:10. Humble yourselves before the Lord and he will exalt you.

James 4:7. Resist the devil and he will flee from you.

6:11...to stand against the wiles of the devil.

Ephesians and 1 Peter.

Here there is a certain difficulty in laying out the data since their extent, or even their existence, is more open to debate than in the case of some other writings. Various minds react differently to such evidence as there is. For instance, one scholar writes,

"The affinities between the two, not only in phraseology but in structure and conception, involve a literary relationship which implies that the one drew upon the other"... 54

while another says,

"There are a few vague parallels, but no close inter-relation of ideas is at all prominent." 55


Certainly little can be made of the supposed similarity in structure. The objection at once springs to mind that, whereas in Ephesians admonitory and didactic material is in the main given separately in the latter part of the Epistle, in 1 Peter such material is 'sandwiched' between doctrinal elements throughout the bulk of the work. The difference is not in the least surprising when it is remembered that primarily 1 Peter "is concerned to set forth the manner of life to be followed by the Christian in the Church and in the world." Most of 1 Peter is, therefore, occupied with practical exhortatory matters. This basically accounts for the structural divergence. Two passages, however, Eph. 1:5-15 and 1 Peter 1:5-13, may perhaps show a certain syntactical and constructional resemblance especially in the use of relative pronouns and participles.


58. This comes out clearly in any analysis of 1 Peter. See Hort, F.J.A., op. cit., pgs. 9-10, and Bennett, W.H., The General Epistles, James, Peter, John, and Jude, Edinburgh, 1901, pgs. 53-54.

The following list includes all but a few very minor and unlikely possible affinities in thought, in phrase, or in word.

**Ephesians**

1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...

1:4... even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world...

1:7. In him we have redemption through his blood.

1:18-20... having the eyes of your hearts enlightened, that you may know what is the hope to which he has called you, what are the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints, and what is the immeasurable greatness of his power in us who believe, according to the working of his great might which he accomplished in Christ when he raised him from the dead.

1:20-21. and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in that which is to come...

**1 Peter**

1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1:20. He (Christ) was destined before the foundation of the world...

1:7- In him we have redemption... You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ...

1:18-20... having the eyes of your hearts enlightened, that you may know what is the hope to which he has called you, what are the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints, and what is the immeasurable greatness of his power in us who believe, according to the working of his great might which he accomplished in Christ when he raised him from the dead.

1:20-21. and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in that which is to come...

3:22 (through the resurrection of Jesus Christ) who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him.
Ephesians (Contd.)

2:18...for through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father.

2:19-22. So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

3:5-6. The revelation to the Apostles and prophets.

1 Peter (Contd.)

3:18. For Christ also died for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God...

2:4-6. Come to him, to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For it stands in scripture:

"Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone, a cornerstone chosen and precious..."


4:18. The pre-conversion state one of 'ignorance'.


4:25. Therefore, putting away...

4:32. Certain virtues.


60. Ἀκούωνικός, these are the only occurrences of the word in the New Testament.
Ephesians (Contd.)

1 Peter (Contd.)
5:8-12; cf. 4:7.

It should be observed that Wand finds no comparable elements in Ephesians and 1 Peter; and while Selwyn re­
cognizes similarities he understands and explains them in a way untried by earlier students of 1 Peter. (A useful survey of the possible affinities between the two Epistles may be found in:


Chase, F.H., H.D.B., vol. 3, pgs. 788b-789a;


Moffatt, Introduction, pgs. 381-383.).

Ephesians and 2 Peter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>2 Peter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:2...with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love...</td>
<td>3:15-16. And count the forbearance of our Lord as salvation. So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him, speaking of this as he does in all his letters.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


62. Selwyn, 1 Peter, especially pgs. 20-23, 365-466.
(7) Ephesians and The Revelation to John.

There are a few resemblances in thought and language between Ephesians and Revelation. The salient passages are:

**Ephesians**

1:2. Grace to you and peace...

1:13. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and have believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit.

4:30. And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed for the day of redemption.

1:20... when he raised him from the dead and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places...

2:4-6. But God, who is rich in mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us, even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive together with Christ (by grace you have been saved) and raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus...

2:13. But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ.

**Revelation**

1:4. Grace to you and peace...

7:2-4. Then I saw another angel ascend from the rising of the sun, with the seal of the living God, and he called with a loud voice to the four angels who had been given power to harm earth and sea, saying, "Do not harm the earth or the sea or the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God upon their foreheads." And I heard the number of the sealed...

He who conquers, I will grant him to sit with me on my throne, as I myself conquered and sat down with my Father on his throne.

5:9... for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God...
83.

**Ephesians (Contd.)**

2:19-22. So then you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

3:4-5. When you read this you can perceive my insight into the mystery of Christ, which was not made known to the sons of men in other generations as it has now been revealed to his holy Apostles and Prophets by the Spirit.

3:9...in God who created all things.

5:11. Taking part in evil.

5:25-32. The conception of the Church as the Bride of Christ.

---

**Revelation (Contd.)**

21:14. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

3:12. He who conquers, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God...

10:7...but that in the days of the trumpet call to be sounded by the seventh angel, the mystery of God, as he announced to his servants the prophets, should be fulfilled.

19:7-9. "Let us rejoice and exult and give him the glory, for the marriage of the Lamb has come, and his Bride has made herself ready: it was granted her to be clothed with fine linen, bright and pure" - for the fine linen is
Ephesians (Contd.)

Revelation (Contd.)

the righteous deeds of the saints.

And the Angel said to me, "Write this: Blessed are those who are invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb."

21:2. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

21:9. Then came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues, and spoke to me, saying, "Come, I will show you the Bride, the wife of the Lamb."

22:17. The Spirit and the Bride say, "Come".


cf. 2:3, 7, 10-11, 17, 25-29.

(8) Ephesians and the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is considerably used in Ephesians both in direct citations and in allusions.

Old Testament Citations in Ephesians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>Old Testament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:20... and made him sit at his right hand.</td>
<td>Ps. 110:1, (LXX, 109:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:22... and he has put all things under his feet...</td>
<td>Ps. 8:6, (LXX, 8:7).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ephesians (Contd.)

2:17. And he came and preached peace to you who were far off and peace to those who were near.  

4:8. "When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men."  
Ps. 68:18, (LXX, 67:19)

4:26. Be angry but do not sin. Ps. 4:4, (LXX, 4:5)

5:31. "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one."
Gen. 2:24.

6:2-3. "Honour your father and mother". (this is the first commandment with a promise), "that it may be well with you and that you may live long on the earth."
Ex. 20:12; Deut. 5:16.

6:14-15. Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the equipment of the gospel of peace.  
Is. 11:5; 59:17; cf. 52:7.

6:17. And take the helmet of salvation...  
Is. 59:17; cf. 11:4; Hos. 6:5.

Old Testament Allusions.

Ephesians.

1:18.
1:23.
2:13.
2:14.
2:20.

Old Testament.

Deut. 32:9; 33:4.
Jer. 23:24.
Is. 57:19.
Is. 52:7.
Ps. 118:22; Is. 28:16.
## iii. The Literary Affinities of Ephesians: the Data stated in respect of the New Testament as a whole.

### Ephesians, Chapter 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>Old Testament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:30.</td>
<td>Is. 63:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:2.</td>
<td>Ex. 29:18; Ps. 40:6; Ez. 20:41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:27.</td>
<td>Ps. 45:13; Song of Songs 4:7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:9.</td>
<td>2 Chron. 19:763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63. There are several interesting points of contact between Ephesians and the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. Among the most notable are:

- Eph. 2:10 and Wisdom of Solomon 2:23;
- Eph. 6:11-17 and Wisdom of Solomon 5:17-19;
- Eph. 6:11 and 2 Maccabees 11:9.
Ephesians, Chapter I (Contd.).

1:3. 2 Cor. 1:3; 1 Pet. 1:3.
Compare 2 Cor. 11:31; Rom. 1:25; 9:5;
Mk. 14:61; Lk. 1:68.

Apart from these eight passages εὐλογητός is not found in the New Testament. We should note that in the following doxological phrases in the canonical Old Testament the Hebrew יְהִי יְשָׁרֵי is rendered in the Septuagint by εὐλογητός in all but four cases, viz.:

Gen. 9:26; 14:20; 24:27; Ex. 18:10;
Ruth 4:14; 1 Sam. 25:32; 25:39;
2 Sam. 13:23; 1 Kings 1:48; 5:7; 8:56;
10:9; 1 Chron. 16:36; 29:10;
2 Chron. 2:12; 6:4; 9:8; Ezra 7:27;
Ps. 18:46; 28:6; 31:21; 41:13; 66:20;
68:19; 68:35; 72:18; 72:19; 89:52; 106:48;
119:12; 124:6; 135:21; 144:1;
Ezek. 3:12.

The four exceptions are 1 Kings 10:9; 1 Chron. 16:36; 2 Chron. 9:8; Ezek. 3:12.

1:4a. 1 Cor. 1:27-30; 2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Pet. 1:20;
John 17:24.

The phrase "before the foundation of the world" is only found here in Eph., Pet. and John in the New Testament.

The following passages, however, should be carefully compared with Eph. in both thought and language: Matt. 25:34; Rev. 13:8; 17:8.

In thought we should compare 2 Thess. 2:13 (The reading here is doubtful); 2 Tim. 1:9; and in language: Matt. 13:35 (The reading here is doubtful); 24:21; Lk. 11:50; Heb. 4:3; 9:26.
See also John 17:5.


1:5. Rom. 8:15; 8:23; 8:29; 1 Cor. 2:7; Gal. 3:26; 4:5-7.
Compare Eph. 1:9; 1:11.
Ephesians, Chapter I (Contd.).


1:7. Redemption: Rom. 3:24; cf. 5:15; 1 Cor. 1:30; Col. 1:14; 1 Tim. 2:5; Tit. 2:14; Heb. 9:12; 9:15; 1 Pet. 1:18-19. Compare Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45; 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23; 2 Pet. 2:1; Rev. 5:9; 14:3-4.


Riches of his grace: Rom. 2:4; 9:23; 11:33; Phil. 4:19; Col. 1:27; See also Eph. 1:18; 2:7; 3:8; 3:16.


1:10. Rom. 13:9; Gal. 4:4; Col. 1:20. Compare this verse with the doctrine of the Logos in John's Prologue.


1:13a. Gal. 3:12; Col. 1:5; 1 Thess. 1:6. 2 Tim. 2:15; Jas. 1:18.

Ephesians, Chapter 1 (Contd.).


1:15-16. Rom. 1:8-10; 1 Cor. 1:4-5; Phil. 1:3-5, 9; Col. 1:3-4; 1 Thess. 1:2-3; 2 Thess. 1:3, 11; Phlm. 4-5; 2 Tim. 1:3.

1:17a. Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31; Col. 1:3; 1 Pet. 1:3.

1:17b. Acts 7:2; 1 Cor. 2:8; 2 Cor. 1:3; Heb. 9:5; Jas. 2:1.


1:21. Rom. 8:38; 1 Cor. 15:24; Phil. 2:9-11; Col. 1:16-17; 2:10; Heb. 2:5; 1 Pet. 3:22.
Ephesians, Chapter 1 (Contd.).


Ephesians, Chapter 2.


2:4. Rom. 5:5; 5:8; 11:30-32; 2 Thess. 2:16; 1 Pet. 1:3.

2:5. Lk. 15:24; 15:32; John 5:21; 1 Cor. 15:22; 15:45; Col. 2:13-14. See also Rom. 8:11.

2:6. Rom. 6:5-11; Phil. 3:20; Col. 2:12; 3:1-3.


2:10. 2 Cor. 5:17; 9:8; Gal. 6:15; Tit. 2:14.
Ephesians, Chapter 2 (Contd.).

2:11. Rom. 2:26-29; 1 Cor. 12:2; Gal. 6:15; Phil. 3:2-7; Col. 2:11.

2:12. Lk. 15:15; Acts 22:28; Gal. 4:8-9; 5:4; Phil. 3:2-7; Col. 1:21; 1 Thess. 4:5; 4:13.

2:13. Lk. 15:20; Rom. 5:2; Col. 1:21; Heb. 7:19; Rev. 5:9.


2:15-16. 2 Cor. 5:17; Col. 1:20; 1:22.


" 2:19-20 " 2 Tim. 2:19.
" 2:19-21 " Rev. 3:12.

2:18. Rom. 5:2; 1 Cor. 12:13; Phil. 1:27; 1 Pet. 3:18.

2:19. Gal. 6:10; Phil. 3:20.

2:20. Rom. 9:32-33; 1 Cor. 3:11.

2:21. 1 Cor. 3:6-7; 3:9; 2 Cor. 6:16; Col. 2:19.

2:22. Rom. 8:9; 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 2 Cor. 6:16; Col. 2:7.

Ephesians, Chapter 3.

" 3:4-5 " Rev. 10:7.

The entire section Eph. 3:1-12 should be compared with 2 Tim. 1:8-12.

3:1. 2 Cor. 10:1; Gal. 5:2; Phlm. 1:9; 2 Tim. 1:8.


3:3. Rom. 15:25-26; 1 Cor. 2:7-10; Gal. 1:11-12; 16; 2:2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:4</td>
<td>1 Cor. 2:7-8; 2 Cor. 11:6; Gal. 2:7-8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:5</td>
<td>1 Cor. 2:8,10; 1 Pet. 1:10-12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:7</td>
<td>Acts 20:24; Rom. 12:3; 15:15; 1 Cor. 1:4; 3:10; Gal. 2:9; Col. 1:23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:8-10</td>
<td>With Eph. 3:8-10 compare 2 Tim. 1:10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:8</td>
<td>Rom. 12:3; 15:15; 1 Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:15-16; 2:7; Col. 1:27; 1 Tim. 1:15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:9</td>
<td>Rom. 16:25-26; 1 Cor. 2:7; Rev. 4:11; 10:6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:10</td>
<td>Rom. 8:33; 1 Cor. 15:24; Phil. 2:10, compare 1 Pet. 1:10-12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:11</td>
<td>Compare Rom. 8:28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:12</td>
<td>Rom. 5:1-2; 2 Cor. 3:4; 3:12; Heb. 4:16; 10:19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:13</td>
<td>Acts. 20:23; 2 Cor. 4:1; 4:16; Col. 1:24; 1 Thess. 2:20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:14</td>
<td>Rom. 14:11; Phil. 2:10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:17</td>
<td>Rom. 8:9-11; 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 2 Cor. 13:5; Gal. 2:20; Col. 1:23; 1:27; 2:6-7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>Rom. 16:25; Gal. 5:6; Phil. 3:21; Col. 1:29; 1 Thess. 2:13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:21</td>
<td>Rom. 11:36; 16:27; Gal. 1:5; Phil. 4:20; 1 Tim. 1:17; 2 Tim. 4:18.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Ephesians, Chapter 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:1</td>
<td>Acts 20:23; Rom. 12:1; 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor. 1:10; 4:18; 16:16; 2 Cor. 2:8; Phil. 1:13; 1:27; 4:2; Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2 Thess. 1:11; Phm. 1, 9; 2 Tim. 1:8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:2-7</td>
<td>With Eph. 4:4-7 compare Rom. 12:3-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; 4:4-7 &quot; 1 Cor. 10:17; 12:13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; 4:2-3 &quot; Phil. 2:2-3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; 4:2-4 &quot; Col. 3:12-15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compare the whole of Chap. 12 of 1 Cor. with Eph. 4:4-7 specially, and more generally with Eph. 4:1-16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For the triad Faith, Hope, Love, in Eph. 4:2-5 compare Rom. 5:1-5; 1 Cor. 13:13; Gal. 5:5-6; 1 Thess. 1:3; 5:8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:2</td>
<td>Acts 20:19; 1 Thess. 4:9; 1 Pet. 3:8; 2 Pet. 3:15-16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:3</td>
<td>Acts 20:28; 1 Cor. 2:15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:4</td>
<td>1 Cor. 7:20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:5</td>
<td>1 Cor. 1:13; 1 Tim. 2:4-5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:7</td>
<td>John 3:34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:11-12</td>
<td>With Eph. 4:11-12 compare Rom. 12:6-8; 1 Cor. 12:27-28; 2 Tim. 3:16-17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:11</td>
<td>Acts. 20:28; 2 Tim. 4:5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:12</td>
<td>Acts 20:32; 1 Cor. 14:26; 2 Cor. 12:19; 13...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:13</td>
<td>John 1:16; Col. 1:28. See also Gal. 2:20; Phil. 3:11; Phm. 6; 1 Tim. 2:4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:14</td>
<td>1 Cor. 3:1; 14:20. See also Gal. 4:3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:15-16</td>
<td>Col. 2:2; 2:19; 2 Thess. 2:10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
<td>1 Cor. 11:3; Col. 2:10.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ephesians, Chapter 4 (Contd.).

4:16. 1 Cor. 14:12; 2 Cor. 10:8; Phil. 3:21.
4:19. 2 Cor. 12:21; Col. 3:5.
4:24. Lk. 1:75; Gal. 3:27.
4:26. 1 Cor. 15:34.
4:27. 2 Cor. 2:11.
4:28. Acts 20:34; 1 Cor. 4:12; 1 Thess. 4:11-12.
4:29. 1 Cor. 14:26; 2 Thess. 2:17.
4:30. Rom. 4:11; 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; 1 Thess. 5:19; Rev. 7:3.

Ephesians, Chapter 5.

5:1. 1 Cor. 4:14; 4:16; 11:1; Col. 3:12-13.
Ephesians, Chapter 5 (Contd.).

5:2. Rom. 14:15; 2 Cor. 2:14-16; Gal. 2:20
Phil. 4:18. Compare 1 Tim. 2:6; Tit. 2:14;
Heb. 10:5; 10:8; 2 Jn. 6.

Apart from Eph. 5:2 ἐλεονία is only found in the New Testament in the passages from 2 Cor. and Phil. given above. The metaphorical use of ὑσμή is likewise confined to these three Epistles as cited above. Even literally ὑσμή is only used once in the New Testament in John 12:3.

5:3-5. Col. 3:5.

5:3. 1 Cor. 5:11; 2 Cor. 12:21.

5:4. Col. 4:5-6; 1 Thess. 5:18.

5:5. 1 Cor. 6:9-10; Gal. 5:19-21.

Col. 2:8; 1 Jn. 3:7.

" Eph. 5:7-11 " 2 Cor. 6:14-15.

5:8. Lk. 16:8; John 8:12; 12:35-36; 12:46
Acts 26:18; Phil. 2:15; Col. 1:12; 1 Thess. 5:4-5; 1 Pet. 2:9; 1 Jn. 1:6-7.


5:14. This verse is given special consideration at a later point.

5:15. 1 Thess. 5:2. See espec. the use of ἀκραβως.

5:16. Gal. 1:4; Col. 4:5.

5:17. Lk. 12:47; Rom. 12:2; 1 Thess. 5:18.

" Eph. 5:18-20 " 1 Cor. 3:16-17.
" Eph. 5:18-20 " 2 Cor. 6:16.
" Eph. 5:18-20 " Phil. 2:10-11.
" Eph. 5:19-20 " Col. 3:16-17.
" Eph. 5:18-20 " 1 Thess. 5:16-13.
" Eph. 5:13-20 " Jas. 1:27.
Ephesians, Chapter 5 (Contd.).

(Contd.)

5:18.  1 Tim. 3:3; 3:8. Compare Lk. 15:13. See also 1 Thess. 5:7.


5:20.  1 Thess. 5:18.

" Eph. 5:22-24 " Tit. 2:4-5.

5:21.  Rom. 12:10; 2 Cor. 5:11; 7:1; Gal. 5:13; Phil. 2:3.
Compare Jas. 4:6-7; 4:10; 1 Pet. 5:5-6.

5:22.  1 Pet. 3:1; Compare 1 Cor. 11:3.


Note that οὐτέρον is only found in Eph. 5:26 and Tit. 3:5 in the New Testament.


5:27.  2 Cor. 11:2; Col. 1:22.

5:29.  Compare 1 Thess. 2:7. Only in these two passages in the New Testament is θαλάω found.

5:30.  Rom. 12:5; 1 Cor. 6:15; 12:27.

5:31.  1 Cor. 6:16.

5:32.  1 Tim. 3:16.


Ephesians, Chapter 6.
Ephesians, Chapter 6 (Contd.).

6:1-3. Col. 3:20; 1 Tim. 3:4;
   " Eph. 6:5-7 " 1 Tim. 6:1-2.
   " Eph. 6:5-8 " Tit. 2:9-10.
6:5. 1 Cor. 7:15; Phil. 2:12.
6:8. 2 Cor. 5:10; Gal. 3:28; 6:10.
6:10-17. With Eph. 6:10-11 compare 1 Cor. 16:13.
   " Eph. 6:10-13 " 1 Thess. 5:6, 8.
   " Eph. 6:10-11 " 1 Tim. 6:11-12.
   " Eph. 6:10-14 " Jas. 4:7.
   " Eph. 6:10-14 " 1 Pet. 5:8; 5:9; 5:12.
6:11. Compare 1 Tim. 3:7; 2 Tim. 2:26. See also 2 Cor. 2:11.
6:12. 2 Cor. 10:3-4; Heb. 2:14. Compare Rom. 8:38-39; 1 Cor. 15:24; Phil. 2:10.
6:13. Compare Lk. 11:22. These two passages together with Eph. 6:11 are the only ones in which παντοκράτωρ occurs in the New Testament.
6:19. Rom. 15:30; 2 Cor. 6:11; Phil. 1:20.
6:20. 2 Cor. 5:20; Phm. 9. Only here in Eph. and 2 Cor. does πρεσβεύω occur in the New Testament.
Ephesians, Chapter 6 (Contd.).

6:21-22. Col. 4:7-9; Phm. 12.

6:23-24. Compare Rom. 16:20 (or 16:24; the text here is uncertain); 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 13:14; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; Col. 4:18; 1 Thess. 5:28; 2 Thess. 3:18; Phm. 25; 1 Tim. 6:21; 2 Tim. 4:22; Tit. 3:15; Heb. 13:25; 1 Pet. 5:14; 3 Jn. 15; Rev. 22:21.
PART II.

A. Common Material in Ephesians.

i. Conventional Epistolary Elements.

"Paul had better work to do than the writing of books, and he did not flatter himself that he could write Scripture; he wrote letters, real letters, as did Aristotle and Cicero, as did the men and women of the Fayyum. They differ from the messages of the homely Papyrus leaves from Egypt not as letters, but only as the letters of Paul".¹

Ephesians may not be by Paul and it may not be a true letter, but it is certainly cast in the contemporary epistolographical mould. Words and phrases typical of the ancient letter emerge here and there throughout Ephesians and nowhere more prominently than in those parts which conform to the standards of the day. This is particularly true of Eph. 1:1-2; 1:3-14; 1:15-16a; 1:16b-21; 6:21-22; 6:23-24.

Thus in Eph. 1:1 we have first the name of the writer, second a brief statement of identity, and third the designation of the recipients. Every fully Pauline letter in the New Testament, and each is a true letter, begins with the name of the writer. The Pastorals, James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, Revelation (1:4) likewise respect this form, as do virtually the second and third Johannine tracts with their cryptic 'the elder'. In some of his letters Paul

¹ Deissmann, G. A., Bible Studies, Edinburgh. Eng. Trans. 1901, pg. 44.
links the name of another person (or persons) with his own at the start.

With the exception of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, the name of the writer is followed by a statement of his office in every Pauline letter, the Pastorals, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Jude. In 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians, and 2 Timothy there is added, as in Ephesians, the phrase 'by the will of God'.

The Ephesian address in form resembles that in letters like 1 and 2 Corinthians and Philippians. The almost certain spuriousness of the reading 'at Ephesus' in Eph. 1:1 raises doubts as to whether Ephesians was destined for one church-community, or for a cycle of them, or for the Church at large. But even if the place name is rejected a form of address remains very similar to that found in most comparable New Testament writings, whether private notes to individuals like Philemon, or homilies like James intended for a wider circle.

All these canonical documents, however, owe their opening format to the practice in letter writing that lay around them. Many of the 'every day' letters found at Oxyrhynchus share precisely this initial structure though naturally lacking the specifically Christian tang of the Biblical writings. It is clear that the very close similarities between the Ephesian address and others in the New Testament are simply due to the writers' following current usage.

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2. Strictly the praescript. The address would be on the cover or the outside of the letter.
The same holds good of the salutation in Eph. 1:2, "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." The combination of 'grace' and 'peace' is found in all the Pauline letters, Titus, 1 and 2 Peter, Revelation (1:4), within the Petrine literature, the additional phrase 'be multiplied to you'. This basic pair gives way to the triad 'grace', 'mercy', and 'peace' in 1 and 2 Timothy and 2 John; while in Jude we have the unique grouping 'mercy', 'peace', 'love'. All this is but the 'Christianizing' of the habit in contemporary letter-writing of affixing to the address some such formula as χαίρειν, πολλα χαίρειν, or πλείστα χαίρειν. The first of these Greek formulae is found in two letters embedded in Acts, that of the Apostles and Elders to the Gentiles in Acts 15:23 and that of Claudius Lysias in Acts 23:26, as well as in James 1:1. The other two, especially the third, occur frequently outside the canonical writings. The corresponding Hebraic formula was 'peace'. It is debatable whether χαίρειν was consciously transmuted to χάρις by the New Testament writers, but beyond doubt the presence of these benedictory greetings is due to current influence in letter-writing. The early Christian writers, many of them Jewish, fused the blessings normative of the Christian and Hebraic faiths and produced the 'grace-peace' formula.

Again, 'in Paul's time it was good manners, to judge from the papyri, to begin a letter, after the address and greeting, with some pious expression, usually a prayer for
the well-being of the recipient, sometimes a thanksgiving to the Gods."³

Thus a second century A.D. papyrus from the Fayum - the well known letter of Apion - runs:

"Apion to Epimachus, his father and lord many greetings. Before all things I pray that thou art in health, and that thou dost prosper and fare well continually⁴ together with my sister and her daughter and my brother. I thank the Lord Serapis that, when I was in peril in the sea, he saved me immediately."⁵

A second letter from the same writer to his sister runs:

"... many greetings. Before all things I pray that thou art in health, for I myself also am in health. Making mention of thee before the Gods here I received a little letter from Antoninus."⁶

A third letter from a prodigal son to his mother (second century) runs:

"Antonis Longus to Nilus his mother, many greetings. And continually do I pray that thou art in health. I make intercession for thee day by day to the Lord Serapis."⁷

⁴. Cf. 3 Jn. 2.
This epistolary convention has left its mark in several New Testament documents, viz., Rom. 1:8-10; 1 Cor. 1:4-5; Phil. 1:3-5; 1:9; Col. 1:3-4; 9 ff.; 1 Thess. 1:2-3; 2 Thess. 1:3; 1:11; Phm. 4-6; and 2 Tim. 1:3. Its influence is apparent in Ephesians where the thanksgiving has been expanded into a dazzling hymn of praise to God extending from 1:3 to 1:14, and is very obvious in 1:15-16a. In 1:16b ff. there is the customary prayer for the readers, in this case for their further spiritual enlightenment. The parallelism in these sections of the New Testament is noteworthy:

**Eph. 1:15-17.** "For this reason, because I have heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your love toward all the saints, I do not cease to give thanks for you, remembering you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give you..."

**Rom. 1:8;10.** "First, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for all of you, because your faith is proclaimed in all the world. For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers, asking that..."

**1 Cor. 1:4-5.** "I give thanks to God always for you because of the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus, that in every way you were enriched in him with all speech and all knowledge."

**Phil. 1:3-5.** "I thank my God in all my remembrance of you, always in every prayer of mine for you all making my prayer with joy, thankful for your partnership in the gospel from the first day until now."

**1:9.** "And it is my prayer that your love may abound more and more..."

**Col. 1:3-4.** "We always thank God, the Father of our Lord"
Col. 1:3-4 (Contd.) Jesus Christ, when we pray for you, because we have heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and of the love which you have for all the saints..."

1:9ff. "And so, from the day we heard of it, we have not ceased to pray for you, asking that you may be filled with the knowledge of his will..."

1 Thess. 1:2-3. "We give thanks to God always for you all, constantly mentioning you in our prayers, remembering before our God and Father your work of faith and labour of love and steadfastness of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ."

2 Thess. 1:3. "We are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren, as is fitting, because your faith is growing abundantly, and the love of every one of you for one another is increasing."

1:11. "To this end we always pray for you, that our God may make you worthy of his call, and may fulfil every good resolve and work of faith by his power."

Phm. 4-6. "I thank my God always when I remember you in my prayers, because I hear of your love and of the faith which you have toward the Lord Jesus and all the saints, and I pray that the sharing of your faith may promote the knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ."

2 Tim. 1:3. "I thank God whom I serve with a clear conscience, as did my fathers, when I remember you constantly in my prayers."

There are patently strong resemblances between these passages in vocabulary, as well as in structure and in position. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ἀδιακαλέστως or ἀδιακαλέστως</th>
<th>Rom.; 1 Thess.; 2 Tim.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>δέομαι or δεήσομεν</td>
<td>Rom.; Phil. (twice); 2 Tim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εὐχαριστοῦμεν</td>
<td>Rom.; 1 Cor.; Eph.; Phil.; Col.; 1 Thess.; 2 Thess.; Phm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μενεῖ or μενεῖμεν τοιοῦτον</td>
<td>Rom.; Eph.; Phil.; 1 Thess.;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several of these words are common enough in the New Testament, e.g., εὐχαριστῶ occurs 30 or 31 times, apart from these passages, depending on the reading adopted in Rom. 7:25. Προσεύχομαι, προσευχή, πάντοτε are all frequent. Δέομαι and δέος are only slightly less familiar. The conjunction of the words in these passages is, however, highly significant. But even more impressive is the incidence of rare words. Μυεία is found only once outside these sections (1 Thess. 3:6); the phrase μυείαν πολείσθαι is confined to them; while ἀδιαλείπτως occurs elsewhere only twice (1 Thess. 2:13; 5:17), and ἀδιαλείπτως only once (Rom. 9:2). These affinities are not due to literary dependence, unless in the case of Ephesians-Colossians, but to the utilisation of current forms and language in letter writing.

Εὐχαριστῶ is a regular word with which to begin a papyrus letter. Compare, e.g., the first letter of Apion quoted above:

"I thank ( εὐχαριστῶ ) the Lord Serapis."

Μυείαν πολείσθαι is a stock epistolary phrase. Compare, e.g., the second letter of Apion quoted above:

"... making mention of thee ... " -μυείαν (μυείαν) σου πολούμενος.
The practice of affirming one's constant mediation for the reader was habitual at the start of a letter. It should be noticed that one occurrence of μνεία (1 Thess. 3:6) and one of the two occurrences of ἀδιάλειπτος (1 Thess. 2:13), apart from the passages in question, are in phrases with an epistolary echo. The second occurrence of ἀδιάλειπτος (1 Thess. 5:17) is, as we shall see, in a block of material belonging to the concluding portion of an early Christian catechism.

The close of Ephesians (6:21-24) lacks the terminal hall-marks of the normal ancient letter in that it has no greetings as have Colossians (4:10 ff.) and Romans (16). On the other hand the section 6:21-22, when taken at its face value, suggests that Tychicus will convey salutations orally; while the blessing in 6:23-24 may perhaps be regarded as implying a general salutation to 'the brethren' and to 'all who love our Lord Jesus Christ.'

The usual first century practice was to conclude a letter with the 'Vale' - ἔρεωσο or the variant: ἔρεωσο θαλασσάμες εὐχαριστοῦμεν. The former formula occurs once in the New Testament in Acts 15:29 - ἔρεωσόντε. But in Ephesians, as in all the Pauline letters, the Pastorals, Hebrews, and Revelation, this formula gives way to the typical benedictory 'grace'. The Ephesians benediction has, however, several curious features, viz.,

It is in the third, and not the second person, unlike all the other benedictions. But compare Gal. 6:16;
it is tri-partite - peace, love, grace; the Pauline order of 'grace', 'peace' in benedictory greetings is reversed, and we have 'peace' given first.

In line with certain other New Testament writings, viz., Col. 4:18; 1 Tim. 6:21; 2 Tim. 4:22; Tit. 3:15; Heb. 13:25, 'grace' is here used absolutely. In all the earlier letters there is added the explanatory 'of the/our Lord Jesus (Christ).' This feature may have a chronological value.

One last epistolary phrase, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, (Eph. 4:1), should be noted. This was very common in letters of the period and it is frequent in the New Testament, e.g., Acts 27:34; Rom. 12:1; 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor. 1:10; 4:16; 16:16; 2 Cor. 2:8; Phil. 4:2. Curiously the phrase in Rom. 12:1 immediately succeeds a doxology as here.

ii. Benedictory Formulae.

We have already seen that the benedictory greeting and the final benediction proper in Ephesians and in other New Testament documents owe their presence largely to current epistolary practice. We may now go further and assert that these New Testament benedictory phrases were themselves conventional and fairly stereotyped at an early date.

There can be no question that formulae were used in the primitive Church. Even the original Jewish-Christian Church had its formulae in Aramaic that became so 'fixed' that they passed over into the Hellenistic Church still clothed in their mother language.
The use of Abba and Maranatha in letters to predominantly Gentile churches illustrates this. Doubtless it was Dominical usage that gave Abba its initial popularity, and doubtless the affixed Greek equivalent ὅ πατὴρ (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6; cf. Mk. 14:36) was originally explanatory as the Church impinged on the Greek-speaking world, but by the time there were written Christian documents the duplication meant little more than intensification and the phrase 'Abba, Father' had already acquired a doctrinal-devotional value even in the Gentile Church which it had entered perhaps through the liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer.

It is the same with Maranatha (1 Cor. 16:22; cf. Phil. 4:5; Rev. 22:20). As a neat phrase summing up the Christian hope it must have early become popular or else the Corinthians would never have understood it. It appears as a stock phrase in the Didache.8

These two examples make it clear that formulae are almost as old as the Church. It is further always more probable that formulary expressions should spring from the community as such, since they express something communal, rather than from any brilliant individual within that community. This factor explains, and in turn receives confirmation from, the

somewhat formal impersonal tone of the benedictory phrases in the New Testament. Thus Eph. 1:2 runs:

"Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." In all the benedictory greetings in the New Testament, except in Jude, we find the basic 'grace' and 'peace'. All else is but a variation on this theme. The process of elaboration that took place is easily discernible. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Grace to you and peace</th>
<th>from God our Father</th>
<th>and the Lord Jesus Christ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rom. 1:7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Cor. 1:3</td>
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<td>2 Cor. 1:2</td>
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<td>Gal. 1:3</td>
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<td>Eph. 1:2</td>
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<td>Phil. 1:2</td>
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<td>Col. 1:2</td>
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<td>1 Thess. 1:1</td>
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<td>2 Thess. 1:2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Phm. 3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

9. The evidence that supports the reading 'our' balances evenly that which supports 'the'.

10. The reading 'our' is perhaps preferable.
| 1 Tim. 1:2. | Grace, mercy, and peace. | from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord. |
| 2 Tim. 1:2. | Grace, mercy, and peace. | from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord. |
| Tit. 1:4. | Grace and peace | from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour. |
| 1 Pet. 1:2. | May grace and peace be multiplied to you. | May grace and peace be multiplied to you. |
| 2 Pet. 1:2. | May grace and peace be multiplied to you. | May grace and peace be multiplied to you. |
| Rev. 1:4. | Grace to you and peace | from him who is and who was and who is to come, and from the seven spirits who are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ the faithful witness, the first-born of the dead, and the ruler of kings on earth. |

The benedictory greeting in Eph. 1:2 is therefore paralleled in seven Pauline letters. Not only does this particular blessing possess the solemn weighty tone of a fixed liturgical phrase; it is also composite being itself made up of a series of prior formalized phrases, viz., 'Grace and peace' is an early Christian combination of two much older formulae, a combination that shows the Judaic origin of Gentile Christianity;

11. Compare 2 Jn. 3.
'God our Father' is itself a Christian doctrinal-devotional term (cf. Abba); 'Our Lord Jesus Christ' is a primitive liturgical phrase, a Hellenistic cosmopolitanization of the early Aramaic cult-title Maran. 12

It is thus altogether probable that here we have a ready made benedictory formula of credal importance which Paul found in use in the church-communities of his day, and this would be quite demonstrated if the suspicion is correct that neither 'grace' nor 'peace' is used in a typically Pauline sense in these formulae. The meaning of both seems to be thinner than in Pauline usage. It should be noted that this benedictory formula is introduced at the same point in all the letters, due to epistolary practice, but despite the comprehensiveness of its content it never receives any line of explanation which suggests that it was already familiar to the readers.

The benedictions proper in the New Testament at the close of the various writings consist simply of an invocation of 'grace', except in the case of 2 Cor. 13:13

12. Maran or Mari. This was possibly the title used of Jesus in 'Aramaic-speaking circles outside Jerusalem, possibly in Antioch or the neighbourhood' rather than in Jerusalem or Galilee. See Beginnings, vol.1, pg. 416.

Maran is regarded as of Jerusalemite origin by Deissmann. See Deissmann, L.A.E., pg. 350.
with its full apostolic triple benediction; Eph. 6:23-24 with 'peace', 'love', 'grace'; and 1 Pet. 5:14, 3 Jn. 15, with 'peace'. It may be that the prayer in Eph. 6:23 for 'love' with faith echoes the second term of the benediction in 2 Cor. 13:13. The invocation of 'grace', however, in Eph. 6:24 goes back to the general terminal benediction of the early Church.

All the Pauline Epistles, the Pastorals, Hebrews, and Revelation end with the invocation of 'grace'. This benediction was so fixed by Paul's time that when he wrote Colossians he simply said 'Grace be with you,' apparently feeling that the additional and explanatory clause 'of the/our Lord Jesus (Christ)′ was no longer necessary. In Ephesians, the Pastorals, and Hebrews 'grace' is similarly used absolutely.

Thus in Eph. 1:2 we have a benedictory formula of the early Church, and in Eph. 6:23-24 an adaptation of a benedictory formula so well known as to call for no explanation.


In discussing epistolary elements in Ephesians we observed that the usual thanksgiving, though only formally expressed in 1:15-16, is really the influential factor behind the whole section 1:3-14. In this section the normally brief, often perfunctory, pagan thanksgiving has been transformed into a doxological hymn of kaleidoscopic
brilliance and variety. But even this passage is not altogether the creation of the writer. At this point we are concerned with the doxology at its start, which we will examine along with that in 3:20-21.

Eph. 1:3, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ..."

Eph. 3:20-21. "Now to him who by the power at work within us is able to do far more abundantly than all that we ask or think, to him be glory in the Church and in Christ Jesus to all generations, for ever and ever. Amen."

The formal praising of God was self-evidently a typical feature of Jewish worship and it is not surprising that this feature was carried over into the New Testament. Even in the oldest segments of the Old Testament there are doxological fragments, and long before the Christian era there was an elaborate Jewish liturgy. This practice of 'praising' or 'glorifying' God in Jewish worship had by the period of the beginning of Christianity so stamped itself on the mind of the common people that we find them ascribing glory to God almost automatically on any suitable pretext. This is why in the Gospel-narratives the gesta Christi frequently induce the onlookers to 'glorify' God. Thus in Matt. 9:8, after the cure of the paralytic, the crowds 'glorified' God.

When we come to the formal doxologies of the New Testament the impress of Jewish practice is clear. That
the Christian doxologies were mainly liturgical in character may be deduced from 2 Cor. 1:20.

"For all the promises of God find their Yes in him. That is why we utter the Amen through him, to the glory of God."

Some such passage of the Jewish Scriptures as 1 Chron. 29:10-13 may be the prototype of the more developed doxologies though their ultimate matrix is much less complex. Be that as it may, there grew in Judaism, and later in Christianity, two main types of doxology both of which are represented in Ephesians:

(1) A type of doxology commencing with the word 'blessed' (εὐλογηθῶς) - Eph. 1:3;
(2) A type of doxology ascribing 'glory' to God - Eph. 3:20-21.

(1) The εὐλογηθῶς type is found in:
Rom. 1:25. the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen.
Rom. 9:5. God who is over all be blessed forever. Amen.13
2 Cor. 1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...

13. Perhaps we should read here, "Christ, who is God over all, blessed forever."
2 Cor. 11:31. The God and Father of the Lord Jesus, he who is blessed forever...

Eph. 1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...

1 Pet. 1:3. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ!^{14}

The wording of this doxology is identical in 2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:3; and 1 Pet. 1:3, but this is not to deny that there is a perceptible difference in emphasis between 2 Cor.—Eph. and 1 Pet. The passage in 2 Cor. to which the doxology is prefixed was composed at a time when the tension in Paul’s mind about the result of an earlier letter to the Corinthian church had been suddenly released on the receipt of good news, and in a mood of enthusiastic gratitude the Apostle lets the doxology pour from his lips. This same note of rapture seems likewise to sound from the Ephesian passage though its cause is not obvious on the supposition of Pauline authorship. If, on the other hand, Ephesians was written by a Paulinist as an introduction to the Pauline Corpus then perhaps the section beginning with the doxology owes its ebullient vigour to the writer’s thankfulness for the full rich content of the Pauline message, a message which,

^{14} Compare these examples with Lk. 19:38 (LXX, Ps. 118:26) which combines both types of doxology, but with Εὐλογημένος in place of Εὐλογήτως.
as he contemplates its breadth and depth and height, stagers him by its magnificence.

But in the Petrine literature (1 Pet. 1:3) the stress lacks this exquisitely personal tone and is much more objective in quality. The exuberance of both the Ephesian and the Corinthian doxological contexts has been modified by the application of a more intellectual approach, and the impression is left that the Petrine section has been superscribed with the doxology rather because that was the only reasonable preface to a recapitulation of the work of God in Christ for believers.

In the Tables under Eph. 1:3 in Part I a large number of almost identical blessings are given from the canonical books of the Old Testament in Greek, and the Hebrew יָדַע is in practically all of them rendered by εὐλογητός, which is regularly used of God in the Septuagint. This 'blessing' of God was, of course, typical of Jewish liturgical practice and eventually the Eighteen Benedictions were recited three times a day in the synagogue. In the extracanonical books of the Old Testament similar doxological formulae occur.\(^{15}\)

It is curious to note that, with the possible exception of Eph. 1:3, ἔλογητός, which is always used of God in the New Testament, is only found in the New Testament in passages with a Jewish flavour. Thus Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31 were all written by the Jewish-Christian Paul; 1 Pet. 1:3 has been traditionally associated with a Jewish Christian though the document as a whole shows Hellenistic cult influences. Lastly it occurs twice in the Gospels. In the first Gospel passage (M.k. 14:61) ἔλογητός is used absolutely of God for the only time in the New Testament and it is put in the mouth of the High Priest. In the second (Lk. 1:68) it is used at the commencement of the Song of Zechariah (the Benedictus) which is in the main based on Old Testament prophecies.

This doxology in Ephesians has, therefore, intimate Jewish affinities. In form it is the same as the doxologies of the canonical and extra-canonical books of the Old Testament. Εὐλογητός is normally used of God in the Jewish blessings and its New Testament incidence is in contexts with a Jewish connexion. The Jewish formulae were fixed in form and it is clear that a typically Jewish blessing has been taken over and 'Christianized' by the appropriate addition of 'and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' This change must have taken place very early in the primitive Jewish Christian

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16. But most first century A.D. Jews were partly 'Hellenized.'
church-community. The first Christians were all Jews and had a large stock of suitable monotheistic doxological phrases which only needed slight adaptation to make them expressive of the young religion. This Christian doxology was well known long before any of the writings in which we find it was composed. It is introduced in 2 Cor., Eph., and 1 Pet. as something familiar even if it is used in a somewhat different mood in 2 Cor.-Eph as compared with 1 Pet.

In Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 2 Cor. 11:31 there is a simpler less formal doxology with εὐλογητός. Yet it too is relatively fixed. In each case the context suggests that Paul is rounding off what he has to say by means of a favourite recollected doxological formula. In each case the formula ends with the tell-tale 'forever'; while the Roman passages further conclude with a liturgical 'Amen'. The formula in 2 Cor. 11:31 immediately follows the stately liturgical words: 'the God and Father of the Lord Jesus'.

(2) The ὑσσος type of doxology is by far the commoner in the New Testament, viz.,

Rom. 11:36. To him be glory forever. Amen.
Rom. 16:25-27. ...to the only wise God be glory forever more through Jesus Christ! Amen.
Gal. 1:5. ...to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.
Eph. 3:20-21. ...to him be glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all generations, for ever
119.

and ever. Amen.

Phil. 4:20. To our God and Father be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

1 Tim. 1:17. To the King of ages, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

2 Tim. 4:18. To him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.


1 Pet. 5:11. To him be the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

2 Pet. 3:18. To him be the glory both now and to the day of eternity. Amen.

Jude 24-25. Now to him who is able to keep you from falling and to present you without blemish before the presence of his glory with rejoicing to the only God, our Saviour through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and authority, before all time and now and forever. Amen.

Rev. 1:6. ...to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Rev. 5:13. "To him who sits upon the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honour and glory and might for ever and ever!" (And the four living creatures said, "Amen!")
Rev. 7:12. "Amen! Blessing and glory and wisdom and thanksgiving and honour and power and might be to our God for ever and ever! Amen."

The following passages from Revelation should be compared:

Rev. 4:11. "Worthy art thou, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honour and power."

Rev. 5:12. "Worthy is the Lamb who was slain, to receive power and wealth and wisdom and might and honour and glory and blessing."

Rev. 11:13. ... and gave glory to the God of heaven.

Rev. 14:7. "Fear God and give him glory..."

Rev. 16:9. ...they did not repent and give him glory.

Rev. 19:1. "Hallelujah! Salvation and glory and power belong to our God."

Rev. 19:7. "Let us rejoice and exult and give him the glory."

The simplest form of this type of doxology is in Rom. 11:36, but the content is altered and elaborated by the various writers to conform to their own ideas as in Jude 24-25 where there is great amplification, or in 1 Pet. 5:11 where 'dominion' is substituted for 'glory'. The essence, however, is the same in them all. This doxological form is very old and is still in its pre-Christian garb in Rom. 11:36. It was ideal for Christian use and passed imperceptibly into the primitive Church speedily becoming
so widespread that a mutation of it was attached to the Lord's Prayer - a doxological accretion probably first picked up when that prayer was used in public worship. The angel's song in Lk. 2:14, a hymn of the early Church, also embodies this type of doxology.

In the New Testament most of the doxologies are addressed to God; some are addressed to God through Christ; some are addressed directly to Christ; and some are of doubtful address. Thus, while in the first instance principally liturgical in character, they came to acquire also a credal significance by making articulate the doctrine that the Risen Christ participated in honour with the Father.

Structurally these doxologies are identically tripartite:

(1) All begin with a statement of the Divine Person to be 'glorified'.

(2) The second term is 'glory' with addition(s) or substitute(s). In Rev. 7:12, for example, there are seven terms which show that even in the boldly Judaic group from which that work originated the doctrine of the absolute transcendence of Christ had taken firm root.

(3) The last part is always a slightly variable clause stressing the timeless duration of the Divine rule.

17. Compare Did. 8:2,3; 9:4; 10:2. See Lightfoot, A.F. Fath, pg. 221.
All these doxologies, except perhaps 2 Pet. 3:18, conclude with a liturgical 'amen'. The 'amen' was customarily said in the synagogue by the people after benedictions and doxologies and passed into the liturgy of the Christian Church long before Paul's day - a fact which elucidates his passing reference to the habitual 'amen' in 1 Cor. 14:16. Its use after a doxology is well illustrated in Rev. 5:6-14.

To this second type of doxology Eph. 3:20-21 belongs. It represents the writer's modification of an existing formula.

Finally, there are probably doxological echoes in:-
Eph. 1:6. ...to the praise of his glorious grace ...
Eph. 1:12. ...for the praise of his glory.
Eph. 1:14. ...to the praise of his glory.


Here we have a passage that is composite, representing the collation of several relatively 'fixed' pre-Pauline credal and apologetic formulae. The writer, influenced by current epistolary practice, has just given a prayer for the spiritual enlightenment of his readers (1:16b ff.). He has asked that the recipients may understand the 'immeasurable greatness' of God's power towards the faithful and he enlarges the thought by saying that it is this self-same power which raised Christ from the dead, seated him at God's right-hand, and gave him universal transcendence. These three ideas, insinuated into the expansion of the concept of the Divine power, express very primitive and already traditional postulates about Christ.
In the Tables in Part I several passages from the New Testament are compared with Eph. 1:20-22. Two of these passages, Rom. 8:34-39 and 1 Pet. 3:21-22, are of great interest.

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<td>Christ's Resurrection</td>
<td>... he raised him from the dead</td>
<td>... who is to condemn? Is it through the resurrection of Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised from the dead</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christ at the right hand of God.</td>
<td>and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places.</td>
<td>who is at the right hand of God... who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ's universal transcendence.</td>
<td>far above all rule and authority and power and dominion... and he has put all things under his feet.</td>
<td>...neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, ...will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.</td>
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In these writings the three doctrines of the Resurrection, the Session, and the Transcendence of Christ all appear in compact blocks of material and they appear in the same sequence. Each document employs the testimonial psalm 110 (Ps.110:1; LXX 109:1); while Ephesians certainly, and 1 Peter probably, alludes to the further testimonial psalm 3 (Ps. 8:6; LXX 8:7).

These similarities, far from proving any direct and formal inter-dependence among the three Epistles, indicate...
rather their complete independence of one another. On the other hand, the similarities are too great for us to conclude that the writer is in each case giving his personal uninfluenced view. There is a common link between them and the link is this - that each writer is reporting teaching that belonged to the general Christian faith as exemplified throughout the New Testament. Indeed we have here virtually excerpta from early credal or semi-credal statements.

The first of the doctrines given in these three 'parallel' passages is, as we should expect, one of the oldest Christian articles. It occurs in the primitive creed incorporated in 1 Cor. 15. There Paul writes (1 Cor. 15:3-4),

"For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received,
that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,
that he was buried,
that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures,
and that he appeared to Cephas,
then to the twelve."

This creed must be of great age for Paul is here in 1 Cor., which is to be dated 55-56 A.D., reminding his readers of the doctrine he had earlier passed on to them, and which he had earlier still himself been taught. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Paul was taught this when he was a catechumen after his conversion. His conversion took place between 30 and
38 A.D., and probably nearer the former than the latter date. If he learned this creed after his conversion when preparing for Church membership it may go back to within a year or two of the events it rehearses. Again, all the internal evidence of this creed points to its early origin in Palestinian (perhaps Damascene) Christianity. The main point, however, is that this creed shows that the Church's preaching between 30 and 50 A.D. had its pivot in the death and resurrection of Jesus and that theological reflection on both events had led to their being explained in terms of the prophetic Old Testament. From the very start of Christianity the main elements of the new faith found their interpretation in the old faith. The earliest Christian preaching embodied the results of this hermeneutic activity.\(^{18}\) The linking of the old and the new was inevitable since it provided the only means of satisfying the demand of primitive Palestinian (Jewish) Christians that Jesus be truly shown as the foretold Messiah. It is for this reason that what is probably another very old formula in Rom. 1:3–5 underlines that Jesus was descended from the seed of David—a notion which is as typically Palestinian and pre-Pauline as it is typically un-Pauline.

It was, of course, natural that the idea of God's raising Christ from the dead should from the beginning be the principal article in the Church's faith. We should, therefore, anticipate its frequent recurrence in such Christian documents as came later to be written, and we should further anticipate that this

\(^{18}\) See the early speeches in Acts.
article would become set in a more or less fixed form. This is exactly what we do discover.

In Rom. 10:8-9 Paul refers to 'the word of faith' which lies behind his preaching, a phrase which may mean 'the formula that expresses faith'. At any rate we have a credal fragment from primitive Christian tradition in the two articles which immediately follow:

(1) The confession that 'Jesus is Lord';
(2) The belief that God raised him from the dead.

It is the second article that is of interest to us, for Paul is clearly taking for granted that it was common property in the early Church. But even if we did not have this passage to prove the common nature of the article we could reach the same conclusion by deduction from other passages. Thus,

Acts. 3:15 ... whom God raised from the dead.
Acts. 4:10 ... whom God raised from the dead.
Acts.13:30 ... But God raised him from the dead.
Rom. 4:24 ... that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord.
Rom. 8:11a... who raised Jesus from the dead....
Rom. 8:11b... who raised Christ Jesus from the dead...
Gal. 1:1 ... who raised him from the dead ...
Col. 2:12 ... who raised him from the dead.
1 Thess.1:10... whom he raised from the dead...
1 Pet.1:21 ... who raised him from the dead...

20. A very old article given again in 1 Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11; cf. Acts 2:36; 2 Cor. 4:5.
These passages are too alike to be explained coincidentally. In every case ἐγείρω not ἀνάστημι is used; and in every case the phrase is ἐκ (τῶν) νεκρῶν, not ἀπό.

The assertion that God raised (ἐγείρω) Christ is likewise made in Acts 5:30; 10:40; 13:37; 1 Cor. 6:14; 15:15; 2 Cor. 4:14, but without the definitive addition of 'from the dead'.

The evidence thus indicates that from a very early date the primitive Church had God's raising of Christ from the dead as an article of faith and that this doctrine was soon framed in comparatively stereotyped credal language. This credal formula evidently lies behind Eph. 1:20 and Rom. 8:34, and is reflected in 1 Pet. 3:21 though the diction there is different (ἀνάστασις). It is, however, altogether probable that a variant form of this credal article used ἀνάστημι since that is the verb used in Acts 2:24; 2:32; 10:41; 13:33; 13:34; 17:3; 17:31; 1 Thess. 4:14; in several Markan and Lukan and in one Johannine passage. The noun ἀνάστασις occurs in John 11:25; Acts 1:22; 2:31; 4:2; 4:33; 17:18; 26:23; Rom. 1:4; 6:5; Phil. 3:10. The likelihood of there being a variant form of this credal article using ἀνάστημι is strengthened by the occurrence of the variant in Rom. 1:4 which is itself almost certainly part of a pre-Pauline formula.

Thus the similarities between the first doctrinal statements those concerning the resurrection, in the three passages we have examined (Eph. 1:20-22; Rom. 8:34-39; 1 Pet. 3:21-22)
are due, not to any mutual dependence, but to the common use of a credal article which had two forms. The one form using ἐνθάρατος lies behind Eph. 1:20 and Rom. 8:34. The other form using ἀναστάσις and going back to ἀναστήσωs lies behind 1 Pet. 3:21.

When we turn to the second statement in our three 'parallel' passages, that Christ is at the right hand of God, we notice first that this doctrine is found widely throughout the New Testament. Thus:

Acts 2:33. Being therefore exalted at the right hand of God ...  
Acts 7:55... and Jesus standing at the right hand of God ...  
Acts 7:56... The Son of man standing at the right hand of God.  
Rom. 8:34... who is at the right hand of God ...  
Eph. 1:20... made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places ...  
Col. 3:1 ... where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God.  
Heb. 1:3 ... he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high ...  
Heb. 8:1 ... who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven ...  
Heb.10:12... he sat down at the right hand of God ...  
Heb.12:2 ... is seated at the right hand of the throne of God.  
1 Pet. 3:22.. and is at the right hand of God ...  

Compare Rev. 3:21. He who conquers, I will grant him to sit with me on my throne, as I myself conquered and sat down with my Father on his throne.
There are slight differences between these passages. Seven of them speak of Christ 'sitting'; two of him 'standing'; one of him being 'exalted'; two simply say that he 'is' at the right hand without further definition. Excepting Rev. 3:21 which represents a 'potted' version, and Acts 7:55-56 which has ἐκ δεξιῶν, all use the phrase ἐν δεξιᾷ.

The similarities in thought and language between these sections far outweigh the dissimilarities and all are obviously based on Ps. 110:1 (LXX 109:1),

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, Until I make thine enemies thy footstool.

We mentioned above that from the beginning of Christianity the main elements of the new faith found their interpretation in the old. The credal formulae in 1 Cor. 15:3 ff. and Rom. 1:3 ff., and the early preaching in Acts confirm this. The death and resurrection of Jesus had to be given some kind of explanation if Christianity were to spread, and this was especially true in the case of Jewish Christians and potential Jewish converts to whom the crucifixion was repulsive in the extreme. An explanation lay ready to hand in the writings of the Old Testament, particularly in its Messianic portions. So the death and resurrection came to be seen as the fulfillment of the Old Testament teaching. Paul himself accepted this theological interpretation of these events. This is shown in two ways. First, it is shown by incidental remarks which he slips into his letters, e.g. 2 Cor. 1:20 where speaking of
Christ he says, "For all the promises of God find their Yes in him." Second, it is shown in the straightforward unqualified way in which he accepts the early creeds as normative, e.g. 1 Cor. 15:3 ff.

This, then, may be granted that almost from the start the 'facts' of the Christian faith were interpreted in terms of the Old Testament. That is partly why Paul so often utilizes the Old Testament in his letters. It is further possible, indeed probable, that many of the Old Testament passages Paul uses were already used in the same sense before his day; in other words, were part of the traditional hermeneutic process. That is to say, there are strong grounds for believing that Paul used 'proof-texts' already in circulation.

It is antecedently likely that such proof-texts would be gathered by the members of the early Church. Pre-Christian Judaism probably had itself collections of Messianic and other texts. As Hatch put it,

"It may naturally be supposed that a race which laid stress on moral progress, whose religious services had variable elements of both prayer and praise, and which was carrying on an active propaganda, would have, among other books, manuals of morals, of devotion, and of controversy. It may also be supposed, if we take into consideration the contemporary habit of making collections of excerpta, and the special authority which the Jews attached to their sacred books, that some of these manuals would consist of extracts from the Old Testament.

Thus the only way left to the first Christians to refute the Jewish controversialists or to convince the Jew hesitating before the new faith was to take the Messianic proof-texts of the Jews themselves and turn them into an aggressive apologetic boomerang, to offer a Christian exegesis of these self-same Judaistic testimonial passages. That is, we suppose that the Jews had their own comparatively stereotyped proof-texts which were taken over by the early Christians in self-defence. This involves the further supposition that the Christian use of the Old Testament would in its turn be in many cases stereotyped and would be traditional before Paul's day. Such a supposition has been changed into a certainty by Rendel Harris who demonstrated that there existed a "book of testimonies" earlier than many portions of the New Testament.

On the other hand most of the writers of the New Testament were themselves too well versed in the teaching of the Old Testament to be altogether beholden to any collection or collections of proof-texts. Often their quotations from the Old Testament are their own, independently made. But many of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New Testament look as if they had seen long service in the apologetic struggle before this or that particular writer used them.


Little points, like mistaken references to the Old Testament, suggest that the writer or compiler is often quoting at second hand rather than going back to his sources. So in Matt. 27:9 a section from Zechariah is attributed to Jeremiah; while in Mark 1:2-3 the author says, "As it is written in Isaiah the prophet..." and goes on to give a composite quotation half from Isaiah and half from Malachi. Thus throughout the New Testament we find the writers using on occasion Old Testament texts already familiar in the Christian armoury.

It is one of these proof-texts that we have here in Eph. 1:20b. Here the 110th Psalm (LXX 109) is produced as proof that the risen Christ is at the right hand of God. This Psalm is so used in such different writings as Acts, Hebrews, and 1 Peter. Immediately afterwards in Eph. 1:22a Psalm 8 is brought forward to demonstrate that all things are subject to Christ. The same thought sequence occurs in Heb. 1:13 where Ps. 110:1 is quoted, followed by Ps. 8:4-6 in Heb. 2:6-8. Again in 1 Cor. 15:24-28 Ps. 110:1 is quoted in verse 25 followed by Ps. 8:6 in verse 27. Thus in three independent passages, 1 Cor. 15:24-28; Eph. 1:20-22; Heb. 1:13-2:6-8; proof of Christ's transcendence is given by quoting the same verse of Psalm 110 followed by the same verse of Psalm 8. The same happens in 1 Peter 3:21-22. In 3:22a we have Ps. 110:1 and in 3:22b an echo of Ps. 8:6. So we may now say that in three independent writings, 1 Cor., Eph., Heb., 1 Pet., or in

24. Some manuscripts read 'in the prophets'.
four if Ephesians is not by Paul, we have the same verses from the same psalms used in the same order for the same purpose. This is a clear testimonial fragment, the bolstering up of an argument by the use of Old Testament proof-texts familiar to the Church. Both of these psalms were in fact Messianic 'proof' psalms already in pre-Christian Judaism, as is evident in the case of Ps. 110., for example, from Matt. 22:41 ff. where the Jews in controversy with Jesus do not attempt to deny that the writer of the psalm was speaking of the Christ. That fact, together with the Dominical use of the psalm, must have made it of prime importance in primitive Christian apologetic and explains its frequent recurrence in the New Testament.

Thus in Eph. 1:20-22; Rom. 8:34-39, 1 Pet. 3:21-22 we have a snippet of genuine early Christian 'testimony' work in the use of Ps. 110 in all three sections and of Ps. 8 in Eph. and 1 Pet. That Christ was at the right hand of God with all things subject to him seems to have been one of the earliest Christian assertions that had the virtual value of an article of faith.

We should note that in the Roman passage there is added another early credal statement that Christ intercedes for men, a belief repeated in Heb. 7:25 and 1 Jn. 2:1.

The third section in our three 'parallel' passages aims at further emphasizing the supremacy of Christ by stating the

elements over which he is supreme and, as we have seen, by quoting Ps. 8:6 in Eph. 1:22a and alluding to it in 1 Pet. 3:22b. In these three passages (Eph., Rom., 1 Pet.) we are given a number of spiritual powers over which Christ is Lord. There are several comparable lists of this nature in the New Testament.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Rom. 8:38</th>
<th>1 Cor. 15:24</th>
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This hierarchical tabulation of 'powers' is neither accidental nor incidental. These tabulations had in fact an apologetic value for the propagators of Christianity. For these powers "were real and at least half-personal beings, and to us are 'laws of Nature', or powers of destiny, or, in any case, the terrifying mysteries of a world half-known."

26. See Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 207.
While to the people of the first century in general the powers or demons were held to be in some cases good and in others evil, to first century Christians they were "allevil", but nevertheless real, and were identified with the deities of the Pagan pantheon, who had been overthrown by Christ, but sought nevertheless to molest His disciples and lure them to destruction. How real and powerful this demon world was even to Paul appears in his warning concerning the danger of "having communion with devils" and in his hint that it was these demonic "rulers of this world", rather than any earthly authorities, who compassed the crucifixion of Jesus. How real these supernatural forces were indeed felt to be is plain from the words of the writer of Ephesians when he says in 6:12,

"For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places."

It was, therefore, essential that the message of the early Church should conclude these powers. In other words the Gospel had to have a cosmic significance. It had to be proclaimed as giving victory over all things including the powers. That is precisely how it was proclaimed.

In seven of the ten passages given above, viz., 1 Cor. 15:24; Eph. 1:21; Phil. 2:10; Col. 1:16; 2:10; 2:15; 1 Pet. 3:22, the lists of hierarchical powers are introduced only to show that Christ is superior to them. The same note is present in the remaining three passages though sounded differently. Thus in Rom. 8:38 the supremacy of the love of God in Christ towards believers is stressed; in Eph. 3:10 the supremacy of the Christian God is implied in the assertion that the powers had been unable to understand God's designs and must have them made known to them; in Eph. 6:12 the point is that while the Christian has to wrestle against principalities and powers yet he can emerge victorious by putting on the armour of God - another implication of the supremacy of the Christian God.

These lists represent an early fragment of Christian apologetic. They are data used by the Church to show that its message gives the believer not only deliverance from his own sins, but also from the supernatural forces ranged against him, because Christ and the Christian God are supreme over every power.

It is significant to note that four of these lists (Rom.; 1 Cor.; Eph. 1:21; 1 Pet.) occur in the same context as the primitive apologetic testimonial Ps. 110, and three of these four (1 Cor., Eph. 1:21; 1 Pet.) in the same context as both the testimonial Ps. 110 and the testimonial Ps. 8. Now in

29. Perhaps the reference is to God's supremacy. The exegesis is difficult.
1 Cor., Eph. 1:21, and 1 Pet., we have seen that the use of these two psalms indicates an example of very early testimony work, and it is probable that these lists of powers themselves soon became a factor in the testimonial and apologetic material of the spreading Church.

The same thought of the omni-supremacy of Christ occurs in 1 Cor. 8:6, "... yet for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist",

and in Col. 1:16-17, speaking of Christ,

"... for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities - all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together."

The passage from 1 Cor. 8:6 is of special interest for it denies the power of the so-called 'gods' and 'lords' of the pagan (1 Cor. 8:4-6) by means of a cosmological statement about God and Christ. 1 Cor. 8:6 is indeed an early Christian anti-polytheistic formula whose origin and development are easily traced. It goes back in the long run to an original Stoic 'almightiness formula'. The basic 'almightiness formula' appears in Rom. 11:36,

"Far from him and through him and to him are all things."

This formula, originally applied to the 'God' of Stoicism, is here applied to the God of Christianity. Speedily it was elaborated to meet the needs of Christian apologetic and in 1 Cor. 8:6 its terms are divided between God and Christ. In Col., where we have the doctrine of the cosmic Christ, its terms are developed and wholly applied to Christ (1:16-17). If we may judge from the Corinthian passage, Paul seems to have believed that Christ was the instrument in creation and ipso facto superior to all created things. Yet this was not the result of Paul's personal excogitation, for he slips the modified formula that expresses this idea (1 Cor. 8:6) into his argument as something well-known to his readers. Indeed the thought of Christ as instrument in creation is bound to have been inferred early in the Jewish Christian Church, since these Jewish Christians had in their erstwhile Judaism the same notion about the 'Wisdom' of God. The concept of Christ as world-creating crops up again not only in Col. 1:16-17 but also in such varied writings as John 1:3 and Heb. 1:2, there too as if it were a concept that the author took for granted. This all indicates that the cosmic supremacy of Christ was early an accepted doctrine of the Christian faith and it is this doctrine that is being supported in the lists of supernatural powers we have been examining. These lists once more confront us with primitive Christian material.

In the passages which we have been considering (Rom. 8:34-39; Eph. 1:20-22; 1 Pet. 3:21-22) we can claim that every element
belongs to the early preaching and teaching of the Church. We are not dealing with a case of direct dependence at all, but with three passages that vividly reflect the common Christian credo that was before them and around them in time. The fact that they express the same doctrines in the same order using the same arguments may well mean that these three sections represent a portion of fairly fixed early credal material used in primitive apologetic.

One last little point should be observed. In Eph. 1:21b Christ is said to be above 'every name that is named, not only in this age, but also in that which is to come'. The contrast between 'this age' and 'that age' runs through the New Testament, perpetuating the well known rabbinic distinction between This rabbinic idea, as is only to be expected, is common to many New Testament writers and is expressed repeatedly with only linguistic variations. The following table sums up the data: 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>New Testament References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ὅ ἐστιν οὗτος</td>
<td>ὅ ἐστιν οὗτος</td>
<td>Matt. 12:32; Lk.16:8; 20:34; Rom. 12:2; 1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6; 2:8; 3:18; 2 Cor. 4:4; Eph. 1:21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὅ ἐστιν οὗτος</td>
<td>ὅ ἐστιν οxFFFF虚空</td>
<td>Gal. 1:4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας</td>
<td>ὄνομα</td>
<td>1 Tim. 6:17; 2 Tim. 4:10; Tit. 2:12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁ κόσμος ὥστε</td>
<td>ὅ κόσμος ὥστε</td>
<td>1 Cor. 3:19; 5:10; 7:31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὃς ὁ Καρίας ὥστε</td>
<td>ὃς ὁ Καρίας ὥστε</td>
<td>Mk. 10:30 Lk. 12:18-30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>὜ψιν ὁ Καρίας</td>
<td>ὅ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας</td>
<td>Rom. 3:26 8:18; 11:5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὃς ὁ Καρίας ὥστε</td>
<td>ὃς ὁ Καρίας ὥστε</td>
<td>Heb. 9:9.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Ephesians we have the unique expressions,

\[ \text{ὁ αἰών τοῦ κόσμου τούτου} \quad (2:2), \]

and

\[ \text{οἱ αἰῶνες οἱ ἐπερχόμενοι} \quad (2:7). \]

V. A Portion of a (Baptismal) Hymn: Eph. 5:14.

The use of hymns among Christians is as old as the Church. The first hymns were psalms taken over directly from Judaism, though very soon hymns modelled on the psalms appeared.

The early use of hymns in the Church is well attested in several passages in the New Testament. In the ancient as in the modern Church hymns were primarily a medium of worship, but

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32. This section is greatly indebted to Hunter, A.M., Paul and His Predecessors, London, 1940, pgs. 44-45.

then, as now, they did have a secondary didactic value as is hinted in Col. 3:16.

Well before the end of the first century there were several classes of hymns in use in the Church.

First of all there were psalms taken over as they stood from Judaism. An obvious example is the psalm sung by the disciples at the Last Supper according to Matt. 26:30. Its peculiar associations must have given it considerable standing among the primitive Christians.

Closely akin to this class were Judaic psalms which were given a very marked Christian exegesis. Ps. 2:1-2 is employed in such a Christian sense in Acts 4:24 ff.

A little further removed from Judaism, though still intimately connected, were the Lukan canticles in which the Christian self-consciousness is just beginning to free itself from Judaic influence.

There seems, too, to have been at a very early stage a type of hymn that arose extemporaneously in those ecstatically possessed of the 'Spirit'. Such a hymn is probably referred to in 1 Cor. 14:26.

Lastly we have what may be called completely 'new' hymns, more characteristically Christian than either the Lukan canticles or the chants in Revelation.34 There is a true early

34. Some of these latter are Christian, some pre-Christian.
Christian hymn in 1 Tim. 3:16 while another notable example occurs in Phil. 2:6-11. A further excellent instance is provided by Eph. 5:14,

Therefore it is said,

"Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead, And Christ shall give you light."

The introductory formula is such as would preface a quotation from the Old Testament, but the lines that follow are neither from the Old Testament nor from its extra-canonical books. They do bear a superficial resemblance to Is. 60:1, but too superficial to presuppose a connexion. Yet it remains plain that the writer is slipping in some verse familiar to his readers. Where did it come from?

The only satisfactory answer seems to be that it comes from a hymn of the apostolic Church. This position is supported by the three-lined rhythmic order of the words with the first two lines rhyming (in the Greek); by the tell-tale introductory formula; and by the likeness to comparable hymns in contemporary mystery cults.

We may safely grant that here we have a fragment of an early hymn and the fact that it is presented as a quotation points to its having been well known to the readers. But how did it come to be so well known? We can only answer that question in terms of probabilities. But perhaps the context provides the clue.

The verse is set in one of the familiar 'light-darkness' 35

35. These passages themselves, as we shall see, were almost certainly associated with baptism.
passages which underlines the sharp ethical dualism between Christianity and paganism, between light and darkness.

Now the verse itself maintains this dualism in the form of waking and sleeping. It identifies sleeping with (ethical) death, and promises to him who wakens the light of Christ. The hymn indeed is a clarion call to abandon the old for the new. Such a call suits most fittingly the rite of baptism. A convert descending into the water for baptism would be thought of as thereby typifying his death and burial with Christ, a symbolic act and idea common in the Church as Rom. 6 makes clear. The point emerges lucidly in Rom. 6:4,

"We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life."

Here again is the recurrent contrast between the old life and the new that pervades the Ephesian section. This tends to confirm the baptismal setting of Eph. 5:14. The hymn probably pictures the convert in the baptismal water whereby he typifies his death with Christ; his leaving the water or 'wakening' whereby he typifies his resurrection with Christ in virtue of which he is promised light from Christ to aid him in the new life.

Probably then, we have here a very old baptismal hymn. If we further suppose that this paraenetic verse was chanted by the onlookers at the moment when the convert prepared to rise from his baptism, this in its turn explains the verse's presence in an ethically dualistic passage, and it also
explains why the writer could take for granted that his quotation would be thoroughly well known and thoroughly understood.


The description of Christ as the 'stone' - the rejected stone, the cornerstone, the chosen stone, the precious stone, the living stone, the stumbling stone, the stone that crushes (the rock over which men fall), - is fairly frequent in the New Testament writings. This curious doctrine is always stated by citing a very limited number of passages from the Old Testament. The number of times the doctrine is given coupled with the relative fixity in its expression indicates that we are not dealing either with casual quotations or with coincidental metaphors. 36

In the Synoptic Gospels the term 'stone' is quite clearly applied to Christ, by means of Old Testament quotations, in the parable of the vine-dressers and the heir. Thus:

verses 10;11 = verse 42 = Ps. 118:22- verse 17 = Ps. 118:22
Ps. 118:22-23. verse 18, cf. Dn. 2:34-35, 44;

In these parallel passages the Synoptists all quote Ps. 118 (LXX 117), Mark and Matthew giving verses 22,23, Luke giving only verse 22. In the Lukan passage this is followed by a citation made up from Is. 8:14-15 and Dn. 2:34-35, 44. Some manuscripts read this second Is. - Dn. citation in Matthew

36. Compare Christ as the 'Rock' in 1 Cor. 10:4-5.
also, but its presence there (T.R., verse 44) is either due to an early gloss or to an interpolation from Luke. In all three synoptists Ps. 118 is exactly quoted from the Septuagint. Here Christ is 'stone' that became 'head of the corner'.

In Acts 4:11, Ps. 118:22 crops up once more to depict Christ as the 'stone' that became 'head of the corner'. This time, however, the citation is not from the Septuagint and may represent an original translation from the Hebrew.

In Eph. 2:20 Christ is portrayed as the \( \alpha \kappa \rho \omega \gamma \omega \nu \iota \alpha \iota \sigma s \) - a very rare Greek word found again in the New Testament only in 1 Pet. 2:6. This passage is based on Is. 28:16 which in the Septuagint has \( \alpha \kappa \rho \omega \gamma \omega \nu \iota \alpha \iota \sigma s \) in close connexion with \( \theta \epsilon \mu \varepsilon \lambda \iota \sigma s \) as here.

But most interesting of all and most germane to our purpose are the two remaining passages, Rom. 9:32-33 and 1 Pet. 2:4-8. The complexity of the citations in these two passages, together with the fact that both passages are somehow related, makes them the key sections in this enquiry.

Set forth analytically these two passages present the following picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rom. 9:32-33</th>
<th>1 Pet. 2:4-8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verse 32 from Is. 8:14 a</td>
<td>verse 4 from Ps. 118:22 and Is. 28:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse 33 begins with Is. 28:16b.</td>
<td>verse 6 from Is. 28:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goes on to Is. 8:14a.</td>
<td>verse 7 from Ps. 118:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>returns to Is. 28:16b.</td>
<td>verse 8 from Is. 8:14:15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence adduced shows that those passages in the New Testament which deal with Christ as the 'Stone' use either Ps. 118 or Is. 8 or Is. 23 or a grouping of these elements.
A diagram makes this clear.

Thus of five passages (counting the Synoptics as one), two use Ps. 118 and Is. 8 (Syn. and 1 Pet.), two use Is. 8 and Is. 28 (Rom. and 1 Pet.), and one uses Ps. 118, Is. 8, and Is. 28 (1 Pet.).

These data alone would almost be sufficient to justify the conclusion that here again we are dealing with proof-texts used by the first Christians in controversy with the Jews. Other evidence clinches this. In our principal evidential passages, Rom. 9:32-33 and 1 Pet. 2:4-8, we should observe:

1. That both writers quote the same passages together;
2. That both writers share certain modifications of the normal text of the Septuagint. This point is worth elaborating since the Petrine and Pauline literatures usually cite from the LXX and not from the Hebrew original. Thus for Is. 28:16 the LXX reads:

   α. Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμπέσαν εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σελίν

But Rom. and 1 Pet. agree in reading,

\[ \text{IS\textsuperscript{5}ou t\acute{e}mna en \Sigma\text{	extsuperscript{2}i\textsuperscript{5}on} } \]

b. \[ \text{lithon polutele} \varepsilon \text{klekt} \circ \nu \text{\acute{a}krogoni} \zeta \iota \nu \text{e} \nu \text{\acute{t}i} \mu \nu \text{o} \]

Rom. substitutes \[ \text{lithon proso} \kappa \omega \mu \mu \mu \tau \varepsilon \sigma \text{kandal} \delta \varepsilon \]  

from Is. 8:14.

1 Pet. reads \[ \text{\acute{a}krogoni} \zeta \iota \nu \text{e} \nu \text{\acute{t}i} \mu \nu \text{o} \]  

(The position of \text{\acute{e}kl} \kappa \text{to} \nu \text{e} is doubtful).

But 1 Pet. 2:8 agrees with Rom. in having \[ \text{p} \text{\acute{e}te} \sigma \text{kandal} \delta \varepsilon \] for \[ \text{p} \text{\acute{e}te} \sigma \text{us} \text{pi\acute{t}r} \text{ma} \]  in Is. 8:14.

c. \[ \text{eis t\acute{a} The} \mu \acute{e} \text{\acute{m}ia} \text{\acute{a}t} \gamma \iota \nu \]

omit this.

d. \[ \text{kai o} \text{p} \text{\acute{i}st} \text{\acute{e}t} \text{o} \text{\acute{w}v} \text{ou} \text{mu} \text{kata} \text{\alpha} \kappa \text{\iota} \text{\alpha} \kappa \text{\iota} \text{\nu} \text{\theta} \iota \nu \]

Both Rom. and 1 Pet. insert \text{\acute{e}p} \text{\acute{a}t} \gamma \iota \nu \text{w} \text{w} .

(3) Not only do Rom. and 1 Pet. use the same Old Testament passages and share a number of textual variants, they also have still another common feature. The Petrine paragraph leads up to a quotation from Hosea (1 Pet. 2:10 = Hos. 2:23), and this same verse from Hosea precedes the Roman section (Rom. 9:25). Even more striking, this verse from Hosea is misunderstood in the same way in both Rom. and 1 Pet.

All this points in the one direction, namely, that the Old Testament 'Stone' texts, especially Ps. 118 whose Dominical use elevated it to a verbum Christi, were 'fixed' quite early for Christian use. It has been demonstrated by Selwyn that
there is no dependence between Rom. and 1 Pet. He has shown
that the primary element in the combination of Is. 8, Is. 28,
Ps. 118 in 1 Pet is Ps. 118, though St. Paul omits it as not
relevant to his purpose, and that "both St. Peter and St.
Paul are dependent upon a common document". 38

That this source was documentary seems evident from 1 Pet.
2:6 where the writer prefaces his citation with the pregnant
words 'it stands in writing'. This document Selwyn identifies,
somewhat fancifully though ingeniously, with an early Christian
hymn. 39 But the hypothesis that the source was a collection
of Messianic testimonia is, on grounds of general probability,
much more likely.

The prophetic sections of the Old Testament had spoken
of a strange Stone; Jesus according to the Synoptists had used
this bizarre figure with obvious reference to himself. It is
clear from the use of the 'Stone' metaphor in the New Testament
that the earliest Christians understood it as typifying the
Messiah and his kingdom - Peter is reputed to have borrowed
the figure to clinch his apology in Acts (4:11).

We have already seen that the main Old Testament passages

38. Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 268. See also pgs. 268-277.
had already been combined before Romans was written, that is before 57 A.D. at the latest. But, on any theory of dating, Ephesians is at least several years after Romans and by the time of its composition these testimonia would be even better known. Thus in Eph. 2:20 we have plainly an allusion to a familiar testimonium. It must have been widely known since the reference to Christ as the 'cornerstone' is slipped into the Ephesian section almost casually.

The use of the rare άκρογωνίας in Eph. 2:20 and 1 Pet. 2:6 is no mark of dependence inter se but is solely due to both being based on the testimonial verse Is. 28:16.

Eph. 2:20 includes, therefore, a stock phrase from early Christian teaching on Christ as the 'Stone' of Old Testament prophecy.

The passages we have examined show that by the middle of the first century θεός had become almost a term for Jesus. 40

40. Compare the Epistle of Barnabas, 6:2-4, where Is. 28:16 and Ps. 118:22 are again cited with the addition of Is. 50:7 - / a 'rock' passage. See Lightfoot, A.P. Path., pgs. 248-249.
vii. Faith, Hope, Love: Eph. 4:2-5.\textsuperscript{41}

This three-fold grouping occurs frequently in the New Testament in a way that stimulates speculation. Thus:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eph. 4:25</th>
<th>1 Pet. 1:3-8</th>
<th>1 Pet. 1:21-22</th>
<th>Heb. 10:10-12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verse 2, love.</td>
<td>verse 3, hope.</td>
<td>verse 21, faith, hope.</td>
<td>verse 10, love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4, hope.</td>
<td>&quot; 5, faith.</td>
<td>&quot; 22, love (verb).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5, faith.</td>
<td>&quot; 7, faith.</td>
<td>&quot; 11, hope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pauline Corpus.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 12, faith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom. 5:1-5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 23, hope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse, 1, faith.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 24, love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4, hope.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>verse 22, faith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 5, hope, love.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 13:13, faith hope, love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cor. 13:13, faith hope, love</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 6, faith, love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal. 5:5-6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 14-5, verse 4, faith, love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verse 5, faith, hope.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; 5, hope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Thess. 1:3, faith, love, hope.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Thess. 5:8, faith, love, hope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Thess. 5:8, faith, love, hope.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

It should be noted that in Rom. 5:1-5; 1 Cor. 13:13; Gal. 5:5-6; Heb. 10:22-24; 1 Pet. 1:21-22 we find the three elements in the same sequence - faith, hope, love.

The triad appears also in the Apostolic Fathers in The

\textsuperscript{41}. This section is largely a reproduction of Hunter, A.M., Paul and His Predecessors, London, 1940, pgs. 37-40.
Epistle of Barnabas 1:4\textsuperscript{42} faith, love, hope; 11:8\textsuperscript{43} faith, love, hope; and in the Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians 3:2-3\textsuperscript{44} faith, hope, love - again in the same sequence as in five New Testament sections.

The popularity of this triad may, of course, be accidental. Faith, hope and love are such common Christian graces that they were bound quickly to achieve a certain prominence. The occurrence of the three six times in the same order in four different authors, three in the New Testament and one out of it, may also be pure coincidence even if it looks suspicious. On the other hand a few features in the Pauline use of the triad suggest that it was something Paul found already in use as a kind of Christian catch-phrase to sum up an aspect of the belief of the apostolic Church. These points should be observed.

In 1 Cor. 13 Paul gives a hymn in praise of love. Beyond question love is at the centre of his entire thought, though faith is mentioned in 13:2 and hope (verb) in 13:7. Nothing suggests that he has in mind the three elements of faith, hope and love. Yet suddenly at the end of the chapter he writes,

"So faith, hope, love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love."

\textsuperscript{42} Lightfoot, A.P. Path., pg. 243.
\textsuperscript{43} Op. cit., pg. 256.
\textsuperscript{44} Op. cit., pg. 169.
Why does he so unexpectedly introduce faith and hope? It may be that these elements already constituted a well known triad and the mention of one brought automatically to his mind the other two.

Further, it may be that the words 'these three', after the citation of faith, hope, and love, indicate that he is quoting a well known group - faith, hope, love - these three, the three with which you are so familiar, the three you have heard about so often!

But if we turn to the Pauline use of these three graces in 1 Thess. 5:8 still more curious and convincing factors appear. Thus:

1 Thess. 5:8, But, since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.

The metaphor involved here comes straight from Judaism, e.g.

Is. 59:17. For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation upon his head, with which we may compare Wisdom of Solomon 5:18, 45

He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, And shall take judgment unfeigned as a helmet.

In these last two passages, as in 1 Thess., only two
pieces of armour are named – a breastplate and a helmet. Now if Paul had wanted to fuse with this figure an old formula of three graces – faith, hope, love – three pieces of armour, one for each grace, would have suited better. But he had, let us suppose, to fit a figure consisting of three graces into a figure consisting of two pieces of armour. How did he do this? He did it by linking faith and love with the first piece of armour, and hope with the second. Thus we have 'the breastplate of faith and love' and 'for a helmet the hope of salvation'.

But even the phrase 'for a helmet the hope of salvation' may itself throw some light on the problem we are examining. The original metaphor (see Is. 59:17 above) runs 'a helmet of salvation', and this original text is preserved in Eph. 6:17. Now Paul had already worked in faith and love with 'breastplate'. He had, therefore, to fit in hope, with the second term 'a helmet of salvation'. This he seems to have accomplished quite boldly by writing 'the hope of salvation', and by prefixing in apposition to that phrase the second part of the 'armour' metaphor, 'for a helmet'.

On the other hand it is just possible that, since salvation is partly at least an eschatological idea, a thing to be attained, Paul says, not 'for a helmet salvation', but 'for a helmet the hope of salvation'. The difficulty that hope is not mentioned either in the Isaianic passage or in Eph. 6:17 could be surmounted by arguing that its mention here is quite in keeping with the principal note that runs through 1 Thess.

On the whole, however, it appears that Paul is dovetailing
a common triad into the framework of a Judaic bi-partite figure. The balance is tipped in favour of this view by the witness of 1 Cor. 13.

We may conclude that faith, hope and love were a very early grouping of Christian graces in existence before Paul's day, and that this ancient triad lies beneath Eph. 4:2-5.

A. M. Hunter has given a number of most attractive arguments that point towards this triad having had its origin in a saying of Jesus.\(^46\) This would certainly explain its early popularity. It is possible, too, that perhaps we can trace the descent of the triad even further, beyond Jesus to the Jewish grouping 'endurance, faith, hope' such as appears in Sirach 2:7-9.\(^47\)

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46. See Part II, footnote 41.


The Ascension and Descent of Christ: Eph. 4:8-10.

This section of Ephesians is practically always understood as reflecting two Christian doctrines, that of the Ascension and that of the Descent to Hades. This assumption, subject to certain modifications, is justified in the instance of the former doctrine; it is scarcely justified in the case of the latter as commonly interpreted.

Our concern here is not with the historical factual validity of these doctrines. It is rather with such questions as, How old are they? Did they come to be expressed in stereotyped ways in the New Testament period, or did they remain in a state of flux? Are they reflected in Ephesians and, if so, are they reflected in such a way as indicates dependence between Ephesians and other writings of the New Testament?

Questions of this nature are easily answered in the case of the doctrine of the Ascension. This doctrine is stated as a matter of common fact in Eph. 4:8-10. But though the doctrine was widespread in the apostolic Church it was certainly not understood in the same way in every circle within that Church. All theological circles within the ancient Church agreed that Christ after his crucifixion entered the heavenly realm. But all did not agree as to when he entered or as to the condition in which he entered.

The conviction that the risen Christ ascended to heaven recurs frequently throughout the New Testament, though nearly always this conviction is expressed obliquely. Indeed we have
but one direct description of the Ascension, this locus classicus being Acts 1:1-12. The Synoptists never mention it in a straightforward way except, of course, in Mark 16:19 and Luke 24:49-51 in the Textus Receptus. Although neither of these Synoptic passages is textually original this does not lessen their evidential value, unless perhaps from a chronological standpoint, since their addition only serves the illustrate the grip that belief in the Ascension was to take on the Church's mind. 49

However the indirect data in the New Testament that support the view of the early and well nigh universal popularity of this doctrine are considerable and impressive. The doctrine lies behind several Matthaean and Johannine passages, and several sections in Acts; while Hebrews, 1 Peter and Revelation emphatically presuppose it. When we add to this the witness of the Pauline Corpus we realize that belief in the Ascension was widely diffused by the end of the first century.

But the vogue of the doctrine can be given a more accurate and earlier chronological location. Here the evidence of the Pauline Epistles is of great importance. The fact is that the doctrine is assumed as a matter of common knowledge by Paul, e.g. in Rom. 10:6; Phil. 1:23; 3:20; Col. 3:1; 1 Thess. 1:10; 4:14-16. This can only mean that the doctrine was

49. Mark ends at 16:8, the original conclusion being lost. In Luke 24:49-51 the words 'and was carried up into heaven' in verse 51 do not belong to the original text.
already familiar by 51 A.D.

One passage in the Pauline Epistles is of peculiar value, namely, Phil. 2:9, which takes knowledge of the Ascension for granted. But Phil. 2:9 is itself embedded in, and is part of, a fairly lengthy quotation given by Paul, a quotation which is demonstrably taken from a pre-Pauline Christian hymn. In another early hymn in 1 Tim. 3:16 the doctrine also appears.

That is to say that the doctrine had a pre-Pauline circulation somewhere between 30 and 50 A.D. The fact that it found its way into the hymn in Philippians indicates that it goes back very far, for hymns by their nature only express what is already generally accepted by their users.

Thus we may say that belief in the Ascension was spread throughout the apostolic Church from an early date. That this was so receives confirmation from the fact that in the New Testament this doctrine is always accepted, no attempt ever being made to prove or to justify it.

But within the period in which the New Testament was assembled there is no reason to suppose that the doctrine ever crystallized into any fixed or semi-fixed mode of expression, though it did later when it became a principal tenet in the creeds.

This curious lack of fixity has probably an explanation that goes back to the primitive period, namely, that for long there was no unanimity in the more detailed understanding of the doctrine. All recognised that the risen Christ ascended to heaven but, except in the very early years, there were
several theories regarding the time of the Ascension and the form in which Christ made it.

The two most widespread theories are represented in the New Testament. 50

The first and more primitive theory understood by the Ascension this - that at his resurrection the risen Christ had a 'spiritual' body; that his post-resurrection appearances were those of a spiritual being; and that the Resurrection and the Ascension were one and the same thing.

The second and later theory understood by the Ascension this - that at his resurrection the risen Christ had the body of flesh and blood wherein he was crucified and buried; that the resurrection was the picking up again of those threads of the relationships with the disciples which the death had broken; that the Ascension was that of a physical body and that it took place later in time than the resurrection.

A short expansion of these two theories is necessary.

The earlier primitive tradition is represented by Paul and the key passage is 1 Cor. 15 where the Apostle discusses the resurrection of believers. On the Pauline view as given there the resurrection of Christians involves the transformation of their 'physical' bodies into 'spiritual' bodies. By itself this is a clear enough statement of the type of body Paul believed a Christian at his resurrection would have. But he leaves no doubt whatsoever as to his meaning by adding quite

emphatically that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Cor. 15:50). The vital point, however, is that Paul builds up his entire argument about the nature of the resurrection — form of the faithful upon the foundation and example of that of Jesus whom he describes as 'the first fruits' (1 Cor. 15:20; 15:23). It therefore follows that Paul understood the resurrection body of Christ as being not 'physical' but 'spiritual', and the post-resurrection appearances as those of a 'spiritual' being. 51 So far as we know none of his contemporaries assailed him for this view. Perhaps indeed we may be dogmatic and assert that the risen Christ was 'spirit' to Paul inasmuch as he seems to give that as his conviction in Rom. 8:9 and 2 Cor. 3:17. In keeping with this general position Paul does not distinguish between the Resurrection and the Ascension. For him the Resurrection meant the taking up by Jesus of his heavenly life. In brief, the Resurrection and the Ascension denote for Paul the same event.

The second and later position is represented by the Lukan and Johannine material. According to this view the body of the risen Christ was that in which he was crucified and buried

(Lk. 24:36-42; John 20:24-29). According to this tradition the risen Christ after his resurrection spent a period of time with his disciples, though the duration of this interim period does not appear to have been fixed. Acts gives it, for example, as forty days (1:3) but the Johannine circle seems to have thought of a very much shorter period (John 20:11-18). After this period on earth the risen Christ ascended bodily to heaven. This view which is partly derived from the Lukian standpoint and partly from the Johannine—indeed it represents a fusion of both—soon became the dominant view in the Church.

Thus we have two widely divergent views of the Ascension with regard both to its form and to its chronology, and, although other theories of the Ascension circulated in the early Church, nevertheless these two represent on the one hand the oldest theory and on the other hand the theory which in time was to exclude all others.

Probably it was this dichotomy in belief that prevented the doctrine from acquiring a fixed form within the New Testament period. Yet perhaps it would be rash to deny that the first view of the Ascension attained fixity. For on this view the Resurrection and the Ascension are virtually synonyms, and the relatively stereotyped formula in which the credal article of the Resurrection is expressed, especially in the Pauline Epistles, may be regarded as bringing the Ascension within its range in Pauline and neo-Pauline sections. What was to become the classic view of the Church did not reach fixity within the New Testament period since time was required to allow the Lukian and Johannine views to fuse into an
All we can fairly say about Eph. 4:8-10 in this connexion is that, like many New Testament sections, it voices belief in the Ascension. There are no grounds for supposing that the passage shows the slightest formal dependence on any other, or any other on it. There are no striking linguistic affinities between it and any other passage. All it shares with others is the conviction of the Ascension, and that conviction pervaded the early Church. We cannot say which theory of the Ascension underlies Eph. 4:8-10, and it is probably futile to speculate. If Ephesians is by Paul then it is altogether likely that it reflects the earlier more primitive view. If it is not by Paul then we have less indication as to what theory is reflected, though the fact that the writer, whoever he was, was a Paulinist, makes it possible, while rejecting the fully Pauline authorship of the Epistle, to retain a Pauline understanding of the Ascension as set forth in Ephesians.  

52. The claim made in this paragraph that there are no linguistic affinities of any significance between Eph. 4:8-10 and other New Testament passages is one likely to be disputed. See John 3:13; chap. 6; Rom. 10:6-8.

The argument may be advanced that the 'katabasis-anabasis' contrast appears markedly in Romans and John. This may suggest to certain minds that John, Rom., and Eph. are recalling a familiar formula concerning Christ. Even if this is the case, it militates against any theory of direct dependence between these documents since, in that event, all are using something from common stock.

But it is much more probable that each document is using the ideas of 'katabasis' and 'anabasis' indepen-
ently, for the dissimilarities between the three writings are considerable. We should note:

(1) In Rom. and Eph. the 'katabasis' is the equivalent of the death of Jesus. In John (3:13, chap. 6) it is the equivalent of the Incarnation of Jesus.

(2) The purpose behind the introduction of this contrast is different in each document. In John the writer is seeking in the 'anabasis' proof of the Incarnation ('katabasis'); in Rom. Paul is only concerned to show that no Christian is asked to do the impossible; in Eph. the author is concerned to demonstrate why Christ 'fills all things'.

(3) Whereas Rom. uses Deut. 30:11-14 with alterations to the LXX text, Eph. uses Ps. 68:19 with alterations to the LXX text.

When we remember that ancient cosmography was in three 'storeys'-heaven, earth, underworld - the use of ἀναβάειν for Ascension in all three documents, and καταβάειν for the death (Rom., Eph.) or the Incarnation (John), seems perfectly natural and not to call for any special explanation.

That there should have been diversity of belief concerning the nature of the resurrection-ascension body need, for several reasons, occasion no surprise. Not all our accounts go back to eye-witnesses, while some at least of the New Testament writers are certain to have been influenced by current beliefs in contemporary Judaism on the state of the believer at the general resurrection. Judaism, during and after the Greek period, held three principal positions regarding the resurrection of the faithful, viz.,

(1) that both the body and the spirit rise;
(2) that the pure spirit only rises;
(3) that a 'spiritual' body rises.

Judaism was the mother of the young Christian religion and her doctrines were familiar to all the first, and to most of the primitive, Christians. Thus the lack of unanimity in the early Church on some aspects of the Ascension is probably partly traceable to the Judaic environment of that Church. Again, the Church's holding to the doctrine of the Ascension in the broad sense is bound to have derived great support from parallel Judaic traditions about such great beings as Moses and Elijah, Baruch and Ezra.

Finally we may note, more as a curiosity than anything else, that even those who maintained that the resurrection - body was 'spiritual' and that the Resurrection and the Ascension were identical could, in a way, subscribe to a 'bodily' ascension since there is reason to believe that even long after the first century 'spirits' were popularly regarded as having 'bodies' proper to themselves. 54

When we turn to consider the doctrine of the Descent of Christ, which is often supposed to be contained in this same section of Ephesians (4:8-10), we are on much more treacherous terrain than when dealing with the Ascension. Most of the difficulties, however, are to be attributed to the imaginative extravagances of New Testament scholarship rather

The early Christian literature which constitutes the New Testament is often taken as subscribing to the belief that Christ made some sort of descent to Hades after his crucifixion. In a certain, but very limited, sense the writings of the New Testament do affirm such a view. But they emphatically do not support the supposition that such passages as deal with Christ's Descent are either indebted to earlier and contemporary pagan mythology or are condensed versions of later Catholic Christian formulations concerning the Descensus ad Inferos.

It is true that the theme of the god who makes a victorious descent to Hades is of great age. Traceable to Babylonian thought and present in Egyptian religion, it was a commonplace among the varied mythologies beside which Christianity originated and matured. Later forms of Christianity's doctrine of the Descent may be partially indebted, though unconsciously so, to these mythologies. The New Testament idea of the Descent is not.

The ultimate Christian doctrinal variations on the theme of the Descent have historically involved the notions that Christ descended to Hades and there preached to the imprisoned spirits, or routed the devil, or delivered the righteous pre-Christian dead from the intermediate state in which they were. This conception of a purposeful descent is, with the exception of 1 Pet. 3:18-20; 4:6 — itself a
passage of peculiar difficulties — quite unknown in the New Testament. A curious and even more erratic position was adopted by some of the earlier reformed theologians who identified the Descent to Hades with Christ's extreme agony in the garden and upon the Cross. 55 This position cannot be traced to the New Testament documents.

If we except the section in 1 Peter which alone gives the Descent a purpose, albeit a purpose that cannot with certainty be defined, we discover that all the other New Testament passages alleged to deal with the Descent to Hades have been grossly misunderstood. They have been misunderstood for two main reasons; first, because the enthusiasts for comparative religion have seen influences at work in canonical Christian writings which in fact were not at work at all; second, because New Testament exegetes have practically all been guilty of retrojecting later theological notions into certain New Testament passages and finding in them what was never there either by direct intention or by implication.

A balanced view of the subject can only be reached by examining the so-called evidential passages as they stand. When this is done it is found that nothing in the New Testament, apart from 1 Peter, supports any view of the Descent 55. See Hodge, C., Systematic Theology, London and Edinburgh, 1880, vol. 2, pg. 616.
to Hades comparable with the views of either pagan mythology or later Catholic Christianity. The Descent in all New Testament passages, with the one exception, denotes simply the death of Jesus with no qualifications or insinuations. Indeed the answer to the fiftieth question in the Larger Catechism, agreed upon by the Westminster Divines and approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1648, gives what is substantially the New Testament position. The question runs,

"Wherein consisted Christ's humiliation after his death?"

The answer given is,

"Christ's humiliation after his death consisted in his being buried, and continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power of death till the third day; which hath been otherwise expressed in these words, He descended into Hell."

Some seven New Testament passages deserve to be considered in this connexion. These are:


In this speech attributed to Peter, especially in verses 25-28, the Apostle's use of Ps. 16:8-10 has been regarded as assuming that Christ's soul passed into Hades at his death. This may readily be granted. Any Jew would naturally have supposed the passage of Christ's soul to Sheol. But there is nothing in this passage to suggest either that it means more than it says or that it is indebted to current pagan mythology. The fact that the reference
is in a psalm shows that the thought is Jewish, and there is not a hint of any activity on the part of Christ while in Hades. The whole point of the words 'thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades' is to emphasize that Christ was not abandoned but was raised from the dead. In brief, this passage with its allusion to Hades has but one purpose - to underline the reality of the death and the resurrection. The reference to Hades is simply one to the death and only occurs at all because this incidental phrase happened to be present in a \textit{jessianic proof-text}, \textit{a proof-text used again in an alleged Pauline speech in Acts 13}.

(2) Phil. 2:10, "... that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth..."

To assert that the obeisance of 'things under the earth' implies an oblique reference to a victorious descent to Hades is a tour de force of the imagination. The writer of this pre-Pauline hymn, whoever he was, must have been familiar with the contemporary 'three-storied' cosmography of heaven, earth, and underworld. This is the concept that lies behind the passage. Further, whether the writer were a Jewish or a Hellenistic Christian he was assuredly a monotheist and any advanced monotheism such as Christianity inherited from Judaism involved the view that the heaven-located Deity held sway also over earth and underworld. This position indeed was already reached in the Old Testament, e.g. in Ps.139
This attribute of God is here in Philippians transferred to Christ. There is nothing subtler in the passage than that.

(3) Rev. 5:13, "And I heard every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and all therein, saying ..."

Even if this passage refers to the inhabitants of Hades, as it probably does, precisely the same considerations apply to it as apply to Phil. 2:10. The theme is the universal lordship of God and Christ.

Rev. 1:18, "I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades."

Charles suggests that here we have one of the earliest traces in Christian literature of the Descent of Christ to Hades and his conquest of its powers. With the first proposition we may agree. Obviously, as already said, Jews and Jewish Christians would have held that Christ on his death entered Sheol. The second proposition needs modification. It is going far beyond anything the passage justifies to maintain that it means that Christ entered the realm of the faithful dead as a conqueror in the mythological sense and there preached the Gospel of redemption. The primary idea of the Descent as equivalent to the death in time acquired

that added significance; but here all we have is surely a picturesque, if somewhat tautologous, way of saying that Christ rose again from the dead, rose from Sheol, and in that sense conquered it, in that sense came to have the keys of Death and Hades. This is simply a metaphorical way of expressing the common thought of Christ's victory over death by the resurrection as we find it, e.g. in Rom. 6:9.

(4) Rom. 10:6-8.

Here we have a passage based on the Septuagint version of Deut. 30:11-14. The important verse is 7, "Who will descend into the abyss?" (That is, to bring Christ up from the dead).

This is usually taken as a clear allusion to some doctrine of the Descent especially since the LXX text is altered from τίς διαπέρασεν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης to τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν δαβυσσόν.

We may readily grant that, though it is not the only possible view, δαβυσσός may here denote Hades and that Paul is securing an equation between the Ascension and the Descent. But here again the sense of more elaborate doctrines of the Descent is being read into the passage. Here too the Descent means only the death. The main point of the passage is essentially simple. It is this, that the believing Christian is not expected to do the impossible. He is not asked to
ascend to heaven to bring Christ down, nor to descend to Hades to bring Christ up. Why is he not so asked? He is not so asked because the Christian is already united to the risen Lord by faith—union, an idea beloved by Paul but by no means confined to him in the early Church; and because Christ has in any case been raised from Hades or from the dead by God already. Paul would, of course, have held that if God had not raised Christ he would have remained in Sheol whither he went after his death. That is all that Paul means and all that he says. There is no reference to contemporary myth or to any formal doctrine of Descent.


There are no grounds whatsoever for holding that the doctrine of the Descent in any of its later forms lies behind this passage. Only Matthew gives the story of the resurrection of the saints at Jesus' death. The section is included under the influence of Is. 26:19. The primitive Christians doubtless imagined that the fulfilment of the Isaianic oracle demanded the raising of the faithful departed as well as of Jesus. It is plain that this Matthaean section embarrassed the editor not a little. He must have known that Christ was the first to be raised. Then how could others have been raised before him? Perhaps the manuscripts from which he was working read 'after their resurrection' and for the obvious credal reason he altered it to 'after his resurrection'. Or perhaps he added 'after his resurrection' to achieve the
chronology his belief presupposed. Everything about this passage, thought, idiom, and language is strictly Jewish and that alone rules out the possibility of influence from pagan mythology and precludes the refinement of postulating an underlying specifically Christian doctrine of the Descent.

(6) Eph. 4:8-10.

In appearance, this passage seems to present a nicely balanced statement of the doctrines of the Ascension and the Descent. It is quite likely that 'the lower parts of the earth' represent Hades or Sheol, though it is also possible that the words mean 'this lower earth' and refer to the Incarnation. However the former is more probable. When we look at the whole paragraph closely we observe that practically all the stress is laid on the Ascent and not on the Descent. Because of the Ascension Christ is enabled to 'fill all things' (4:10), i.e., he is triumphant in the heavenly sphere and also in the earthly and sub-earthly spheres. The Ascent gave him divine transcendence and supremacy, and it was natural to extend that supremacy of him who is transcendent in the heavenly sphere to the entire remaining cosmos. Monotheistic development demanded this (see (2) above). Because Christ ascended he 'won' the Holy Spirit and it is gifts of the Spirit that he gives to men. But why had Christ been enabled to ascend and so distribute the gifts of the Spirit? He had been so enabled because he alone had been obedient unto death and had tasted it for every man; because he had died, i.e. descended into 'the lower parts of the
earth' and had thence been raised by God. For these reasons he was exalted. That is what our passage means. Here again the descent to Hades is simply a reference to the death.

To sum up then, we may say that the doctrine of the Descent as commonly understood is not widespread in the New Testament. Nothing resembling it is found at all in canonical Christian writings excepting 1 Peter. Thus there is no reason to suppose that the doctrine was widely current in the New Testament period, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that Eph. 4:8-10 is in its idea of descent formally related to any New Testament passage. Indeed in all the New Testament sections, except 1 Peter, which seem to reflect the notion of descent we find that either the descent merely equals the death, or that the phraseology that appears to echo a doctrine of descent is simply the outcome of a normal monotheistic development.

The idea of sealing, which is not uncommon in the New Testament, is almost certainly chiefly Jewish in origin although it is also indebted to non-Jewish secular and religious language and practice.

In the heathen world we see that sealing had a widespread and important use in the Near East, particularly for legal purposes. The process of sealing guaranteed the genuineness of goods and the validity of documents. Further, sealing of personal belongings was the mark of ownership and out of this practice arose the habit of branding slaves, and 'soldiers sometimes branded themselves to show that they were in service and under the protection of their lords.' Another development of the practice is seen in the branding of slaves attached to some temple (ἐγόδουλοι), or of individuals set apart to the service of some deity. Thus Ptolemy IV Philopator ordered that the Alexandrian Jews "who were registered should even be branded on their bodies with an ivy-leaf, the emblem of Dionysus..." (3 Macc. 2:29)

In Judaism the sealing of a believer probably was originally viewed as ensuring his safe-keeping from physical suffering and death as, for example, in Ex. 12:7-28 and Ez. 9:3-4. This Jewish notion is preserved just under the surface in the 'Little Apocalypse' embedded in Matthew and Mark. The relevant passages are Matthew 24:20-22 and Mark 13:17-20. That it was a current Jewish thought is quite evident from Psalms of Solomon, a first century B.C. document. For example Psalm Sol. 15:8-10 runs

"For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved ........................................
For the mark of destruction is upon their forehead."

This figure of sealing attached itself to the rite of circumcision in Jewish thought as we see from Rom. 4:11 which, speaking of Abraham, says,

"He received circumcision as a sign or seal..." , and the figure is still so applied in modern Jewish practice.

Early in the history of the Church the idea was transferred from circumcision to Christian baptism and became widespread in the Church of the second century. In 2 Clem. 7:6; 8:5-6, for example, baptism is described as a σφραγίς. Baptism was thus depicted as sealing partly because it marked the baptized as God's property and partly because the

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'seal' gave protection against the demonic powers. Needless to say, sealing, though not infrequent in the New Testament, does not always denote baptism as it does in 2 Corinthians and Ephesians.

Ephesians and certain other New Testament passages, therefore, need not be formally related at all, for this idea of sealing was very common in both Judaism and heathenism. But at the same time Ephesians and 2 Corinthians are probably directly linked, for both have the additional idea of the Holy Spirit being the 'guarantee' in the passages dealing with sealing in 2 Cor. 1:22 and Eph. 1:13-14. This curious word ἐπεμβάσις, meaning a part payment in advance for security, a first instalment, hence a guarantee, is only found in the New Testament in 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5 and Eph. 1:14.

B. Traces of Early Catechetical Material in Ephesians.

Ephesians shows remarkably clear traces of elements from an early Christian catechism. The principal stages in the catechetical process can even, without undue difficulty, be dissected out from the Epistle as we have it. That is to say that from an examination of Ephesians it is possible to reconstruct the framework of an underlying and very ancient Christian catechism.

We should expect that such a catechism would incorporate some clear recollection and reiteration of the cause and the occasion of the catechumens' entering upon their new life. It is a platitude to assert that the convert to Christianity
has always owed his conversion to hearing the Christian 'gospel' or the 'word' of God. Still it is with the enunciation of this axiom that our investigation must begin, since this axiom is stated in Ephesians and in other New Testament documents in such a way as suggests that a primitive catechism took its start from this primary known fact of the catechumens' religious life history and based everything else upon it.


In Eph. 1:13 the recipients are referred to as those "who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation"; that is, they are reminded that their Christian life began through hearing the word of truth. This emphasis on the significance of hearing the word is as old as Christianity and can, not surprisingly, be traced to the teaching of Jesus. In the Synoptic literature, which, while in its present form later in time than most of the Epistles, is nevertheless often more primitive, the stress on hearing the word is evident in all the main strata reporting Dominical didache. It is apparent in Q., in Mark, in those passages in Matthew and Luke based on Mark, in the material peculiar to Matthew, and in that peculiar to Luke. This is perfectly natural and is attributable to Jesus' reverence as a Jew for the word of God.
In the Gospel of John, Ephesians-Colossians, 2 Timothy, and James the Christian message or gospel appears to have been known as 'the word of truth', and this same definition of the evangel is implicit in 1 Peter. Leaving aside the Johannine evidence, it remains altogether probable that Jesus himself was accustomed to describe the word or gospel as 'the truth' in view of the prominence of this idea in the Epistles. In that event John may be historically accurate in identifying the word with the truth and in referring that identification to Jesus. On the other hand, though this is less likely, the equation may have been independently reached by the New Testament writers under the influence of Old Testament thought in, e.g., Ps. 119:142 (LXX 118:142), where the Septuagint reads καὶ ὁ λόγος σου ἀληθεία.

However that may be, there is no question but that the teaching of Jesus stressed the importance of hearing the word, and that the word was soon defined as 'the word of truth' in the principal schools of Christian thought, i.e. the Pauline, Petrine, Jacobean, and Johannine. This was not, of course, the only definition, but it was the one that gained pre-eminence. Others are simply variant equivalents, e.g., 'The word of truth' = 'the word of the gospel' (Acts 15:7).

= 'the word of this salvation' (Acts 13:26)

= 'the word of the kingdom' (Matt. 13:19)

= 'the word of reconciliation' (2 Cor. 5:19).

But it is wrong to equate 'the word of truth' with 'the
standard of teaching' of Rom. 6:17. The standard of teaching' in Romans refers rather to ethical and theological teaching imparted to catechumens after their conversion than to the gospel by which they were converted.

The gospel or the truth or the word are variously described as having been 'heard' (Eph.-Col.), or 'obeyed' (1 Pet.), or 'received' (1 Thess; Jas.). In all traditions the word (= gospel) was regarded as a life-imparting truth with a redemptive value. In 1 Peter the word is intimately connected with the figure of 'seed', (Cf. the parable of the sower: Mk. 4:3 ff. and parallels in Matt. and Lk.), but the two terms are not synonymous. In James the word is spoken of as implanted, and in Colossians it grows and fructifies.

At all events the word speedily became a fixed term in Christian usage with an ever increasing significance. The term, indeed, came to be so closely associated with the doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ that eventually it led, though deriving some but often exaggerated support from Hellenistic and, Judaistic influences, to Jesus being himself portrayed as 'the word' in John's Gospel, where both Jesus and 'the word' are further equated with 'the truth'. The same thing happened in Revelation where Christ is designated as 'the word of God' (19:13). The intellectual process that led to the fusion of Christ, the word, and the truth in a

63. As, e.g., in Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 389.
central comprehensive Christological concept is well exemplified in The Epistle to Diognetus (11)\textsuperscript{64} But many stages in this development are to be detected in the New Testament, e.g.,

Luke 1:2, ... 'those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word,'

where a courageous translation seems to call for 'word' being spelt with a capital W! \textsuperscript{65}

Again, in the fascinating section Col. 1:25-28\textsuperscript{66} we find a striking series of equations, viz.,

'\textit{The word of God} = \text{the hidden mystery} = \text{the riches of the glory of this mystery} = \text{Christ in you} = \text{the hope of glory}.'

\textsuperscript{64} Lightfoot, A.P. Path., pg. 499.

\textsuperscript{65} See Mgr. Ronald A. Knox's Translation of the New Testament, London, 1945, pg. 113, where in a footnote on Lk. 1:2 he says, "To the service of the word'; many of the early Fathers understood this to mean, that they were servants of the Word, that is of Christ. Such a rendering gives a better sense to the Greek; but it is not certain that this title was applied to our Lord by any writer earlier than St. John."

\textsuperscript{66} See Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 151.
181.

At any rate in Ephesians the Gospel is regarded as 'the word of truth', and the Epistle is well on the way to identifying 'the truth' with Jesus. This, at least, seems to be a not unreasonable deduction from Eph. 4:21, 'as the truth is in Jesus'.

Thus from a comparison of Eph. 1:13 with certain other passages in the New Testament it is clear that the foundation of the Christian life was held to be the gospel, the word, the truth which was heard or obeyed or received. Further, this first impulse towards the new life was described in the semi-technical phrase 'the word of truth', a term sufficiently rare to be noteworthy and sufficiently widespread to betray its fixed and special significance.

The important passages to be considered in connexion with the term 'the word of truth' are:

Eph. 1:13. '... you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation...'

Col. 1:5-6. 'Of this you have heard before in the word of the truth, the gospel which has come to you, as indeed in the whole world it is bearing fruit and growing ...'

Col. 3:16. 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly...'

1 Thess. 1:6. 'And you became imitators of us and of the Lord, for you received the word...'

2 Tim. 2:15. '... a workman who has no need to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth.'

Jas. 1:18. 'Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures'.
Jas. 1:21. 'Therefore put away all filthiness and rank growth of wickedness and receive with meekness the implanted word, which is able to save your souls.'

1 Pet. 1:22-23. 'Having purified your souls by your obedience to the truth for a sincere love of the brethren, love one another earnestly from the heart. You have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of God'.

1 Pet. 1:25. 'That word is the good news which was preached to you'.

Cf. John 17:17. 'Consecrate them in the truth; thy word is truth'.

ii. Hearing the Word of Truth and the Transformation it Effects.

The change that comes over the man who has truly heard 'the word of truth' is described in several figures in the documents that constitute the New Testament. These figures are:

(1) Rebirth:

This is not an 'Ephesian' figure, but it is very prominent elsewhere in the New Testament and calls for some mention.

The teaching of Jesus provides the basis for the metaphor of Christians being 'children' or 'new-born babes'. In Mark 10:15 we have the well known words of Jesus,

'Truly, I say to you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it.'
This is paralleled exactly in Luke 18:17, and nearly so in Matthew 18:3 which runs,

'Truly, I say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven,'

and in Matthew 19:14 which runs,

'Let the children come to me, and do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of heaven.'

The Johannine version of this saying occurs in John 3:3 in the story of the interview with Nicodemus,

'Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God'.

This saying in Mark and Luke is followed straight away by the interview with the rich young man who in Luke (18:18) is called a 'ruler' and who may be the Nicodemus of John. More impressive, however, is the fact that the term 'the kingdom of God' (or, 'of heaven'), which provides the chief theme in the Synoptic account of such teaching of Jesus as uses the 'children' metaphor, appears here in John 3:3 and 3:5 and nowhere else in the Johannine Corpus. There can be no doubt that we have a genuine saying of Jesus reported a little differently in John. The thought thrown out by Jesus in his teaching as reported by the Synoptists has obviously been fastened upon and developed by John, though modified somewhat by influences due to John's Ephesian provenance.

This same thought is taken over in James and 1 Peter.

In Jas. 1:18 it is said that Christians have been
'brought forth' by the word of truth (ἀποκυώ — "the medical word for birth as the close of pregnancy," found only here and in Jas. 1:15 in the New Testament).

In 1 Pet. 1:3; 1:23 Christians are spoken of as 'born anew' (ἀναγεννάω — a non-classical Greek word not found in the LXX, and here only in the New Testament); and in 1 Pet. 2:1-2 as 'newborn babes' (ἀνεγέννητα βρέφη — ἀνεγέννητος — is another non-classical Greek word, not found in any Greek version of the Old Testament or the Apocrypha, and here only in the New Testament).

Thus John, James, and 1 Peter all agree in describing conversion as a 'rebirth', though whereas James speaks of the convert as having been 'brought forth', Peter speaks of him as having been 'begotten'.

There is not the slightest necessity to look for the germ of this idea of conversion as 'rebirth' in pagan thought. It is true, as Angus remarks, that

"Since the great revival of the sixth century B.C. the idea of Regeneration had become familiar, and with it a new sacramental conception, attested in Orphism, and in the cults of Isis, Attis, Dionysos, and Mithra. Every Mystery-Religion, being a religion of Redemption, offered means of suppressing the old man and of imparting or vitalizing the spiritual principle. Every serious mystes approached the solemn sacrament of Initiation believing that he thereby became 'twice-born', 'a new creature', and passed in a real sense from death unto life by being brought into a mysterious intimacy with the deity. 'There can be no salvation without regeneration' was emphatically asserted in the Hermetic revelation. This regeneration was conceived in various ways, as realistic, physical—hyperphysical, symbolic, or spiritual. The conception went back ultimately to a crude and even physical..."
belief in a divine 'begetting', by which men became sons of God." 67

But it is equally true that words like ἀναγέννησις were employed in Graeco-Jewish circles to describe any markedly new stage in a man's personal life, and also that in rigidly Jewish quarters the notion of rebirth with reference to converts was current. It is of course the case that Jewish circles at the beginning of the Christian period and before were themselves susceptible to the infiltration of Hellenizing influences. But Judaism always maintained a fairly sturdy independence against the assault of external ideas, and the Christian teaching on rebirth can more satisfactorily be traced to Judaism than to any Graeco-Roman or oriental source like the cults. Rabbis, such as R. Yose or R. Judah, could describe a convert to Israel as 'like a newborn child' or 'like a babe one day old'. The fact that thought of this type was present in Judaism coupled with the fact that in John, where least of all we should expect to find Jewish influence, the teaching on rebirth demonstrably goes back to a saying of Jesus - himself be it remembered

68. Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 306.
a Jew and a Palestinian Jew - renders it quite uncalled for to look beyond Judaism for the root of the idea in the New Testament. The matrix of this idea is perhaps to be found in the Levitical Holiness Code (Lev. 17-18), where it deals with the admission of the stranger. In 1 Peter, in whose treatment of rebirth pagan influences are so often detected, there is not the least reason to suspect them. There rebirth is closely connected with the historical fact of the resurrection and the preaching of the word, and appears to be deduced from these two data. Indeed it is quite probable that the oldest and least sophisticated version of the metaphor of rebirth in the New Testament is in 1 Pet. 2:2, 'Like new-born babes, long for ...'

The teaching of Jesus, as we have it in the Synoptics, also made use of metaphors built round the words 'sower', 'sowing', 'seed'; notably, for example, in the parable of the sower. This idea is present also in John in the 'grain of wheat' image in 12:24-25. The exegesis of the Synoptic passages differs from that of the Johannine but taken together these sections provide the atmosphere in which ideas like that of the word being sown, or that of a rich crop of converts, or that of the convert being like a grain of seed in that he had to 'die' before he could bear fruit, could thrive and develop. We should notice in passing the intimate kinship between the notion of the grain dying and then fructifying and the notion of dying and rising with Christ as we have it in the locus classicus in Rom. 6.
It is an idea of this group that appears in 1 Pet. 1:23 where Christians are said to 'have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable, through the living and abiding word of God'. Here again there is no need to enquire after a pagan analogy, though such can be found. What we have springs from the teaching of Jesus.

In this first type of image to describe the result of hearing the word we have, therefore, two approaches to the convert. One regards him as 'a new-born child'; the other regards him as the harvest that springs from the sowing of the word. And both approaches find their root in the teaching of Jesus.

(2) New Creation.

Another method of describing conversion is in terms of 'new creation'. This is a Pauline figure and it may lurk behind Eph. 2:15 and 4:24. The classic examples of it are in 2 Cor. 5:17,

'Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation',

and in Gal. 6:15,

'For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation'.

With these statements we may compare 2 Cor. 4:16,

'... our inner nature is being renewed every day'.

The fact which Paul is trying to explain is really the same as that which he describes in other language in Gal. 2:19-20,
'For I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me...', or in Rom. 6:4-6; 6:11. The whole is worth comparing with the Johannine teaching on new birth.

This idea of conversion involving a 'new creation' seems to be Paul's own, though it is possible that he derived the idea from Jewish thought. Lightfoot notes that the term 'new creation' is 'a common expression in Jewish writers for one brought to the knowledge of the true God'.

This Pauline figure is very intimately connected with another Pauline metaphor which we must now consider - so intimately that the distinction between them is more logical than real.


The contrast between 'the old man' and 'the new man' is specifically Pauline, whether Ephesians is by Paul or not. In Rom. 6:4-7 'the old man' is 'crucified' with Christ or 'buried' with Christ. 'The new man' is not actually mentioned, but the contrast is always present and 'the new man' is presupposed in the clause, 'so that ... we too might walk in newness of life'. 'The new man' is thought of as 'walking in newness of life', or as being 'raised' with Christ, or as 'living' with Christ. There is, of course, Lightfoot, J.B., St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, London, 10th ed., 1890, pg. 224.
a good deal of Pauline Christ-mysticism in this paragraph.

In Eph. 2:15 we again find the figure of 'the new man', and in 4:22-24 'the old man' is 'put off' and 'the new man' is 'put on'. (Cf. Rom. 13:14, 'But put on the Lord Jesus Christ'.)

In Col. 3:8-10 'the old man' is once more 'put off' and 'the new man' is 'put on'; while in Col. 2:11-12 the 'body of flesh' is 'put off' and the Christian is thought of as being 'buried' and 'raised' with Christ. In Col. 3:1 Christians are again thought of as 'raised' with Christ.

In Titus 3:5 the ideas of spiritual birth and of renewal are fused. There Christian salvation is attributed to "the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit."

It is important to observe that, in the various aspects of conversion we have noted, conversion is not regarded as a thing complete in itself. It always looks forward. Thus, in Rom. 6:4 Christians have been 'raised' in order that they 'might walk in newness of life'; in Col. 3:10 they have 'put on the new man (nature), which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator'; in Jas. 1:18 they have been 'brought forth' in order that they 'should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures'; in 1 Pet. 1:3 they have been 'born anew' to 'a living hope'.

One further point is of great importance and will be developed later. These figures used to describe the new
life are all employed in close connexion with the verb ἀποκάλυψης. Thus:

Eph. 4:22-24, which deals with putting off the old man and putting on the new, begins with 'Put off', and is immediately followed by 'Therefore, putting away...' in verse 25.
Col. 3:1 ff, which talks of Christians being raised with Christ, is followed in 3:8 by 'But now put away...'
Jas. 1:18, which speaks of Christians as brought forth, is followed in 1:21 by 'Therefore put away...'
1 Pet. 1:23; 2:2, which have the new-born babe metaphor, have sandwiched between them at 2:1 'So put away...'

This same movement of thought appears also, though less obviously, in Rom. 13:11-12 and Heb. 12:1.

In Rom. 12:1-2 Paul has talked of the transforming, renewing grace of God. He then goes on to say that men "in whom this new life is active are knit into a unity as close as that of an organism. From that unity, love as a sentiment for humanity is generated, and within that sentiment all duties arise, including even the duties of civil obedience."70 After this penetrating examination of the nature, responsibilities, and obligations of the new life which ends at 13:10, Paul adds the imminence of final salvation as a motive to

keep up the new standards in 13:11, and in 13:12 he writes, 'Let us then cast off...'

In Heb. 12:1 we find the same. Heb. 10:39 may be taken as describing, albeit in an imperfect way, the distinctive mark of the new life of the Christian,

'...we are not of those who shrink back and are destroyed, but of those who have faith and keep their souls.'

This is followed by the long discourse on faith, the mark of the true believer, that occupies all Chapter 11. The end of this discourse is immediately succeeded in 12:1 by 'Therefore...let us also lay aside...'

That is to say, every metaphorical use of ἀποκάλυψις in the New Testament is vitally linked with some statement about the nature of the new life upon which the convert to Christianity has entered. Since this practice is found in writings from four, and possibly five, different hands it would appear to be of some significance.

(4) The Change from 'Darkness' to 'Light': Eph. 5:7-14.

There are in the New Testament many passages employing metaphors based on the word 'Light' or the word 'darkness' or both these words. These passages may be divided into nine principal groups of which the last is of most interest and importance for our study.

(a) Light as the equivalent to publicity, and darkness as the equivalent to secrecy, e.g., Matt. 10:26-27,
'So have no fear of them; for nothing is covered that will not be revealed, or hidden that will not be known. What I tell you in the dark, utter in the light; and what you hear whispered, proclaim upon the housetops.'

This passage is paralleled in Luke 12:2-3, and partly paralleled in Mark 4:22 and in Luke 8:17. We may also compare John 3:20-21 where light and darkness carry the above sense, though light in 3:19 certainly means Christ. 1 Cor. 4:5 likewise belongs to this group.

(b) Light as 'spiritual vision', and darkness as 'spiritual blindness', e.g., Matt. 6:22-23,

'The eye is the lamp of the body. So if your eye is sound, your whole body will be full of light; but if your eye is not sound, your whole body will be full of darkness. If then the light in you is darkness, how great is the darkness'.

This is paralleled in Luke 11:34-36.

(c) Light as a term for the disciples or for their behaviour, e.g. Matt. 5:14-16,

'You are the Light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hid. Nor do men light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good
works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven.'

This is partly paralleled in Luke 8:16 and 11:33.

(d) Light as a term for Christ (or the Logos), e.g., John 1:4-5; 1:7-9; 3:19; 8:12; 9:5; 12:35-36; 12:46(?).

(e) Light as a term for the Divine 'leading' of God, e.g., John 11:9-10.

(f) Light used descriptively of God, e.g., 1 John 1:5,

'... God is Light and in him is no darkness at all'.

(g) Light used with reference to the Jews, e.g., Rom. 2:17-19,

'But if you call yourself a Jew ... and if you are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness ...'


(i) Here we come to a group of 'light-darkness' passages of a rather different sort, e.g., Acts 26:18 (cf. 23),

'... to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are consecrated by faith in me',

2 Cor. 6:14-15,

'Do not be mismated with unbelievers. For what partnership have righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness? What
accord has Christ with Belial? Or what has a believer in common with an unbeliever?*,

Col. 1:12-13,

'...the Father, who has qualified us to share in the inheritance of the saints in light. He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son',

1 Pet. 2:9,

'... who has called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.'

Now let us look at these last passages a little more closely. In the passage from Acts, which is found in a speech attributed to Paul, the phrase 'from darkness to light' is balanced by the parallel phrase 'from the power of Satan to God.' It is quite evident that turning to light means turning to God, i.e., being converted, for it is added that as the result of so turning men will be forgiven and 'elected'. In the Corinthian section 'righteousness and iniquity' are balanced by 'light and darkness' and 'Christ and Belial' and 'believer and unbeliever', i.e., the contrast is between 'righteousness, light, Christ, and belief' on the one hand, and 'iniquity, darkness, Belial, and unbelief' on the other. It is patent that light is here a term that covers the new way of life open to the Christian convert. In the Colossian verses sharing 'the inheritance of the saints in light' obviously means being a Christian. The 'inheritance'
is equated with 'the kingdom of his beloved Son', and both are contrasted against 'the dominion of darkness' from which the convert has been delivered, i.e., the convert's past life. Exactly the same considerations apply to the Petrine passage.

Nothing could be plainer than that in all these sections 'light' is a term covering the new life of the convert, and 'darkness' one covering his pre-conversion life. In 1 John 1:5-7; 2:8-11, 'light' likewise involves the thought of having fellowship with God or Christ, while 'darkness' involves the opposite. Indeed in 1 John 'to be in the light' practically signifies being a good Christian, and 'to be in darkness' not really to be a Christian at all. This self-same contrast is involved in Rom. 13:12,

'let us then cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light.'

It is equally clear that the phrase 'sons of light' is a well known synonym for Christians in Luke 16:8; John 12:36; and 1 Thess. 5:4-5. We should note too that in Phil. 2:5 Christians are said 'to shine as lights in the world.'

To this group of passages Eph. 5:7-14 belongs. The same picture of the pre-conversion life as 'darkness' and of the post-conversion life as 'light' is present; and the term for Christians, 'sons of light', is also found.

We can say quite definitely that the 'light-darkness' metaphor in the various writings which we have examined under this group was a common and familiar figure well understood by the Christians of the first century. That it was well
understood seems evident from the fact that none of the writers ever troubles to explain it directly.

This metaphor almost certainly was attached to the rite of baptism in the early Church. It lends itself well to such an occasion for then the image of passing from darkness to light was concentrated into one symbolic act. This explanation receives strong support from 1 Pet. 2:9,

'... who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light',

for it is generally agreed that this verse is in a markedly baptismal setting. Further support may be found in Heb. 6:4,

'For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who have once been enlightened...'

Here \( \phi \nu t h \) is equivalent to \( \beta a n t h \). Thus the figure of 'light-darkness' came to be so closely associated with baptism that by the time Hebrews was written - somewhere between 60 and 85 A.D. - 'to enlighten' meant 'to baptize'. So we may assume, with reasonable confidence, that this group of passages which we have been discussing reflects undoubtedly a 'stock' metaphor of the apostolic Church, and very probably a block of baptismal material. We should note that the fragment of a hymn in Eph. 5:14 fits remarkably neatly into a baptismal context.

The immediate origin of these passages is to be found in the sayings of Jesus which are being recollected, explained, and developed. To a certain extent, also, we may trace a
degree of indebtedness to the prophetic parts of the Old Testament, especially the Isaianic portions, though there is not the same deliberate recollection here that there is in the case of the sayings of Jesus. The speculation is tempting that these latter were perhaps circulating in written form in the early Church for we observe that in 1 Thess. 5:2, which introduces a 'light-darkness' section, Paul writes, 'For you yourselves know well that...'

'Well' translates the Greek ἄκριβῶς which means 'with exactness', 'carefully', and is not a common word in the New Testament. Why does Paul say, 'For you yourselves know with exactness?' Had the readers been taught with great accuracy verbally, or did they possess this teaching in writing?

The notion of 'light and darkness' was, of course, not unfamiliar in extra-canonical Jewish writings, and was in all likelihood a commonplace in Jewish circles at the beginning of Christianity. To such Jewish thought Jesus was doubtless beholden, and so we may carry the origin of our passages a stage further back. For instance, in 1 Enoch 108:11-13 we read,

'And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness ... And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved my holy name,'

and in 2 Baruch 48:50 (a contemporary of the chief New Testament writings),

'For assuredly as in a little time in this transitory world in which ye live, ye have endured much labour,

So in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light.'

We may therefore conclude from all the evidence which we have considered that the teaching on the new life that resulted from 'hearing the word' was given by the early Church under several forms. First, the new life was portrayed as that of new-born babes - an idea founded on Dominical sayings. Second, the new life was portrayed as the harvest that followed the sowing of the word - also based on Dominical sayings. Third, the new life was portrayed under the category of 'light' as opposed to 'darkness' - once more building on Dominical sayings. Writers, like John, James and Peter developed material on regeneration from the first form; and writers like Paul developed material on new creation (and 'the old man' and 'the new man') from the second form. The elaborate patterns constructed around such words as to beget, to be renewed, to put off, to put on, are, however, the peculiar creations of the various authors.

iii. The New Life – the Things to be Abandoned: Eph. 4:25ff.

The ἀποστίθημι Sections of the New Testament.

We observed above that the figures used to describe the new life in Eph., Col., Jas. and 1 Pet. were all used in close connexion with some part of the verb ἀποστίθημι. This also applied in a less clear way to Rom. and Heb. Thus Rom., Eph., Col., Heb., Jas. and 1 Pet. – six documents from four or five authors – all associate with a description of the new life of the convert a statement of those things which must be put away or abandoned if the new life is to be lived aright. This remarkable unanimity calls for detailed investigation, and we may best begin our enquiry by examining Jas. and 1 Pet., for there the data are more easily discernible than in our other documents.

James

1:18. Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures.

1:19. Know this, my beloved brethren. Let every man be quick to hear, slow to speak, slow to anger,

1:20. for the anger of man does not work the righteousness of God.

1:21. Therefore put away all filthiness and rank growth of wickedness and receive

1:22. Having purified your souls by your obedience to the truth for a sincere love of the brethren, love one another earnestly from the heart.

1:23. You have been born anew, not of perishable seed but of imperishable through the living and abiding word of God;

1:24. "All flesh is like grass and all its glory like the flower of grass."
with meekness the implanted word, which is able to save your souls.

1:22. But be doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves.

1:25. but the word of God abides for ever". That word is the good news which was preached to you.

2:1. So put away all malice and all guile and insincerity and envy and all slander.

2:2. Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up to salvation.

It is clear that the same ground-plan lies beneath both of these passages, though each contains touches due to the individual writer. Both James and Peter commence with a reference to the teaching that led to conversion and are in agreement thereafter. Thus,

(1) Reference to teaching received

Jas. 1:18. 'brought forth by the word of truth.'

1 Pet. 1:23. 'born anew... through the ... word of God.'

(2) 'Therefore put away...'

Jas. 1:21.

1 Pet. 2:1.

(3) A list of things to be abandoned.


1 Pet. 2:1. malice, guile, insincerity, envy, slander.

(4) A paraenesis.

Jas. 1:22. 'Be doers of the word...'

1 Pet. 2:2. 'Like newborn babes, long for ...'
When we turn to the passages in Ephesians and Colossians we are met by a much more complicated problem. The passages are Eph. 4:1-5:6 and Col. 2:6-3:16a.

**Ephesians.**

4:1. *I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called,*

4:2. *with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love,*

4:3. *eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*

4:4-16 is virtually a parenthetical section dealing with the unity and growth of the Church.

4:17. *Now this I affirm and testify in the Lord, that you must no longer live as the Gentiles do, in the futility of their minds;*

4:18. *They are darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them, due to their hardness of heart;*

4:19. *they have become callous and have given themselves up to licentiousness, greedy to practise every kind of uncleanness.*

4:20. *You did not so learn Christ! —*

**Colossians.**

2:6. *As therefore you received Christ Jesus the Lord, so live in him,*
4:21. assuming that you have heard about him and were taught in him, as the truth is in Jesus.

4:22. Put off your old nature which belongs to your former manner of life and is corrupt through deceitful lusts,

4:23. and be renewed in the spirit of your minds,

4:24. and put on the new nature, created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness.

4:25. Therefore, putting away falsehood, let every one speak the truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another.

4:26. Be angry but do not sin; do not let the sun go down on your anger,

4:27. And give no opportunity to the devil.

4:28. Let the thief no longer steal, but rather let him labour, doing honest work with his hands, so that he may be able to give to those in need.

4:29. Let no evil talk come out of your mouths, but only such as is good for edifying; as fits the occasion, that it may impart grace to those who hear.

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rooted and built up in him and established in the faith, just as you were taught, abounding in thanksgiving.

From 2:8 to 2:19 Paul combats by means of a Christological argument, certain aspects of the 'Colossian heresy'. This is continued from 2:20 to 3:4 where the Christian is thought of as mystically dying and rising with Christ.

Put to death therefore what is earthly in you: immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is idolatry. On account of these the wrath of God is coming upon the sons of disobedience.

among whom you also once walked, when you lived in these things.

But now put away all these; anger, wrath, malice, slander, and foul talk from your mouth.

Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old nature with its practices.
4:30. And do not give the Holy Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed for the day of redemption.

4:31. Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and slander be put away from you, with all malice,

4:32. and be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you.

5:1. Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children.

5:2. And walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God.

5:3. But immorality and all impurity or covetousness must not even be named among you, as is fitting among saints.

5:4. Let there be no filthiness, nor silly talk, nor levity, which are not fitting; but instead let there be thanksgiving.

5:5. Be sure of this, that no immoral or impure man, or one who is covetous (that is, an idolater), has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

3:10. And have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator.

3:11. Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all.

3:12. Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, and patience,

3:13. forbearing one another and, if one has a complaint against another, forgiving each other; as the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive.

3:14. And above all these put on love, which binds everything together in perfect harmony.

3:15. And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to which indeed you were called in the one body. And be thankful.

3:16a. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly...
5:6. Let no one deceive you with empty words, for it is because of these things that the wrath of God comes upon the sons of disobedience.

These two passages have much in common and, while it is true that Ephesians and Colossians are formally related in an exceptionally intricate manner, it is also true that both are here dependent on a common underlying plan. The problem which we have to solve is this - What in these two passages derives from this shared ground work? That problem can best be answered by asking, What in these two sections is due to the effort of the individual writer or writers? This latter question we answer in two stages.

First, we should note that the teaching on Church unity in Eph. 4:4-16 is largely the production of the writer of Ephesians. Admittedly this section has some material in it which is also in Colossians, viz.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Eph. 4:13} & = \text{Col. 1:28; 2:2.} \\
\text{Eph. 4:15-16} & = \text{Col. 2:19} \\
\text{Eph. 4:16} & = \text{Col. 2:2}
\end{align*}
\]

But the fact that this material occurs at such scattered and diverse points in the two documents shows that the dependent writer felt at liberty to handle it as best suited him, and renders it highly improbable that this material belongs to common stock drawn on by both Ephesians and Colossians. We may say that Eph. 4:4-16 is developed in such an individualistic and thoroughly 'Ephesian' manner as to bear the mark of
virtually original work.

This same consideration applies to Eph. 4:26-27 which, while perhaps based on Col. 3:7-8, is so amplified as to be for all practical purposes unique.

We should observe, too, that Eph. 4:28; 4:30; 5:2 occur only in Eph. and not in Col.

Looking now at Colossians, we notice that Col. 3:6 = Eph. 5:6 and Col. 3:7 = Eph. 2:2 (3). But again these 'parallel' passages are inserted in very different contexts in each document; are being freely treated by the secondary writer; and are not traceable to a source shared by both documents.

Col. 3:11 has no counterpart in Eph.

Col. 2:8-3:4, which, by means of Christological argumentation, rebuts the errorism of the Colossians, anticipates Ephesian passages throughout, viz.,

| Col. 2:9     | = Eph. 3:19 |
| Col. 2:10    | = Eph. 1:21-23 |
| Col. 2:11    | = Eph. 2:11 |
| Col. 2:12    | = Eph. 2:19-20 |
| Col. 2:13-14 | = Eph. 2:1; 2:5 |
| Col. 2:19    | = Eph. 4:15-16 |
| Col. 2:20    | = Eph. 3:4 |
| Col. 3:1; 3:3 | = Eph. 1:20; 2:6 |

Once more the 'parallel' verses are found in heterogeneous passages, and it is quite clear that there is no underlying common pattern. Sections of the passage as written by the writer of Colossians have simply been selected for use in his own way by the writer of Ephesians in so independent a manner.
as rules out any possibility of a basic form being drawn upon by both authors or by the same author on two occasions.

That is to say, we may regard the following verses as the production of the individual writer or writers, and not as the reflection of 'stock' data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eph.</th>
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<tr>
<td>4:4-16</td>
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<td>4:26-28; 4:30</td>
<td>3:6-7; 3:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second, we have seen earlier that the metaphor of 'the old man' and 'the new man' (Eph. 4:22-24; Col. 3:9b-10), used in Pauline writings to describe the contrast between the pre-Christian and the Christian state of the individual, was characteristic of Paul and was, so far as we know, his own creation. We may here further observe that if 'the old/new man' formula is detracted from the passages we are examining the flow of thought is in no way interrupted. These verses are strictly Pauline and do not belong to an underlying plan.

Again, Eph. 4:17-19; 5:3-6 and Col. 3:5-7 bear all the appearance of being almost Jewish 'tags', and suggest that the writer, or writers, is drawing on Judaistic material. Thus the key words in these passages are all familiar in the Septuagint, e.g.,

\[
\text{ακαθάρσις, επεθυμία, ἐγκατάστασις, πλεονεξία, πορευόμενος, μεταλόγησις}
\]
It seems as if the writer of Colossians has incorporated a block of Jewish material in his letter. On this the writer of Ephesians has drawn and added fresh Jewish matter of his own which he has also elaborated to suit his purpose.

We have now reached the position of seeing that in the two sections under examination, Eph. 4:1-5:6 and Col. 2:6-3:16a, there are three varieties of material that do not belong to the essential core shared by both passages. These are,

(1) **Eph.**

4:5-16  
4:26-28; 4:30  
5:2

which are, in the sense indicated, the work of the individual writer or writers.

(2) 'The old/new man' metaphor:

**Eph.**

4:22-24

**Col.**

3:9b-10

which is a purely Pauline figure.

(3) **Blocks of freely handled Jewish material:**

**Eph.**

4:17-19  
5:3-6

**Col.**

3:5-7

If now we take this material, which we have isolated and which we may define as 'personal interpolation' in the case of groups (1) and (2) and the interpolation of Jewish ethical matter in the case of group (3), and abstract it from Eph. 4:1-5:6 and from Col. 2:6-3:16a we are left with
the following paragraphs:

**Ephesians.**

4:1. I therefore, a prisoner for the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called,

4:2. with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love,

4:3. eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

4:20. You did not so learn Christ!—

**Colossians.**

2:6. As therefore you received Christ Jesus the Lord, so live in him,

2:7. rooted and built up in him and established in the faith, just as you were taught, abounding in thanksgiving

4:21. assuming that you have heard about him and were taught in him, as the truth is in Jesus.

4:25. Therefore, putting away falsehood, let every one speak the truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another.

4:29. Let no evil talk come out of your mouths, but only such as is good for edifying, as fits the occasion, that it may impart grace to those who hear.

4:31. Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and slander be put away from you, with all malice,

4:32. and be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another as God in Christ forgave you.

5:1. Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children.

3:12. Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and
Ephesians.

The two passages now betray the following common plan:

(1) Reference to teaching received.

Ephesians 4:20-21. *You did not so learn Christ! - assuming that you have heard about him and were taught in him, as the truth is in Jesus.'

Colossians 2:6-7. 'As therefore you received Christ Jesus the Lord, so live in him ... just as you were taught.

(2) *Therefore, putting away ... ' *But now put away ... ' 


Colossians 3:8.

(3) A list of things to be abandoned.

Ephesians.          Colossians.

Col. 3:8-9a. Anger, wrath, malice, slander, foul talk, lying.

(4) A paraenesis.

Eph. 5:1. 'Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children'.

Col. 3:12. 'Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved ...'

It will be observed that this is exactly the same plan as appears in James and 1 Peter.

We should note that the summons to the virtuous life in Eph. 4:1-3 strongly resembles that in Col. 3:12-15 inculcating as it does the same teaching; and it is interesting to speculate as to which document preserves the original order of this block of material. On the whole Colossians probably gives us the basic order, for, while it is hard to see any reason for Colossians shifting this material to the end of the section, it is easier to understand why Ephesians may have transferred it to the beginning. The writer of Ephesians probably effected the transfer because these verses lead up rather neatly to his teaching on the growth and harmony of the Church. They conclude with the words,

'...eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' and that provides a good beginning for the passage which commences,

'There is one body and one Spirit ... one hope ... one Lord, one faith ...'
If, then, we assume that the list of virtues should properly come at the end of the sections we are examining, we find that our two documents enjoin the convert to abandon what are essentially sins of temper and tongue, and to develop the virtues of truthfulness, compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, forgiveness and love.

We would seem, therefore, to be justified in concluding that a common form lies behind Eph. 4:1-5:6; Col. 2:6-3:16a; Jas. 1:18-22; and 1 Pet. 1:22-2:2.

That this is so receives confirmation in a number of interesting ways. If we glance for a moment at Hebrews, and even at Romans, we find traces of the same pattern.

Thus in Heb. 10:32 we read, 'but recall the former days when, after you were enlightened, you endured a hard struggle ... '

This is patently a reference to the readers' conversion and baptism, and to the instruction in the Christian faith which they received both before and after these complementary events. After this reference there comes the lengthy discussion on faith which goes on till the end of chapter 11. Then the pattern is picked up again in 12:1, 'Therefore ... let us also lay aside every weight, and sin ... '

So here too we discover the same pattern.
(1) Reference to teaching received

Heb. 10:32.

(2) 'Therefore ... let us also lay aside'

Heb. 12:1a.

(3) The things to be abandoned

Heb. 12:1b; weight, sin.

(4) A paraenesis

Heb. 12:1c ff, Let us run...

It is possible also that this self-same pattern is discernible in Rom. 13:11-14, viz.,

(1) Reference to teaching received

Rom. 13:11b, 'For salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed'.

(2) 'Let us then cast off...'

Rom. 13:12.

(3) The things to be abandoned

Rom. 13:12, '...the works of darkness...'

(4) A paraenesis

Rom. 13:14, 'But put on the Lord Jesus Christ.'

That is to say, in five documents, Eph., Col., Heb., Jas., 1 Pet., and possibly in Rom. as a sixth, the identical pattern occurs. It is obvious that here we are dealing with common material lying behind all our documents and not with cases of direct inter-dependence amongst our documents. This is clinched by the additional fact that those sections in our documents that deal with this somewhat negative side of the Christian life lead in every case, with the exception of Romans, to teaching on worship.

Thus, Eph. 5:1 is followed by a compact block of Jewish material (5:3-6), then by a block of material chiefly of the 'light/darkness' type (5:7-18a). This is immediately succeed-
ed by material on worship (5:18b-20).

Col. 3:16a gives way directly to material on worship (3:16b-17).

Heb. 12:1 leads on, after the interpolation of a mass of ethical teaching, to material on worship in 13:15-16.

Jas. 1:22 offers general ethical matter to 1:25, then presents material on worship in 1:26-27.

1 Pet. 2:2 opens out into teaching on worship in 2:4-10.

In Romans this type of teaching is found, but it occurs, before the traces of the renunciatory form of 13:11-14, in a different sequence at 12:1.

To recapitulate, we may note the following points in the sections in the Epistles:

(1) The sections are set in the same 'thought-pattern' in Eph., Col., Heb., Jas., 1 Pet., and probably in Rom. The sequence is

a. Reference to teaching received.
b. Some part of (always in the middle voice in the New Testament).
c. The things to be abandoned.
d. A paraenesis.

(2) The sections in all our documents, except Romans, lead up to teaching on worship. In Romans, this material precedes the section.

(3) In Eph., Col., Jas. and 1 Pet., and less directly in Heb., is used in conjunction with metaphors describing the change of life involved in conversion. That is, six of the seven metaphorical
applications of this verb in the New Testament occur in the same environment of thought. The seventh metaphorical use in Rom. 13:12 is really no exception for, though this passage differs in some respects from those in our other letters, it nevertheless employs the 'light-darkness' motif which is often associated with the idea of conversion. The verb is only found elsewhere in the New Testament in the literal sense in Matt. 14:3 and in Acts 7:58. In the Apostolic Fathers the verb is employed in the same figurative sense, e.g., in the (genuine) Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, 57:2, of sins of the tongue.

(4) There is a marked kinship in our chief documents between the lists of things to be abandoned. Thus:

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:29. evil talk</td>
<td>wrath</td>
<td>wickedness</td>
<td>guile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:31. bitterness</td>
<td>malice</td>
<td></td>
<td>insincerity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrath</td>
<td></td>
<td>slander</td>
<td>envy</td>
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<tr>
<td>anger</td>
<td></td>
<td>foul</td>
<td>slander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clamour</td>
<td></td>
<td>talk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slander</td>
<td></td>
<td>with all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with all malice</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eph., Col., and 1 Pet. are concerned with sins of tongue (as in 1 Clem. above) and of temper, and all three seem to reflect, with individual additions or alterations, a basic pattern.
In all four Epistles the none too common New Testament word *κακία* appears in each of these lists, and there only in the case of Eph., Col., and Jas. The other seven examples of this word in the New Testament are perhaps instructive. In Rom. 1:29 and Tit. 3:3 *κακία* likewise is found in lists of sins. The Roman passage is almost certainly related to the Jewish work, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, chapters 13:14. In 1 Cor. 5:8 *κακία* is used in a sentence in some way connected with the celebration of the Passover; and in 1 Cor. 14:20 it is used in a sentence that recalls in a condensed way the *ἀποτίθημι* formula in its Petrine garb (1 Pet. 2:1-2). In Acts 8:22 *κακία* is put on the lips of Peter. In Matt. 6:34 *κακία* carries the slightly different sense of 'trouble', 'affliction', in a section probably derived from two Palestinian proverbial sayings. The only other instance of *κακία* in the New Testament is in 1 Pet. 2:16 which is itself part of a catechetical section. We may say that this word, which crops up at the same place in the same thought-sequence in our four chief evidential documents, had, therefore, Jewish, rather than specifically Christian, attachments.

(5) In Eph., Jas., and 1 Pet., *ἀποτίθημι* is coupled with a 'therefore' — in Eph. 4:25; Jas. 1:21 with ἰδιοτάτοις, and in 1 Pet. 2:2 with ὡς — in order to connect the *ἀποτίθημι* formula with what has preceded. This is true also of Rom. 13:12 (ὡς).

In Col. 3:8 *ἀποτίθημι* is associated with

νῦνι in the temporal sense rather than in that of logical sequence. But this may simply be because in Col. the reference to 'the word' that gives new life does not occur till 3:16.

(6) In Rom. 13:12 the ἀποτελέσματι formula is followed by a part of the verb ἐνσώ in 13:12 and 13:14. In Col. 3:8 the ἀποτελέσματι formula is again followed by a part of the verb ἐνσώ in 3:12. In Eph. 4:22-24, where 'the old/new man' metaphor occurs, ἀποτελέσματι in 4:22 is followed by ἐνσώ in 4:24, though, of course, this section is Pauline and not part of the basic ἀποτελέσματι form.

Now ἐνσώ, apart from Luke 24:49 and the passages cited, is never used metaphorically in the New Testament except in Pauline writings, viz.,

1 Cor. 15:53 (twice)  
1 Cor. 15:54 (twice)  
Eph. 6:11  
Eph. 6:14
2 Cor. 5:3
Gal. 3:27
Col. 3:10 ('the old/new man' metaphor)
1 Thess. 5:8.

That is, in Romans and Colossians ἀποτελέσματι and ἐνσώ are used jointly to provide a bold contrast; and in 'the old/new man' metaphor which has crept into the Ephesian and Colossian versions of the ἀποτελέσματι pattern the same contrast appears (though in Col. the antithesis is against ἀπεκδόσω). But, if the writers of Hebrews, James and 1 Peter owed their ἀποτελέσματι sections to direct dependence on Pauline writings, is it credible
that they should reproduce all the elements of the pattern and yet omit the striking ideas associated with ἐνσώ? This consideration lends still further weight to the view that a primitive pattern lies behind the ἀποτίθημε sections in all the documents we have considered.


The chief passages for our study are Rom. 12:1-2; Eph. 5:18-20; Col. 3:16-17; Heb. 13:15-16 (cf. 11:6); Jas. 1:27; 1 Pet. 2:4-9. We may also compare John's Gospel 4:23-24; 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 2 Cor. 6:16; Phil. 2:10-11; 1 Thess. 5:16-18.

In Eph., Col., Jas., and 1 Pet. these passages on worship come after the ἀποτίθημε sections, and before teaching on subordination. This teaching on subordination begins in Eph. at 5:21; in Col. at 3:18; in Jas. at 4:7; and in 1 Pet. at 2:13 and 5:5. The passage on worship in Romans likewise precedes teaching on subordination which commences at 13:1, but which may be echoed in 12:3; 12:16. On the other hand, as we have seen, the material on worship in Romans comes before the ἀποτίθημε section which does not appear till 13:11-14. In Hebrews the passage on worship (13:15-16) comes after both the ἀποτίθημε section (12:1) and some of the teaching on subordination (12:9).

In Eph., Phil., Col., and Heb. the worship of the believer is mediated through Christ's name or through Christ.
Thanksgiving is stressed in Eph., Col., and 1 Thess.

There seems, however, to be two schools of thought and teaching on worship, for Heb. and 1 Pet., like 1 and 2 Cor., are markedly Levitical in tone as, in a lesser degree, is Rom. This type of outlook, on the other hand, is not apparent in the relevant passages in either Eph. or Col.

The teaching on worship in the Epistles is often linked closely with immediately preceding doctrinal passages. This is most obvious in the case of Romans and 1 Peter. In the former a doctrinal doxology supplies the foundation for teaching on the responsive nature of worship. In the latter the carefully expounded doctrine of the first chapter is made the basis of an appeal to come to 'that living stone'. He who does come enters into a new relationship with the divine and that new relationship provides in its turn the ground for worship. The same movement of thought is apparent in the pre-Pauline hymn in Phil. 2, where the doctrinal element in 2:4-9 is followed by teaching on worship in 2:10-11.

In Colossians the material on worship is linked with the 'indwelling' word; in James with the 'implanted' word; and in 1 Peter with the 'milk' (= word) longed for and tasted.

No conclusions of any value can be drawn from the linguistic data provided by these sections on worship.

This material lacks the clear-cut identity exhibited by the ἐπιστολὴ sections. It has been treated accord-
ing to the ideas of the various writers - some employed a neo-levitical approach; others a more general, liberal approach more likely to appeal to Christians of non-Jewish ancestry. Yet, while the handling of the subject of worship varies widely, the fact remains that in three of our principal documents, Eph.-Col., Jas., and 1 Pet. (Eph. and Col. are certainly dependent here), the subject occupies exactly the same position in the same sequence of thought. Again, in Col., Jas. and 1 Pet. this teaching is closely linked with material on the 'word' as the foundation of the new life; and in Rom., Phil., and 1 Pet. the paragraphs on worship bear a cause and effect relationship to general doctrinal data.

We may safely deduce that the Ephesian section on worship (5:18-20) represents the type of instruction on this matter which was widespread in the early Church, though the actual form of language and thought differs among the documents. All we can say is that it appears to have been customary to introduce material on worship after the material on renunciation (the ἀποκάλυψις sections) and before the material on subordination.

v. Virtues appropriate to the Christian Convert:
Eph. 4:1-3; 4:32; 5:2.

When discussing the ἀποκάλυψις sections we observed the list of virtues given at the beginning of the Ephesian paragraph and at the end of the Colossian, and we concluded
that the order in Colossians was probably the original. We must now examine these sections on 'virtues' more closely, and also bring within our investigation one or two related verses in Ephesians. The relevant verses are Eph. 4:1-3; 4:32; 5:2 and Col. 3:12-15.

**Ephesians.**

4:1-3. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἵνα ὁ δεσμὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀξίως περιπατήσητε τῆς κληρονομίας ἡς ἐκλήθητε, μετὰ πάσης τιμησθείσης καὶ πράξεως, μετὰ μακροθυμεῖας, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, συνεκπιστεύοντες τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν τῇ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης.

4:32. γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους Χριστοῦ, ἐν πάσῃ ἀγάπῃ, ἀλληλούμενοι ἐαυτοῖς καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκάριστο ὑμῖν.

5:2. καὶ περιπατεῖτε ἐν ἀγάπῃ...

**Colossians.**

3:12-15. Ἐνδοξάζετε οὖν, ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄγιοι καὶ ἀμαρτημένοι, τιμάντες ἀλλήλους καὶ χαρίζομενοι ἑαυτοῖς, εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐκάριστο ὑμῖν ὑμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν δὲ τούτοις τῆς ἀγάπης, ὡς τούτων συνεκπιστεύοντες τὴν ἐνότητα." καὶ ἔστω τῇ ἐνότητι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρετεῖστε ἐν τοῖς καρδίαῖς ὑμῶν, εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἑνὶ σώματί καὶ εὐχαριστοῖς γίνεσθε.
The similarities between these two passages are striking. Colossians seems to be the original passage since it is very obviously a unity and not the composition resulting from combining Eph. 4:1-3 and 4:32. Indeed, we have suggested above a reason to explain why the writer of Ephesians split his Colossian original and transferred most of it to a point before the ἀποτίθημι section. But, while there would be general agreement that Ephesians is here borrowing from Colossians, we feel that to say this is not to say enough in the attempt to elucidate the source of these sections. The one is admittedly based on the other. But may not both ultimately reflect an underlying block of ethical teaching?

A close examination of the distribution of certain of the words in this ethical section of Ephesians—Colossians is of great importance in answering that question. We will consider all the occurrences of these words, and, in some cases, of their cognates as well.

The Vocabulary of Eph. 4:1-3; 4:32; 5:2 and of Col. 3:12-15.

(1) Eph. 4:32, εὐπλαγχνος occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in 1 Pet. 3:8 in a similar section on catechumen virtues.

Col. 3:12, σπλαγχνα ὀίκτερα; σπλαγχνον is always in the plural in the New Testament, where it renders the LXX σπλαγχνον, also translated by ὀίκτεροι and ἔλεος. Apart from Col. 3:12 ὀίκτεραι is found in the New Testament four times in Paul and once in Hebrews.
The distribution of σπλάγχνα in the New Testament is as follows. (It is always used metaphorically in the sense of 'heart', 'affections', except in Acts 1:18 where it is used in the literal sense of 'viscera').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Luke–Acts</th>
<th>Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lk. 1:78 (Benedictus)</td>
<td>2 Cor. 6:12</td>
<td>1 Jn. 3:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts. 1:18 (literally)</td>
<td>2 Cor. 7:15</td>
<td>(in ethical teaching).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil. 1:8</td>
<td>Phil 2:1 (with δικτιεροί)</td>
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<td>Phm. 7, 12, 20</td>
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</table>

(2) Eph. 4:2, Col. 3:12 ταπείνωθεσθε. This word is not in the LXX nor in any Greek version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha. It is not found in classical Greek and is rare outside the New Testament. Its distribution is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20:19</td>
<td>Phil. 2:3</td>
<td>1 Pet. 5:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 2:18; 2:23</td>
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</table>

It should be noted that its only occurrence in Acts is in the speech to the Ephesian elders attributed to Paul. The two occurrences in Col. (2:18; 2:23) are in the sense of 'false humility'.

The cognates of this word are not any too plentiful either. Thus,

2. ταπείνοθεσθε only occurs once in 1 Pet. 3:8.
3. ταπείνως occurs:
Here we should note that ταπελύω is used in the teaching of Jesus in Matt. 11:29 of 'lowly', 'humble', in the honourable sense. In all the other passages it simply means 'lowly', 'of low degree'. In Rom. 12:16 it is in an ethical section; in 2 Cor. 10:1 it is beside a recollection of a saying of Jesus; and in Jas. 4:6 and 1 Pet. 5:5 it is in an LXX quotation from Prov. 3:34 in a catechetical section.

3. ταπελύω occurs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synoptics</th>
<th>Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matt. 18:4, cf.</td>
<td>2 Cor. 11:7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt. 23:12</td>
<td>2 Cor. 12:21</td>
<td>Jas. 4:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lk. 14:11</td>
<td>Phil. 2:8</td>
<td>1 Pet. 5:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lk. 18:14</td>
<td>Phil. 4:12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lk. 3:5 (LXX)</td>
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</table>

(3) Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:12, πρεπέναι:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Pastorals</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Cor. 4:21</td>
<td>2 Tim. 2:25</td>
<td>Jas. 1:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Cor. 10:1</td>
<td>Tit. 3:2</td>
<td>Jas. 3:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal. 5:23</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Pet. 3:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal. 6:1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2 Cor. 10:1 recalls a saying of Jesus; Gal. 5:23 is in a list of virtues (6:1 is a piece of ethical advice); 2 Tim. 2:25 is in an ethical section; Tit. 3:2 likewise; Jas. 1:21
is in an ἀποκλίθημα section; 1 Pet. 3:15 is in close association with an ethical section.

a. περίς occurs thrice in the Synoptics - in Matt. 5:5 and 11:29 in the teaching of Jesus, and in Matt. 21:5 in an LXX quotation applied to Jesus. It is also in 1 Pet. 3:4 in a section dealing with subordination.

b. The rare πράσμαθες of 1 Tim. 6:11 is there in a list of virtues.

(4) Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:12, πράσμαθες:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pauline Writings.</th>
<th>Pastorals.</th>
<th>Other Writings.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rom. 2:4</td>
<td>1 Tim. 1:16</td>
<td>Heb. 6:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rom. 9:32</td>
<td>2 Tim. 3:10</td>
<td>Jas. 5:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Cor. 6:6</td>
<td>2 Tim. 4:2</td>
<td>1 Pet. 3:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal. 5:22</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Pet. 3:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. 1:11</td>
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</table>

2 Cor. 6:6 and Gal. 5:22 are in lists of virtues; 2 Tim. 4:2 is in a paraenetic section; Jas. 5:10 is in an ethical section.

(5) Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:13, ἀνέχετο (always in the middle voice in the New Testament).

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matt. 17:17=18:14</td>
<td>1 Cor. 4:12</td>
<td>2 Tim. 4:3</td>
<td>Heb. 13:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lk. 9:19=</td>
<td>2 Cor. 11:1; 4,19, 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lk. 9:41</td>
<td>2 Thess. 1:4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) Col. 3:14, τελευτής is only found again in Heb. 6:1
Now let us look at four words common to the sections in Ephesians—Colossians in still greater detail, viz., ταπεινοφροσύνη, πραιτια, μακροθυμία and ἀνέχω.

(1) Ταπεινοφροσύνη thus occurs only once outside a Pauline context, i.e., in 1 Pet. 5:5, for even if Ephesians is not by Paul it is by a staunch neo-Paulinist. Indeed, if we exclude 1 Pet. 5:5 from our survey for a moment, we find that this rare word is only found four times in Pauline Epistles (and these are late Epistles, namely, Philippians and Colossians); once in Ephesians; and once in Acts. Its occurrence in Acts 20:19 is oddly enough in the speech to the Ephesian elders attributed to Paul. Two of the three instances of the word in Colossians are in the sense of 'false humility'. In Phil. 2:3 the word occurs in a little block of ethical material that leads up to the famous kenotic passage. The solitary use of the word in 1 Pet. 5:5 is in a catechetical section dealing with subordination. Thus every instance of this word, except in Acts, is in a block of ethical material (this applies to Col. 2:18; 2:23 also, though there the word has a different sense), and is in a Pauline or neo-Pauline document except in the case of 1 Peter.

The distribution of cognate words is of equal interest.

Thus ταπεινοφροσύνη only appears once in the New Testament.
in 1 Pet. 3:8 in a catechetical section on virtues.

**Tapeinou** is only found in a saying of Jesus; in the Magnificat; in Rom. 12:16 in a section echoing teaching of Jesus; in 2 Cor. 10:1 in a verse also echoing a saying of Jesus; and once more in Paul in 2 Cor. 7:6 in the sense 'of low degree'. Elsewhere it is only found in James and 1 Peter. In the first instance in James it is used as in 2 Cor. 7:6. In the second it is used ethically in a catechetical section on the virtue of subordination; and in 1 Pet. 5:5 it is also used in a catechetical section dealing with subordination.

**Tapeinon** similarly is found practically exclusively in the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics (apart from an LXX quotation in Lk. 3:5); in the teaching of Paul; and in a catechetical teaching on humility in James and 1 Peter.

Put in tabular form these data yield this result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acts.</th>
<th>Pauline or neo-Pauline Writings.</th>
<th>Other Writings.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Tapeinofeison</em></td>
<td>once (in Pauline speech)</td>
<td>5 times (all in ethical sections)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tapeinofeion</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tapeinou</em></td>
<td>once (teaching of Jesus); once (LXX quotation in Magnificat)</td>
<td>3 times</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From this it is quite clear that ΤΑΞΙΝΟΜΗΣΕΩΣ and related words are mainly found in the teaching of Jesus; overwhelmingly in Pauline writings; and in catechetical sections in James and 1 Peter.

(2) ΠΕΡΙΣΧΩΣ occurs eight times in Pauline or neo-Pauline writings and only three times elsewhere. Of the eight Pauline instances, one recalls a saying of Jesus; three are in ethical sections listing virtues; two are in general ethical teaching; and one is in an ethical section on subordination. Of the three non-Pauline instances, one is in an ἀποστολικη section (Jas. 1:21); and the remaining two are in general ethical teaching in Jas. 3:13 and 1 Pet. 3:15.

Of related words ΠΕΡΙjej is found three times in the Synoptics (two in teaching of Jesus; one in LXX quotation), and once in 1 Pet. 3:4 in catechetical material on subordination.

The rare ΠΕΡΙΟΠΑΘΙΑ of 1 Tim. 6:11 is in an ethical section that gives a list of virtues.
Synoptics. | Pauline or neo-Pauline Writings. | Other Writings.
---|---|---
πειτής | 8 times | 3 times (all in ethical sections, and one in an ἀποτίθημι section, in Jas. and 1 Pet.)
πειτής | 3 times (2 in teaching of Jesus). | once (in catechetical section on subordination in 1 Pet.)
πειτηθάλης | once (in ethical section listing virtues.) |
229.

Pauline or neo-Pauline Writings. | Other Writings.
--- | ---
ταξιδευματα | 10 times (3 times in lists of virtues; once in list of fruits of the Spirit; once in a paraenesis) | 4 times (Heb., Jas., and 1 and 2 Pet. - in Heb. and Jas in paraenetic sections.)

Once again we have an overwhelmingly Pauline word only elsewhere in Heb., Jas. and 1 and 2 Pet.

(4) 'Ανεξω is found three times in the Synoptics (but really only once since the passages are parallel) in a saying of Jesus; once in Acts; nine times in Pauline or neo-Pauline writings (twice in ethical sections and once in a verse recalling the teaching of Jesus); and once in Hebrews.

Put in tabular form these data yield this result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synoptics</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Pauline or neo-Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ανεξω</td>
<td>1 (in saying of Jesus in parallel passages).</td>
<td>9 times (2 in ethical sections; 1 based on saying of Jesus).</td>
<td>1 (Heb.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once more we have a predominantly Pauline word found again only in the teaching of Jesus and in Heb., apart from the one instance in Acts.

Now let us glance at the three words found in the Ephesian paragraph or in the Colossian paragraph which we are examining, but not found in both.
(1) Only in Ephesians:

Εὐσπλαγχνος, Eph. 4:32, elsewhere found only in 1 Pet. 3:8 in a similar section on the virtues of the catechumen.

(2) Only in Colossians:

Σπλάγχνα σιντελεμοῦν, Col. 3:12. Σπλάγχνα is distributed thus;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Luke–Acts</th>
<th>Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 (1 Jn. 3:17 in an ethical section)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Τελειότης, Col. 3:14, is only found again in Heb. 6:1 in a section on instruction.

If we tabulate the 'distribution' data of ταπεινοφροσύνη, περιτής, μακροθυμία, ἄνεχω, εὐσπλαγχνος, σπλάγχνα, τελειότης, we get the following curious result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synoptics</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Pauline or neo-Pauline Writings</th>
<th>Other Writings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ταπεινοφροσύνη</td>
<td>1 (in Pauline speech)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 (in catechetical section in 1 Pet.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>περιτής</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 (all in ethical sections, one in ἄφοτοθὴμεν section, in Jas. and 1 Pet.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μακροθυμία</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4 (2 in paraenetic sections in Heb., Jas.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἄνεχω</td>
<td>1 (3 'parallels'.)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Between them these seven words occur forty-two times in Pauline writings. Twenty of these instances are in ethical sections, and two are in sections that reflect the teaching of Jesus. In the non-Pauline Epistles these words occur altogether twelve times of which nine are in teaching sections. The incidence of these words in the Synoptics and Acts is negligible. We may discount ἀνέχω in the Synoptics, and σπλάγχνα of the Benedictus and Acts as of no significance. This means that we find no linguistic affinities with the Synoptics, and only one with Acts (ταπεινοφθορία) in a Pauline speech—which may serve perhaps to show how accurate Luke's reporting was. Linguistic affinity, so far as this group of words is concerned, lies between the Pauline Corpus (including the Pastorals) and Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and 1 John. No striking significance can be attached to the solitary affinity with 2 Peter and that with 1 John.

So we may say that here we have a block of vocabulary in Pauline or neo-Pauline writings showing interesting affinities only with Hebrews, James and 1 Peter.
But after reaching this conclusion we should retrace our steps and scrutinize our two sections on catechumen virtues (Eph. 4:1-3; 4:32; 5:2; Col. 3:12-15) from another angle. We find that, although these sections present no linguistic affinities with the Synoptics, they do present some remarkable ones in thought. Indeed they represent a subtle condensing, a précis, of the teaching of Jesus as we have it in the first three Gospels, especially in the Sermon on the Mount. Thus:—

Ephesians—Colossians.

(1) Eph. 4:32, tenderhearted. Col. 3:12, compassion.

(2) Eph. 4:2, Col. 3:12. 
 lowliness.

(3) Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:12. meekness.

(4) Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:12. patience.

(5) Eph. 4:32, Col. 3:13, forgiving...
Ephesians-Colossians.

(6) Eph. 4:3, eager (σπουδάζωντες) peace.

Col. 3:14, perfect harmony (Τελειώτης)

It looks very much as if what we have here is a list of virtues, appropriate to the convert, that springs directly from the teaching of Jesus particularly as it is preserved in the Sermon on the Mount. What in fact we have here is a quintessential presentation of certain sayings of Jesus. Nothing in these blocks on virtues in Ephesians - Colossians is traceable to Old Testament sources; but everything may quite naturally be referred to Dominical logia. The linguistic affinities between Ephesians-Colossians at this point and the Synoptics are non-existent, yet affinities in thought are apparent throughout and indicate so complete an assimilation of the teaching of Jesus by the writer or writers of these Epistles as warrants us in holding that he or they is here giving that teaching in a sort of summary.

With this fresh evidence in mind we once again revert to the linguistic relationship between these sections in Ephesians-Colossians and in Hebrews, James and 1 Peter. Here we shall say a little more on the incidence of certain words, belonging to Ephesians-Colossians, in Hebrews, James and 1 Peter.

Commencing with τεπερισθεοσίνη we note that it occurs only in 1 Pet. 5:5. The related word τεπεριστημονεω occurs only in
1 Pet. 3:8; ταπελίνωσ only in Jas. 1:9, 4:6, 1 Pet. 5:5; ταπελινώ only in Jas. 4:10; 1 Pet. 5:6. 1 Pet. 3:8 belongs to a little section on catechumen virtues attached to teaching on subordination; 1 Pet. 5:5, 5:6 are likewise in an ethical section dealing with subordination; Jas. 4:6, 4:10 are in an ethical-paraenetic section linked with teaching on subordination and teaching on resistance to the devil - itself a catechetical form. Jas. 1:9 is in a didactic section on exaltation and humiliation. Thus ταπελινοφεοσύνη is, with its cognates, embedded in the same type of context as our passages from Ephesians-Colossians.

Πέπτυμα is found in Jas. 1:21; 3:13; 1 Pet. 3:15. Jas. 1:21 belongs to the ἀποτίθημε block of catechetical material. Jas. 3:13 is in an ethical section, and 1 Pet. 3:15 is in an ethical paraenesis attached to teaching on subordination. Again we have the same setting as in Ephesians-Colossians.

Μακροβύπτα appears in Jas. 5:10 and 1 Pet. 3:20. Jas. 5:10 is in an ethical section (5:7-11) on 'patience' based on the model of the prophets. 1 Pet. 3:20 is of no peculiar interest. The word's occurrence in Heb. 6:12 is in an ethical paraenesis founded upon the imitation of the 'faithful and patient'. The setting of this word only resembles that in Ephesians-Colossians in a very general way.

We should note, too, that the stress on 'love' in Eph.
4:2-3, Col. 3:14 is repeated in 1 Pet. 4:8, which is itself in a section on catechumen virtues.

Euπλαγχνος of Eph. 4:32 only occurs elsewhere in 1 Pet. 3:8 in an ethical section attached to teaching on subordination (cf. Jas. 5:11).

Τελειωτης of Col. 3:14 occurs only again in Heb. 6:1 and actually in a paragraph dealing, on its own statement, with catechetical teaching.

That is, where our material in Ephesians-Colossians has linguistic affinities with Hebrews, James and 1 Peter, these affinities are usually in blocks of material in Hebrews, James and 1 Peter of the same sort as in Ephesians-Colossians, and often in blocks that can be shown to belong to catechetical material.

Thus we now see that the key-words in our sections in Ephesians-Colossians, words that are overwhelmingly Pauline, occur elsewhere principally in similar sections in Hebrews; James, and 1 Peter. On the other hand, these sections in Ephesians-Colossians have strong ties of thought with the teaching of Jesus as recorded by the Synoptists. So our material in Ephesians-Colossians is linked up in two directions:

(1) with the thought of Dominical didache, and
(2) with the thought and language of similar sections in Hebrews, James and 1 Peter.

Quite probably what we have in Ephesians-Colossians is the reflection of a well known catechetical section on virtues.
based on the teaching of Jesus. This catechism just peeps through the surface in Hebrews, James and 1 Peter; but has been adapted and developed according to his individual taste by Paul, and possibly his disciple, in Ephesians-Colossians.

We may observe that this teaching in Ephesians-Colossians is attached to the τοῦτος sections; while in 1 Peter it is attached to the section on subordination.

One curious point is that the general teaching on virtues in Rom. 12:9-19, 1 Thess. 5:12-22 is very different in tone from Ephesians-Colossians, probably because it is based on the literature of the Old Testament. To this neo-Jewish teaching in Romans and 1 Thessalonians, 1 Peter (see 3:8-12) is decidedly akin. But 1 Peter, as we have seen, is also related linguistically and in thought to Ephesians-Colossians. 1 Peter may therefore represent a bridge between neo-Jewish teaching on virtues as in Romans and 1 Thessalonians, and wholeheartedly Christian teaching on virtues as in Ephesians-Colossians. Paul may well have transformed the earlier catechetical teaching of Romans and 1 Thessalonians into the more general, specifically Christian teaching of Ephesians-Colossians under the pressure of the outward reach of the Church towards the Gentile world.

Finally, we should mark one small feature. Ephesians-Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Peter all alike emphasize the importance of the catechumen having a forgiving spirit. And, while all mention 'humility' and 'love', Ephesians-Colossians tend to stress the former, while the rest tend to
stress the latter.

We may be almost certain that here in Eph. 4:1-3; 4:32, 5:2, Col. 3:12-15 we have a fragment of catechetical teaching on virtues, though it has been adorned with many personal touches.


It is well known that the early Church had a reasonably 'fixed' theological tradition enshrining the main doctrines of the Christian faith. The content of this tradition is plain from such passages as 1 Cor. 15:3 ff. But the early Church had also a non-theoretical practical tradition enshrining its standards for every day conduct. In brief, the Church not only taught converts what to believe, but also what to do.

The passage in Ephesians which we are about to consider involves us in a discussion of this second type of tradition, and a short introduction to this ethical paradosis is necessary to give balance and background to our study.

The existence of an ethical tradition is not a point of conjecture or debate. The New Testament has not only many sections from which its existence can be deduced, but also openly acknowledges its existence.

Thus 1 Thess. 4:1 runs:

'... you learned from us how you ought to live...'

'Learned' translates παραλαμβάνω, the Greek equivalent to the technical Jewish term for the reception of tradition:
and 'to live' translates περιπατέω, 'to walk' in
the ethical sense.

2 Thess. 3:6 runs:

'...keep away from any brother who is living in idleness
and not in accord with the tradition that you received
from us.'

Again παραλαμβάνω is used and the tradition, παράδοσις, is directly mentioned. It is obvious from both these passages
that they refer to some kind of ethical tradition passed on
to the readers by Paul. This same tradition, as well as in
some instances the theological one, may well be at the back
of the apostle's mind in several other passages, e.g.,

Rom. 6:17. '...you who were once slaves of sin have become
obedient from the heart to the standard of
teaching to which you were committed.'

Rom. 16:17. '... I appeal to you, brethren, to take note of
those who create dissensions and difficulties,
in opposition to the doctrine which you have been
taught.'

1 Cor. 4:17. '... my ways in Christ, as I teach them everywhere
in every Church.'

1 Cor. 11:12. 'I commend you because you remember me in every­
thing and maintain the traditions even as I have
delivered them to you.'

We may compare also 2 Tim. 1:13,

'Follow the pattern of the sound words which
you have heard from me.'

Clearly then, an ethical tradition was current in the early
Church. Whence did this tradition come?

At this point a note of caution should be sounded. ...an
ethical tradition by its very nature cannot finally be traced
to this or that source. The popular principles of ethics, or the standards whereby men can live well in an ordered society, are so involved in common human experience that no serious thinker can miss them. They have indeed been detected by reflective minds all through human history. They are principles of conduct that have perenially commended themselves to the mass of men as well as to the philosopher, for one very simple reason, namely, that they 'worked' well. They are, in fine, the possession of the human race as a whole, rather than the contribution of any section of the community to the larger circle. Popular ethics have a universal flavour. This is why the content of certain ethical sections in the New Testament is fairly matched in Judaism, in Graeco-Romanism, and even in Chinese thought. This point becomes very clear from a passage like Col. 3:18-4:1. 3:18-21 could be Greek in origin for there is nothing Christian in it except the tags 'in the Lord' and 'this pleases the Lord'. The passage assumes a Christian dress from 3:22-4:1, but the advice to slaves uses the term 'fearing the Lord' and that is thoroughly Jewish. Is this Christianized code, then, Gentile or Jewish in origin? To that question there is no answer.

Bearing this caveat in mind we may proceed to look a

75. Deissmann, L.A.E., pgs. 315-316. See footnote 8, pgs. 315-316.
little more closely at the origin of the ethical tradition in the New Testament. The New Testament was born in the Near East, a melting-pot for several cultures and this fact leads us a priori to look for the origin of this tradition in Judaism and/or Hellenism as the likeliest sources. Of these two Judaism (in one sense the mother of Christianity), and especially Judaism of the Dispersion, is the more probable for three main reasons:

1. Judaism of the Dispersion, being precluded by geographical considerations from carrying out the majority of the injunctions of the ceremonial law, shifted the emphasis on to the development of a high morality.

2. Judaism of the Dispersion was enthusiastic in proselytizing activity, and out of that activity accumulated a mass of ethical material.

3. Judaism of the Dispersion lay exposed to Greek influence and the contribution of Hellenism to its ethical tradition can be taken for granted.

Broadly speaking, therefore, what we may term Hellenistic Judaism held within itself the germs of the Christian ethical tradition. This, of course, is not to deny the influence of strictly Hellenistic ethical material of non-Jewish moral teachers, or the influence of remembered sayings of Jesus of ethical import. If we leave aside the contribution from the sayings of Jesus, we may perhaps make the more general statement that at the beginning of the Christian era there was a corpus of ethical tradition that met with general acceptance in the Mediterranean area — a kind of unwritten ethical constitution drawing on Graeco-Romanism-Judaism. This
tradition Christianity inherited.

Only part of this tradition, whether on the Judaistic or the Hellenistic side, achieved the distinction of finding literary expression, and for that reason it is not possible to present a full reconstruction of the Judaistic-Hellenistic moral tradition of our period though much of it is familiar to us.

On this general ethical material in circulation around them the writers of the New Testament freely drew, only faintly Christianizing data which they took over. That is not to say that these writers ignored the ethical teaching of Jesus. Sometimes reference is made to the teaching of Jesus, e.g.,

1 Cor. 7:10, 'To the married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband.'

1 Cor. 9:14. 'In the same way, the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel.'

Occasionally, also, the ethical teaching of Jesus lies just behind a section in a New Testament document. This is particularly true of Romans, chapters 12 to 14. But the teaching of Jesus was not a mass of precepts easily applicable to every day life. It consisted rather of the laying down of broad principles that did not cover the minutiae of daily life, or which, at least, did not cover them except after much consideration. More detailed instruction was required.

But in addition to this factor there was a second,
namely, that Christian ethical instruction was conditioned by Christian eschatology. The earliest Christians, expecting the imminent End of the Age, were under no necessity to frame an ethic. With their expectation none was required. This eschatological consideration clearly dominates; for example, Paul's approach to the question of marriage in 1 Cor. 7. But, when the hope of an almost immediate Parousia lessened, then the Church through its missionaries and teachers had to say something on the multiplicity of ethical problems that daily faced it; and this it did by taking over and modifying the best contemporary ethical teaching of both Hellenistic Judaism and Hellenism itself.

By way of illustration we may note that catalogues of vices in the New Testament, e.g. Mk. 7:21 f., Rom. 1:28 ff., Gal. 5:19 ff., 2 Tim. 3:2 ff., are based on similar Jewish and pagan catalogues, e.g. Test XII Pat., Test. Reub. 3:2-7 (written between 109-106 B.C.)  

Almost identical lists of vices are found on the counters used in an ancient game resembling draughts, as well as in certain pagan philosophical and astrological literature.  

Again practically the same vices appear in The Didache, 1-6, which, while an early Christian manual, is in this section founded on the Jewish document The Two Ways, and probably shows Greek antecedents as well.

77. Deissmann, L.A.E., pg. 316.
Jewish and pagan parallels are also easily found for lists of virtues in the New Testament, e.g., Gal. 5:22 ff., or in a late Christian Epistle like 1 Clement 62:2. The virtues in Phil. 4:8 are purely Hellenistic although in a Christian paraenesis.

Other outstanding examples of pre-Christian ethical material are to be found in Tobit 4:15-19, in the very ancient Story of Ahikar, and in Ecclesiasticus.

But apart from catalogues of vices and virtues, and material presented in the form which we find in The Two Ways, current morality also had codes that dealt in some detail with specific social relationships, and these codes, or at any rate a modification of them, appear fairly frequently in the New Testament Epistles, viz., in Rom., Eph., Col., 1 Tim., Tit., (Heb.), Jas. and 1 Pet. These so-called 'Household Tables' are partly Jewish and partly pagan in origin, perhaps basically more Jewish than we commonly think. Rom., 1 Tim., Tit., and 1 Pet. all stress civic obedience, a common feature of pagan teaching, but in the main in the New Testament these codes are concerned with the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves.

sometimes, but by no means usually, in terms of reciprocity. In their essence it is just possible that these codes in the New Testament may be traceable to Jewish sources. Perhaps we may hazard the guess that the most elemental type of 'Household Table' made the point that the husband = the father = the master was to be paid due honour as would be the Lord. A simple code of that type could easily have grown from a development of the thought involved in the fifth article of the Decalogue:

'Honour thy father and thy mother...'

That the early Christians felt that these codes had all the authority of the Deity behind them is at least apparent from the seemingly casual phrases attached to them, e.g.,

Eph. 5:22, Wives, be subject as to the Lord.
Eph. 6:1, Children, obey in the Lord.
Eph. 6:5, Slaves, be obedient as is fitting in Christ.
Col. 3:18, Wives, be subject as fitting in the Lord.
Col. 3:20, Children, obey this pleases the Lord.
Col. 3:22, Slaves, obey fearing the Lord.

In the Petrine literature the notion of 'fear' implies the same thought. What has happened is that the basic idea of 'the fear of the Lord' has been widened so as to bring within its reach the heads of families, i.e. fathers = husbands = masters. Whether some of the phrases given above were simply added, as they assuredly were, to pre-Christian codes merely to Christianize them is beside the point. The Christian writers added these phrases for a dogmatic doctrinal reason, and that reason was itself conditioned by a theological
consideration going far back into Jewish belief.

Now we must examine the codes in the New Testament in some detail.

In Eph. 5:21-6:9 we have an ethical code that treats certain social relationships with some minuteness. The contents of this code have very close affinities with similar sections in several other New Testament documents, while in the case of Ephesians-Colossians we have two almost identical matched codes of which the former is based on the latter.

The principal passages for a comparative study are Eph. 5:21-6:9; Col. 3:18-4:1; 1 Tim. 2:9-15, 6:1-2; Tit. 2:4-6; 2:9-10, 3:1; 1 Pet. 2:13-17, 2:18-25, 3:1-8; 5:5-6. In these writings the following relationships are discussed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ephesians</th>
<th>Colossians</th>
<th>1 Timothy</th>
<th>Titus</th>
<th>1 Peter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:1-3. Obedience of</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesians</td>
<td>Colossians</td>
<td>1 Timothy</td>
<td>Titus</td>
<td>1 Peter</td>
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<td>to parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:5-8. Obedience of slaves to masters.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4:1. Duties of masters to slaves.</td>
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</table>

Certain of these articles re-appear in Romans, Hebrews and James, viz.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romans</th>
<th>Hebrews</th>
<th>James</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4:7-10. Subordination and humility to God.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Tim. 2:1-8, with its call for supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings to be made for all men with special mention of 'kings and all who are in high positions', reflects the article on civic obedience. In Heb. 13:17 we
get a definitely Christian article demanding obedience to the
leaders of the Church.

If we arrange this ethical material under its subjects we
obtain the following picture of its distribution in the Epistles:-

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<td>1. Obedience to civic power.</td>
<td>13:1-7</td>
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<td>2. Reciprocal subordination or humility, or teaching on humility in general.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5:21 3:12</td>
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<td>4:6</td>
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<td>5:5</td>
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<td>4. Duties of husbands to wives.</td>
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<td>5:25-33 3:19</td>
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<td>3:7</td>
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<td>5. Obedience of children to parents.</td>
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<td>6:1-3    3:20</td>
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<td>6. Duties of fathers to children.</td>
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<td>6:4      3:21</td>
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It seems probable that in Ephesians (and Colossians) we have preserved what may have been the original order of subjects in the underlying code. The order of these ethical injunctions in Ephesians-Colossians is,

- Wives and husbands.
- Children and parents.
- Slaves and masters.

This order gains partial confirmation from that found in the Pastorals.

1 Timothy has,

Subordinate place of women in the Church, and ipso facto to men (a passage in some ways resembling 1 Pet. 3:1-6).

Slaves and masters.
But 1 Tim. says nothing about the relationship of children and parents. Titus likewise gives the order,

Wives and husbands,
Slaves and masters,

and though it is silent about children it gives in its place a probably cognate article on the duty of 'younger men'. 1 Peter, however, seems to abandon the order which Ephesians-Colossians, 1 Timothy, Titus, indicate. He has no section at all on children and parents, though at a much later point (5:5) he mentions the subordination of the 'younger' to the 'elder'. He gives the teaching on the duties of slaves to masters before that on the duties of wives to husbands unlike our other documents. On the whole the sequence in Ephesians-Colossians is likely to be the original; first, because it is partly supported by the evidence of the Pastorals, and second, because it is the most natural.

We should note, too, that the code as seen in Ephesians-Colossians is much more comprehensive in certain respects than in the other Epistles. Ephesians-Colossians give teaching on,

Obedience of wives to husbands,
Obedience of children to parents,
Obedience of slaves to masters.

and in each case immediately provide an equivalence by listing,

The duties of husbands to wives,
The duties of fathers to children,
The duties of masters to slaves.

1 Peter only supplies this balance in the case of wives and
husbands, and our other Epistles never give it at all.

In Ephesians-Colossians there is no material on civic obedience, but this was clearly present in the original code for we find it linked with the duties of slaves and masters and those of wives and husbands in the Pastorals. It is also reproduced in Romans and 1 Peter.

In James 4:6-7, 4:10, and towards the end of 1 Peter (5:5-9) we can detect what is probably a precis of this same type of codal ethical instruction. These small sections in James and 1 Peter incorporate certain other material, which, as we shall see later, was also catechetical in nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>James</th>
<th>1 Peter</th>
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<td>4:6. But he gives more grace; therefore it says, &quot;God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble.&quot;</td>
<td>5:5. Likewise you that are younger be subject to the elders. Clothe yourselves, all of you, with humility toward one another, for 'God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble.'</td>
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<td>4:7. Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil and he will flee from you.</td>
<td>5:6. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that in due time he may exalt you.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:10. Humble yourselves before the Lord and he will exalt you.</td>
<td>5:8-9. Resist the devil.</td>
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In comparing these two passages we should observe that 1 Pet. agrees with Eph. 5:21 in bringing out the idea of the reciprocal duty of subordination or humility,

Eph. 5:21. 'Be subject to one another ...'
1 Pet. 5:5. 'Clothe yourselves, all of you, with humility toward one another.'
Both James and 1 Peter quote Proverbs 3:34,

'God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble,'

and each Epistle reads ὅθεος for the LXX κόρεος, presumably because κόρεος had become a "title for Jesus. This citation from Proverbs with its contrast between the proud (ὑπερήφανος) and the humble (ταπεινός) leads in its turn to the introduction of an even earlier fragment of ethical teaching, namely, the well known maxim on humility and exaltation -

Jas. 4:10. 'Humble yourselves before the Lord and he will exalt you.'

1 Pet. 5:6. 'Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that in due time he may exalt you.'

This 'wisdom' saying occurs in the teaching of Jesus in Matt. 18:4, 23:12; Lk. 14:11, 18:14. It also appears in the Pauline Corpus in 2 Cor. 11:7, Phil. 2:8-9, and it may be just under the surface in 2 Cor. 12:21 and Phil. 4:12. Luke 3:5 (Is. 40:4) represents the same idea in different dress.

The verb to humble (ταπεινώσω), which we find here in Jas. and 1 Pet., occurs elsewhere twelve times in the New Testament and in eight of these twelve instances it is in intimate connexion with ὑψόω, to exalt, ὁριστευψόω, to exalt beyond measure (Phil. 2:9). The contrast between humility and exaltation is of some age, certainly pre-Christian, and probably goes back to Jewish teaching such as we find in Sirach 1:30,

'Exalt not thyself lest thou fall,
And bring disgrace upon thyself,
And the Lord reveal thy hidden (thoughts),
And cast thee down in the midst of the assembly,  
Because thou camest not unto the fear of the Lord,  
And thy heart was full of deceit." 79

It looks very much as if we have here in Jas. and 1 Pet.  
a shorter, 'pithier' version of the teaching on subordination  
that occurs earlier in 1 Pet. and in other New Testament  
Epistles which we have discussed.

Returning to the code in Ephesians we find certain  
points of interest in the main articles.

(1) Wives and husbands.

Ephesians. Titus. 1 Peter.
5:21. ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις  2:5. ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδελφοῖς....  3:1. ὡριοίς γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδελφοῖς....
5:22. Ἀτ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις  ἀδελφοῖς....  3:5. ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδελφοῖς....

It seems clear from these passages that the injunction,  ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδελφοῖς, (the ἰδίος is to impart directness  and particularity) goes back to an original formula lying  behind these three Epistles. This is so for two reasons of  which the second is the more cogent. First, there is complete  linguistic agreement among the three documents. Second, the  repetition of the phrase in 1 Pet. 3:5 is really tautologous  in view of what is said after its occurrence in 1 Pet. 3:1.

Again in Tit. 2:5 it crops up in the midst of a paragraph on the duties of 'young women'. Since the virtues appropriate to 'young women' have already been described as love for their husbands and children, and as being sensible, chaste, domestic, kind, there is no obvious reason for introducing this article on submission to their husbands except that the maxim was so familiar that the writer felt that somehow it must be worked into his paragraph.

The subordination of wives to their husbands was certainly part of the basic code as in all likelihood was the advice on women's dress in 1 Tim. and 1 Pet. Though several of the New Testament writers shared this article on the subordination of wives, nevertheless each handles it after his own manner. In Ephesians, for instance, this particular piece of ethical advice leads on to theological teaching on the Unity of Christ and the Church, and the original ethical article is reduced to being merely a hook from which to hang much deeper material.

(2) Children and Parents.

The teaching on this subject which we have in Eph. 6:1-4 (Col. 3:20-21) gripped the mind of the Church for obvious enough reasons and is patently viewed as a commonplace in the sub-apostolic writings, e.g., the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, 21:8.

'Let our children be partakers of the instruction which is in Christ: Let them learn how lowliness of mind prevaleth with God.'

Here 'lowliness of mind' corresponds to the obedience of children in Ephesians, and parents are similarly to instruct their children. Again in the Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians, 4:2, we have,

'... let us teach ourselves ... then our wives ... to train their children in the training of the fear of God...',

where once more the duty of parents is stressed. Another useful comparison is to be found in The Didache, 4:9 = the Epistle of Barnabas, 19:5.

(3) Slaves and Masters.

Only Ephesians and Colossians mention the duties of masters to slaves after giving the duties of slaves to masters. This may simply be because the writer or writers had a keener insight than other New Testament writers and desired to present his teaching adequately 'rounded off'. On the other hand, it may be because there was a greater proportion of slave-owning Church members among those for whom Ephesians and Colossians were intended than among the recipients of other Epistles. If this were so, then the writer may have felt that he ought to say something to this special group of Christians.

It is worth observing the emphasis given to 'fear' in this section. Ephesians enjoins slaves to obey μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου; Colossians, φοβοῦμενοι τὸν Κύριον; 1 Peter, ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ. In 1 Pet. 3:2 the teaching on the duties of wives to husbands has the phrase ἐν φόβῳ, and in Eph. 5:33, at the end of the wives-husbands paragraph, we find the statement ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἑαυτῇ φοβηται τὸν ἱδρυη. In Eph. 5:21 the teaching on the duty of reciprocal subordination finishes with ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ. We can, therefore, be quite confident that φόβος was an important element in the code or codes underlying these New Testament documents.

In Ephesians and Colossians the primary idea of the slave obeying his master has been Christianized in that the slave is exhorted to regard his earthly duty as a duty done to Christ by whom he will be rewarded. The Pastorals and 1 Peter likewise approach the problem of a slave's duty each from his own angle. But all the documents have as their main theme the fundamental notion of subordination, a fact not obscured by variations in thought and vocabulary between Eph., Col., 1 Tim., Tit., and 1 Pet. in this section.

Here, then, in Eph. 5:21-6:9 we have teaching on subordination that is founded on a well known code or codes. The verb ὑποτάσσω, which is a feature of the code in Rom., Eph., Col., Tit., Heb., Jas., and 1 Pet., is the hallmark of this particular variety of instruction. Comparable passages in the sub-apostolic writers similarly employ the word, e.g., Didache, 4:11, ἐγὼ 'But ye servants, shall be subject
(ὑποτάσσοντας) unto your masters, as to a type of God, in shame and fear,'  

or 1 Clement, 2:1, 85 'And ye were all lowly in mind and free from arrogance, yielding rather than claiming submission.' (ὑποτάσσοντας twice).

Indeed so common must this type of instruction have become in the Church that just at the end of the first century 86 Clement of Rome uses the phrase, (1:3),

έν τῇ τῶν Κανόνων τῆς ὕποτασίας  

'the rule of subordination',

with reference to this sort of teaching.

In Ephesians—Colossians this code comes fairly closely after the ἀποστήμια sections. In Ephesians the ἀποστήμια section leads on to a paragraph on Light—Darkness, then to a brief section on worship, and next to this code. In Colossians the order is, the ἀποστήμια section, teaching on worship, the code. In 1 Peter the order is, the ἀποστήμια section, teaching on worship, the code briefly introduced by 2:11-12. In Hebrews there is a trace of the code in 12:9 and 13:17 after the ἀποστήμια section in 12:1. The code in Romans 13 is succeeded by traces of the ἀποστήμια section at the end of that chapter. In James the code is again after the ἀποστήμια section but is much further removed. Thus in Eph., Col., Heb., and 1 Pet., the code follows reasonably

soon after the ἁπορίας material, i.e., all these writers seemed to think a reference to it was appropriate at that point. Only in fact in Romans does the code precede the ἁπορίας block.

The Code and its Christianization.

As we said earlier, codes of this type are pre-Christian. The question, therefore, arises as to whether we can see how the underlying code beneath Ephesians and the other Epistles was Christianized. A clear answer can be given to that problem if we scrutinize a few of the relevant New Testament passages, and especially that in Ephesians which provides singularly good evidence on the nature of the Christianizing process.

(1) Eph. 5:21-6:9. This whole passage in the long run, allowing for the undoubted influence of Colossians, represents a not altogether successful attempt to coalesce non-Christian codal elements with Christian ideas. The writer has tried to Christianize the code in three ways - one being very simple, one a little harder, and one brilliantly original.

The first way was easy, namely, to 'tack' a Christian phrase on to a clause, e.g.,

the simple command, 'Wives, be subject' - was Christianized by adding 'as to the Lord'.

the simple command, 'Children, obey' was christianized by adding 'in the Lord'.

the simple command, 'Slaves, be obedient', was christianized by adding 'as to Christ'.
The second way involved a little more elaboration, e.g., slaves are instructed to be obedient 'not in the way of eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, rendering service with a good will as to the Lord and not to men, knowing that whatever good any one does, he will receive the same again from the Lord, whether he is a slave or free.' This material, additional to the original command simply to obey, has clearly necessitated theological reflection on the duty of the slave. He is to regard it as a Christian service that will be rewarded. This idea raises the whole matter to a much higher level.

The third way illustrates the individual genius of the writer of Ephesians to a marked degree and provides us with a fine fragment of early mystical theology. Beginning from the simple duty of a wife to her husband, and the reciprocal duty of husband to wife, he expands the whole conception of the marriage relationship into a splendid symbol of the mysterious union that exists between Christ and the Church.

Yet, perhaps because he was aiming so high, it is just at this point that his attempt to Christianize his material begins to creak. For he fails to maintain the integrity of his analogy. After saying that 'the husband is head of the wife as Christ is head of the Church', our writer adds - 'the Church, his body, and is himself its Saviour.' But this last idea does not apply to the relationship of husband to wife.
(2) Col. 3:18-4:1 has in the main been Christianized very simply, e.g., wives are to be subject 'in the Lord', children are to obey 'for this pleases the Lord'. But the teaching given to slaves has been transformed in the same way as in Ephesians. It is worth noticing that 3:21 is almost verbally from Menander. 87

(3) 1 Tim. 2:9-15 has nothing specifically Christian about it at all in its teaching on the subordinate place of women. In this passage one of the qualities desired of a woman is δισός (modesty) - a markedly Greek virtue mentioned only here in the New Testament. The instruction given to slaves in 6:1-2 is also 'neutral' unless possibly for the words 'so that the name of God and the teaching may not be defamed.'

(4) Tit. 2:1-10 has little that can properly be called Christian except for advice to slaves ending 'so that in everything they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour,' and advice to women ending 'that the word of God may not be discredited.' 3:1 on civic disobedience has no Christian marks whatever.

(5) 1 Pet. 2:13-3:7 only betrays its Christian allegiance in its teaching on civic obedience which is enjoined 'for the Lord's sake', and in its teaching on the slave's duty in the great passage based on the idea of the Initatio Christi.

87. Selwyn, 1 Pet. pg. 438.
From this perfunctory survey of these passages we can
detect quite easily how the early Christian writers used the
code. If material suited them as it was they left it alone. If
they wanted to give it a respectably Christian appearance
they added a label such as 'in the Lord'. But sometimes they
imported new and thoroughly Christian elements as was done,
for example, in the case of the obedience of slaves in
Ephesians-Colossians, or in Titus where the point is pressed
that a slave's conduct has a certain 'propaganda' value in
keeping up the good name of the new faith. Occasionally an
article from the code was made the basis for a carefully
constructed paragraph of Christian doctrine, as in Ephesians
where the relationship of husband and wife leads on to a
paragraph on the unity of Christ and the Church, or as in
1 Peter where the duty of slaves leads on to a paragraph on
the Imitation of Christ.

vii. Some Hortatory Advice to Converts: Eph. 6:10 ff. 38

In Eph. 6:10-18 we find a remarkable grouping of
elements that are also present in several other New Testament
writings. These elements fall into two main classes — (a)
passages on watchfulness, alertness, sobriety, and prayer;

38. See Carrington, P., The Primitive Christian Catechism,
Cambridge, 1940, pgs. 39-40, 51-54.
and (b) passages on 'standing firm' and on resistance to the devil. The chief evidential passages for (a) are,

- Eph. 6:18b, keep alert (ἀγρυπνέω)
- Col. 4:2b, being watchful (γεγορεύω)
- 1 Thess. 5:6, let us keep awake and be sober (γεγορεύω, νήψω)
- 1 Thess. 5:8, let us be sober (νήψω)
- Heb. 13:17, keeping watch (ἀγρυπνέω)
- 1 Pet. 4:7, keep sane and sober (σωφρονέω, νήψω)
- 1 Pet. 5:8, Be sober, be watchful (νήψω, γεγορεύω)

The distribution of these four verbs in the New Testament is of great interest and throws a good deal of light on the passages in question. This is especially true of ἀγρυπνέω and γεγορεύω.

(1) ἀγρυπνέω, to be watchful or vigilant, only occurs twice elsewhere in the New Testament in Mark 13:33 and its parallel in Luke 21:36 (cf. Matt. 24:1-44). The Markan section (13:1-37) consists very largely of excerpts from 'The Little Apocalypse' combined with Dominical teaching. The verse of interest to us, Mk. 13:33 = Lk. 21:36, belongs to a very old stratum, and almost certainly goes back to some actual saying of Jesus. That is, this verb's only occurrence apart from our Epistles is in the eschatological teaching of Jesus.

(2) γεγορεύω, to be awake, to watch, has an equally fascinating incidence.

It is used figuratively of being alive in 1 Thess. 5:10 at the end of the paragraph from which the examples given above are taken.

It is used literally of watching in Matt. 26:38, 26:40 =
The other metaphorical uses of the verb are in Acts. 20:31 where in a speech assigned to Paul he exhorts the Ephesian elders to 'be alert', and in 1 Cor. 16:13 'be watchful'. In both these passages the exhortation has the same ring as in the Epistles we are examining.

The remaining uses are in Rev. 3:2; 3:3; 16:15 which echo the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics (Matt. 24:43-44 = Lk. 12:39-40).

That is, this verb is only used elsewhere in the New Testament in the teaching or sayings of Jesus; in Revelation that reflects that teaching; in Acts and 1 Cor. in phrases just like those in our epistolary passages; and in 1 Thess., in the sense of 'being alive', in close conjunction with its other metaphorical use given above.

(3) **Nοιϕω**, to be sober; metaphorically, to be calm or circumspect, is only found twice else - in 2 Tim. 4:5 in a little paraenesis bearing a family resemblance to those in our Epistles; and in 1 Pet. 1:13, also in a paraenetic section
and in close association with a reference to the Parousia. 

(4) **εὐφρονεῖν**, to be of sound mind, to be self-controlled, appears literally in the story of the Gerasene demoniac in **Mk. 5:5 = Lk. 8:35**. It is only found elsewhere in **Rom. 12:3** and **2 Cor. 5:13** of 'thinking soberly' and 'being of a right mind'; and in **Tit. 2:6** in an ethical section belonging to the 'code of subordination'.

A few other features of this teaching on 'watchfulness' which we find in Ephesians should be observed.

(1) **Watchfulness is linked with prayer**, e.g.,

- Eph. 6:18 enjoins prayer, then watchfulness.
- Col. 4:2 enjoins prayer, then watchfulness, then prayer again.
- Heb. 13:7 speaks of Church leaders being watchful, and prayer is mentioned in the next verse.
- 1 Pet. 4:7 enjoins watchfulness, then refers to prayer.

Watchfulness and prayer are similarly associated in sayings attributed to Jesus in **Matt. 26:41 = Mk. 14:38**, and in the eschatological teaching of Jesus in **Mk. 13:33** and **Lk. 21:36** (in **Mk. 13:33** some manuscripts omit the reference to prayer).

(2) In Ephesians the exhortation to watchfulness comes after the code of subordination with only a little intervening matter; in Colossians it comes hard after the code. In 1 Peter it appears twice. In 4:7 it follows the code, though a fair amount of material comes between them. In 5:8 it immediately succeeds a précis of the teaching on subordination and humility. In **Heb. 13:17** the reference to watchfulness comes a long way after the echo of the code in 12:9, though 13:17 itself echoes the code. But in all these documents the
general position of the teaching on watchfulness is the same, viz., after the code of subordination; while in Eph.-Col., in the second occurrence in 1 Pet., and to a certain degree in Heb., the reference to 'watchfulness' is found in a closing appeal to the readers. The only exception is Rom. 13:11. There the injunction to be watchful is linked with the ἀποκατάθυμμα formula.

(3) Perhaps an unimportant but nevertheless a curious point is that in Ephesians-Colossians and 1 Peter the mention of watchfulness leads on to a statement about 'speech', viz.,

Eph. 6:18, watchfulness and prayer - 6:19 utterance
Col. 4:2, " " " 4:3 word = gospel
               (λόγος)
               (λόγος)
1 Pet. 4:7
- 4:6 speech (λόγος)
- 4:11 oracles (λόγος)

It seems evident from the linguistic data and from the odd 'coincidences' noted in (1), (2), (3) above that the teaching on watchfulness had a place in the 'fixed' instruction of the early Church and that it derived from the teaching of Jesus.

The (b) passages on 'standing firm' and resistance to the devil are:

**Ephesians.**
6:11. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.
6:13. ...withstand...

**James.**
4:7. Resist the devil and he will flee from you.

**1 Peter.**
5:8-9. Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour
5:12...stand fast...
Διάβολος is the word used for the devil in each passage.
The verb in Eph. 6:11 is ὁσμη (πρὸς), and in Jas. 4:7, 1 Pet. 5:9 ἄνθρωπος. In Eph. 6:13 we have ἄνθρωπος and ὁσμη; and in Eph. 6:14 ὁσμη as in 1 Pet. 5:12.

The following points are of importance:

(1) The word Διάβολος is common enough in the New Testament occurring thirty four times apart from these passages. It does not occur in the fully Pauline Epistles unless Ephesians is by Paul. In Ephesians it is found once apart from the present passage. It occurs six times in the Pastoral. In four, and possibly six, of its occurrences in the New Testament it does not = Satan, viz., in John 6:70 = Judas; in 1 Tim. 3:11, 2 Tim. 3:3, Tit. 2:3 = 'slanderer'; and it may also carry this meaning in 1 Tim. 3:6, 3:7.

(2) In James and 1 Peter the word Διάβολος is only found in the passages given, and the devil is never even hinted at elsewhere by these writers. In Ephesians likewise it is only found in 6:11, apart from 4:27 which may be a verse moving in the same realm of ideas as 6:11. Similarly it only appears once in Hebrews (2:14) in a passage perhaps related to the ones we are discussing. That is to say, Διάβολος is 'hapax legomenon' in Hebrews, James and Peter, and virtually so in Ephesians. Further, if Ephesians is by Paul, it is 'hapax' for Paul too, if we exclude the Pastoral, though Ζατανᾶς occurs eight times in the Pauline Corpus.

Ζατανᾶς is never found in Hebrews, James and 1 Peter.

(3) These curiosities in the incidence of Διάβολος become
still more interesting in view of the fact that it appears
at the same juncture in each of our documents - Ephesians, James
and 1 Peter. The data become yet more striking when we observe
that διάβολος is used in Ephesians, James and 1 Peter in
close association with θυσιάσωμε, and with ἵπποι as well
in Ephesians and 1 Peter. The idea of resisting the devil is
never found at all in the New Testament except in these
passages, unless by implication in Eph. 4:27 and Heb. 2:14.
(4) But even the use of ἵπποι and διάβολος is of the
greatest interest. For example, if we examine the use of
ἵπποι, in the intransitive and used metaphorically, in
the New Testament Epistles - as in Eph. 6:11; 6:13, 6:14 and
1 Pet. 5:12 above - we discover that in the Pauline Corpus,
excepting Ephesians and the Pastorals, the verb is so employed
seven times. In six of these seven instances the verb is used
in two main ways. First, it is used of standing firm or
steadfast,

' in your faith' (2 Cor. 1:24) or 'through faith'
(Rom. 11:20)
' in the gospel' (1 Cor. 15:1)
' in this grace' (Rom. 5:2)

that is, the verb is used in a phrase that describes the
convert's new 'status' in Christ'.

Second, in 1 Cor. 10:12 and Col. 4:12 the verb is used against
the background of the instruction the converts have received.

The seventh use of this sort of the verb in Paul in
1 Cor. 7:37 falls into neither group, and yet it is a cognate
use -
'But whoever is firmly established in his heart, being under no necessity but having his desire under control, and has determined this in his heart, to keep her as his betrothed, he will do well' — for here the verb is used of making a deliberate moral choice in accordance with the demands of the new life.

This verb is only used intransitively and metaphorically in Ephesians in the passages we are considering — 6:11; 6:13; 6:14 — and its use here is in line with Pauline practice, for it is employed of the Christian warrior standing firm against all his spiritual enemies.

The use of the verb in 1 Peter is in agreement with the first Pauline usage given above, for Peter speaks of 'standing fast' in 'the true grace of God'.

In Hebrews and James the verb is used intransitively twice in the latter and once in the former, but literally in each case (Jas. 2:3; 5:9; Heb. 10:11).

In the Pastorals the verb is only used intransitively once (2 Tim. 2:19), but again literally.

That is εἰς τὸν θανάτον is only used intransitively and metaphorically in the New Testament Epistles in much the same way, and we are left to speculate whether by the middle of the first century it had become almost a technical term for standing fast either in the didache or in one's position as a believer.

If we turn our attention to ἐν θανάτῳ we note that it is only used fourteen times in the whole New Testament. Of
these instances only three are metaphorical of resisting evil (= devil) or 'spiritual powers' (Eph.), viz., these in our three Epistles, Eph. 6:13; Jas. 4:7; 1 Pet. 5:9, Matthew 5:39 which seems to afford a negative parallel really does not do so, for there the teaching is much more particular and probably means, 'Do not resist one who is evil.' That is, the verb is never used in this sense except in our three Epistles, and there at the same point and in the same type of context. This verb's employment in this way may be technical also.

(5) The teaching on resisting the devil in Jas. 4:7,

'Resist the devil and he will flee from you,' shares the form of similar teaching in Test. XII Pat., e.g.,

the Testament of Naphtali, 8:4 runs,

'If ye work that which is good, my children, (Both) men and angels shall bless you; And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you, And the devil shall flee from you.'

The Testament of Issachar, 7:7,90 reads,

'So do you also these things, my children, And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you.'

We may compare also the Testament of Benjamin, 5:2,91

'If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you.'

And the Testament of Daniel, 5:1,

'Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord, ..........

That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.'

Another useful comparison is in Hermas, Mand. XII, 5:2, in a paragraph describing the Christian's spiritual struggle with the devil,

'If ye resist him, he will be vanquished, and will flee from you disgraced.'

(6) One further point may be adduced as evidence that 'resisting the devil' was a piece of early common teaching. In 1:13 James says,

'Let no one say when he is tempted, "I am tempted of God"; for God cannot be tempted with evil and he himself tempts no one; but each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire.'

This is a strange explanation of the source and nature of temptation, but its importance for our study is that it seems to obviate the need for introducing anything about the devil. He is not required. Why, then, does James introduce him at 4:7? Perhaps only because he is reporting a fragment of common didache which he had himself received.

These six points we have noted about teaching on resistance to the devil are, when taken individually, perhaps not of very great significance. But when they are viewed

cumulatively it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the points of coincidence between these three Epistles (Eph., Jas., 1 Pet.) in this section are so great as to be more than accidental. We can fairly maintain that here Ephesians is dealing with teaching that was common in the apostolic Church.

It is moreover, not unlikely that this teaching in Ephesians is of Jewish origin. We have seen that the 'parallel' passage in James strikingly resembles similar material in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; and we note, too, that in both James and 1 Peter this article of ethical advice follows closely on a quotation from Proverbs 3:34. In the case of 1 Peter there is in addition a clear recollection of Psalm 55:22 (LXX 54:23) and perhaps an echo of Job 22:29. The phrase 'the mighty hand of God' in 1 Peter is common in the Old Testament, e.g., cf. Deut. 9:26; 9:29; 26:8. Thus in 1 Peter the teaching on watchfulness and resistance, especially the latter, is given in quite a Jewish context.

The same applies to the passage in Eph. 6:10-18 which is practically a cento of Isaianic passages, e.g.,


We note that similar Isaianic passages are intertwined with the teaching on watchfulness in 1 Thess. 5:6-8, and watchfulness is associated with 'armour' in Rom. 13. All these passages employing the 'armour' figure are in thought, at
least, related to the Jewish document Wisdom of Solomon, 5:17-20. Thus our three documents at this point have all a decidedly Jewish tinge.

viii. The 'Will of the Lord'. : Eph. 5:17.

Selwyn has shown the possibility of this phrase being almost a technical term in some cases in the New Testament. In Eph. 5:17 the catechetical material on worship is introduced by the words,

'Therefore do not be foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is.'

In Rom. 12:2 the ground of worship and of non-conformity to the world is given as,

'...that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect,'

and in 1 Thess. 5:16-18 we have,

'Rejoice always, pray constantly, give thanks in all circumstances for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus for you.'

In none of these passages is the meaning of the phrase 'the will of God/the Lord' obvious, nor is it easily derived from the surrounding material. But Selwyn notes that the Law of Holiness (Lev. 17-26) is interspersed with statements that its injunctions represent the 'statutes and judgments' of the Lord. He goes on to suggest that

95. See Selwyn, 1 Pet., pgs. 404-405 on which this note is entirely based.
possibly the idea of 'statutes and judgments' impressed itself on the minds of Christian catechists, but was in form felt by them to be too particularized and legalistic for them to use in giving instruction to those converted to the new faith. Perhaps, therefore, they took the general basic thought of Leviticus and expressed it under the more liberal term 'the will of God'. We may imagine that those early Christian teachers expounded in the course of addresses these 'statutes and judgments' under the category of 'the will of God'. This vaguer term would be more acceptable to catechumens especially as the Church impinged on the Gentile world.

Further, it looks as if 'the will of God' was associated with intellectual activity on the part of the hearers, for in Ephesians they are enjoined to 'understand' it and in Romans to 'prove' it. This is just the sort of process in which listeners to an exposition on the 'statute and judgments' or 'the will of God' would inevitably be involved.

It is then not impossible that here in Ephesians we may have an oblique reference to expository 'sermons' in the early Church.
We now proceed to examine the 'parallels' between Ephesians and other writings of the New Testament in the light of the 'common' and in some cases catechetical material which we have uncovered in our Epistle.

1. Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter.

**Hebrews.**

Here we find that four of the supposed points of contact can be referred to the catechism underlying certain of the Epistles or to a fragment of credal-doctrinal material. These are,

- Eph. 4:25 ff. and Heb. 12:1 both use the ἀνοιξθεμείρο formula of the catechism.
- Eph. 5:21-6:9 contains the type of teaching given in Heb. 12:9; 13:17, i.e., both reflect the code of subordination embedded in the catechism, though the latter article in Heb. is altogether Christian.
- Eph. 6:18b and Heb. 13:17 both refer to 'keeping alert'. This belongs to the concluding section of the catechism.
- Eph. 1:20 and Heb. 1:3, 8:1, 10:12 give the picture of Christ sitting at the right hand of God. This teaching, as we have seen, belongs to a fixed apologetic credal-doctrinal formula of the early Church.

None of the remaining 'parallels' suggests literary dependence.

Thus:

(1) The idea of redemption through the blood of Christ in Eph. 1:7 and Heb. 9:12 is frequent in the New Testament, and in these Epistles is given in an entirely different context and from an entirely different point of view. The atoning
significance of blood was familiar in Judaism and the
association of that idea with the death of Jesus was something
to be expected in the early Church, especially since its
first members were all Jews.

(2) Eph. 2:13 and Heb. 7:18 both speak of the Christian
'drawing near to God.' This is of no significance. The whole
point of the Christian message was that now through Christ
believers could approach God.

(3) Eph. 3:12 and Heb. 4:16 speak of the 'boldness' of the
Christian with reference to his access to God. The only
point of contact is the mention of 'boldness.' But 'boldness'
occurring a dozen times elsewhere in the New Testament in this
sense. The contexts, too, are quite dissimilar. In addition,
Ephesians states that Christians actually have this boldness
and do draw near; whereas Hebrews encourages Christians to
have boldness and to draw near.

(4) Christ's work of consecration finds a place in Eph.
5:25-26 and in Heb. 10:10; 13:12. In Ephesians Christ con-
secrates the Church, his mystical Body. In Hebrews we have
no hint of the Church as the mystical Body. In 10:10 it is
Christians as individuals who are consecrated, and in 13:12
it is 'the people'. Moreover the notion of consecration in
Hebrews is in passages steeped in Jewish thought, and, while
this idea is Jewish, we can hardly claim that it has a
Jewish setting in Ephesians. Again, the thought of consecra-
tion is not infrequent throughout the New Testament.
Lastly we should consider a few and very minor linguistic affinities between Ephesians and Hebrews.

Eph. 6:12 and Heb. 2:14 read 'blood and flesh' while elsewhere in the New Testament we always have 'flesh and blood'. The reference and the context, however, are in no way related in these two passages, and the normal order, though not nearly as well attested, does receive some manuscript support in Hebrews.

The compound adverb ὑπερέπαινος is only found in Eph. 1:21; 4:10 and Heb. 9:5 in the New Testament. But this is of no importance. The adverb regularly translates ἠμι and ἡμι in the Septuagint.

The phrase εἰς ἀπολύτεως only appears in Eph. 1:14 and Heb. 9:15, but it is by no means certain that it carries the same reference in both Epistles. In Hebrews it definitely means the 'redemption' (in the full New Testament sense) of 'those who are called' from 'transgressions under the first covenant'. This may be the meaning it has in Ephesians; but, on the whole it is more likely that in Ephesians ἀπολύτεως has the weaker sense of 'obtaining' or 'winning back again,' and so the phrase may here mean 'with a view to our winning back our divine possession' (καθενομεία). We cannot say that these passages are formally related.

Πρεσβεῖα καὶ θυσία are only met with in conjunction in Eph. 5:2 and Heb. 10:5, 8. This is of not the slightest significance. The words are in reverse order in both
passages in Hebrews, and each of our Epistles is here plainly building on Old Testament verses. Heb. 10:5, 8 actually is quoting Psalm 40:6-8, while Ephesians is recollecting such passages as Ex. 29:18 and Ezek. 20:41.

There is only one other term in which linguistic dependence could possibly be detected. In Eph. 1:21 and Heb. 6:5 we have the phrase ὁ ἀιών ὁ μέλλων. This phrase only appears again in Matt. 12:32. But the phrase expresses a very common thought in the New Testament, a thought that often appears in similar garb. The notion is the rabbinic one of Ἀρφαμοις presented elsewhere in the New Testament as ὡς ἀιών ἔκεινος or ὡς ἀιών ὁ ἐκκοσμος. Thus the thought behind Ephesians and Hebrews here is perfectly common and that fact, together with the occurrence of the phrase in Matthew, rules out the possibility of direct indebtedness between our documents.

James.

All the verses in James with which affinities have been found in Ephesians belong to the common and principally catechetical material of the early Church.

(1) 'The word of truth' of Eph. 1:13 and Jas. 1:18 was, as we have seen, practically a technical term for the gospel in the early Church.

(2) The idea of 'the new man' in Eph. 4:22-24 and that of 'rebirth' in Jas. 1:18 are not directly related. In Ephesians we have a typically Pauline figure to describe the
result of conversion; and in James a figure to describe the
same thing that was a commonplace in early Christianity. The
thought is the same but there is no other connexion.

(3) The ἐνόριαŋνε sections in Eph. 4:25-31 and Jas. 1:21
derive from an underlying catechetical article.

(4) The paragraphs on worship in Eph. 5:18-20 and Jas. 1:27
are quite unconnected except in so far as a block of teaching
on worship was present in the catechism at this point.

(5) The teaching on subordination and humility in Eph. 5:21-
6:9 and Jas. 4:6, 7, 10 goes back to the basic catechism.
In the case of the former Epistle to the code of subordination;
in the case of the latter to a condensed version of similar
material.

(6) The section on resisting the devil in Eph. 6:11 (cf.6:12-
17) and Jas. 4:7 belongs to the hortatory conclusion of the
catechism.

1 Peter.

The bulk of those passages in 1 Peter supposed to show
direct relationship to Ephesians reflect once more simply
common and catechetical material.

Common and catechetical matter:

(1) The doxology in Eph. 1:3 and 1 Pet. 1:3 belongs to the
liturgical stock of the early Church.

(2) The teaching on Christ's sitting at God's right hand and
on his lordship over angels, etc., in Eph. 1:20-22 and 1 Pet.
3:22, is from a block of apologetic credal-doctrinal matter
of a relatively fixed sort.

(3) The idea of the 'spiritual house' with Christ as the 
    πρεσβυτέρος in Eph. 2:18-22 and 1 Pet. 2:4-6 partly
    involves common material. The picture of Christ as the
    cornerstone is derived from what appears to have been a fixed
    usage of the testimonial Old Testament verse Is. 28:16. Both
    passages thus embody a 'stock' phrase from early Christian
    teaching on Christ as the 'stone' of Old Testament prophecy.
    Apart from this the rest of these two passages, while perhaps
    expressing the same thought, express it in markedly divergent
    terms.

(4) The 'Descent' and the Ascension of Christ in Eph. 4:8-10
    and 1 Pet. 3:19, 22; 4:6 ought not to be compared at all. So
    far as the 'Descent' is concerned we have seen that 1 Peter
    is in a class by itself in the New Testament and is not
    related to Ephesians or any other writing. Two observat-
    ions may be made on 'Descent' in Ephesians or any other New
    Testament document except 1 Peter. First, the 'Descent'
    either is simply a figure for the death of Jesus; or, second,
    the relevant writings use phraseology that superficially appear
    to echo the classic doctrine of the Descensus, but which in
    fact is only the outcome of normal development in monotheistic
    thought. That is, here in Ephesians there is really no trace
    of the full-blooded doctrine of the Descent, though in 1 Peter
    there is. This means that at this point these Epistles are
    moving on different levels and are unrelated. On the other
hand both are undoubtedly stating the doctrine of the Ascension. But this was a common doctrine in being long before Paul. Both Epistles are, therefore, reporting a familiar apostolic idea and are quite independent of each other.

(5) The teaching on 'the new man' and on 'new birth' in Eph. 4:22-24 and 1 Pet. 1:22-23, 2:2 respectively betrays no inter-dependence. Ephesians uses a Pauline figure to describe the change involved in conversion; 1 Peter uses a metaphor more widespread in the Church. Both are describing the same thing, but by means of different categories.

(6) Both Eph. 4:25-31 and 1 Pet. 2:1-2 derive from the ἀποκάταστασις formula of the catechism.

(7) The virtues given in Eph. 4:32 and 1 Pet. 3:8 are all familiar catechumen virtues and, though reflecting different outlooks, go back ultimately to a block of teaching on virtues appropriate to a convert found in the catechetical material of the early Church.

(8) The sections on worship in Eph. 5:18-20 and 1 Pet. 2:4-5 reflect teaching on worship found in the catechism, although the teaching on this subject in these two Epistles belongs to different schools.

(9) The material on subordination and humility in Eph. 5:21-6:9 and 1 Pet. 2:13-3:8; 5:5-6 is based on the code of subordination and closely related catechetical matter.

(10) The teaching on resisting the devil, being watchful, standing firm, of Eph. 6:11, 13, 14, 18 and 1 Pet. 4:7;
5:8-9, 12 is from the hortatory conclusion of the catechism.

(1) The benediction ('peace') of Eph. 6:23 and 1 Pet. 5:14 is a common benedictory element from the Church's liturgical material.

The remaining 'affinities' disappear on inspection. These are:

(1) The phrase πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου of Eph. 1:4 and 1 Pet. 1:20. This is a common form of expression and is found again in John 17:24. The closely related phrase ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου is quite frequent in the New Testament. Compare also the Assumption of Moses, 1:13, 18².

(2) The idea of redemption through or with the blood of Christ in Eph. 1:7 and 1 Pet. 1:18-19. But this is merely reporting the familiar first century thought of Christ's death that viewed his blood as, to speak, the price of redemption. Compare, e.g., Acts 20:28. We might almost describe this as but one of many very old redemption formulae.

(3) The Christian 'hope' and the Christian 'inheritance' are linked, and associated with Christ's resurrection, in Eph. 1:18-20 and 1 Pet. 1:3-5. The substance of these two passages is substantially the same. Both writers are giving a statement of certain cardinal doctrines in a precis form. Ephesians speaks of Christians as 'called' to 'the hope'. 1 Peter speaks of them as 'born anew' to 'a living hope'. In Ephesians 'the hope' is closely linked with 'his glorious

1. Selwyn, 1 Pet., p. 162.
inheritance in the saints'; in 1 Peter with an 'inheritance which is imperishable...' In both writings 'the hope' and 'the inheritance' are virtually equated, and in both writings the twin conceptions are intimately linked with the fact of Christ's resurrection.

But these similarities are apt to be deceptive and do not necessarily indicate dependence. We cannot avoid the suspicion that two writers setting out to declare basic Christian verities, as our writers manifestly are, would have been bound to show these similarities. The mention of any one of these three ideas - hope, inheritance, resurrection - would almost inevitably have led to the introduction of the other two for they represent an indissoluble triad. Surely the point of the resurrection was that it gave men a hope. Ἐλπίς in the sense of the Christian hope is quite common in the Epistles and obviously played an important role in the thought of the early Church. That is, there is nothing unusual in both writings introducing the idea of hope. But not only that, it is difficult to see how hope could be mentioned without saying something about its correlate, the inheritance. What was the Christian hope? Basically it was the hope of every Christian that he should be even a tiny component of God's inheritance. This second and complementary idea of the inheritance was an old notion familiar in Judaism and transported into Christianity. Thus we suspect that here we have only a common thought-sequence of the early Church. This gains great support from a
suggestion of Selwyn. He believes that the context in which the Petrine passage we are considering is found recalls Luke 12:22-40 and states that this Lukan passage "underlies it, though not directly but mediately through the tradition".

We are thus justified in believing that here both our Epistles are doing no more than making articulate a consciousness of certain truths that were prior to both of them. This same consideration tells against any dependence between these Epistles in the association of 'faith' with God's 'power' (δύναμις) in these paragraphs. For, of course, the resurrection was the basis of faith, and the resurrection was always in primitive and early Christian thought, as in modern, referred to the 'power' of God.

(4) Eph. 2:18 and 1 Pet. 3:18 both speak of access to God through Christ; Ephesians using the noun προσέλαμψη, and 1 Peter the verb προσέλαμψη. But both passages are only stressing what is stressed elsewhere in the New Testament, e.g., Heb. 4:16; 7:25, that through Christ's death men can approach God. That was at the core of the Christian message. Our two writers are only expressing a common thought and using the most convenient noun and verb for the purpose - the verb familiar in similar senses in the Septuagint.

(5) Two passages on 'the revelation to the prophets' in Eph. 3:5, 10 and 1 Pet. 1:10-12 may be thought to be related.

3. Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 124.
If they are it is in a most tenuous way. We should note first of all that the 'prophets' in Ephesians are undoubtedly Christian prophets. But granting this, and even granting that Selwyn is correct in regarding the 'prophets' in 1 Peter as Christian prophets also, does not indicate formal indebtedness. For Selwyn is right when he says that both passages simply arose 'naturally out of the historical situation'.

If, on the other hand, the 'prophets' in 1 Peter are Old Testament prophets while those in Ephesians are Christian prophets, then it becomes harder than ever to detect any striking connexion.

(6) The pre-conversion state is described as one of ignorance, ἄγνοια, in Eph. 4:18 and 1 Pet. 1:14. But ἄγνοια is a well known word in the Septuagint and the idea here was a perfectly common Jewish one used in describing the heathen world. Compare, e.g., Paul's address at Athens in Acts 17:30.

Lastly, it has been noted that Eph. 1:5-15 and 1 Pet. 1:5-13 show certain syntactical resemblances. The only comment to be made on this is that the resemblance extends no further.

2 Peter.

There are only two possible points of contact here and neither is impressive.

(1) Eph. 1:6 uses 'the Beloved', (ὁ Ἅγαπημένος) as a title for Jesus. 2 Pet. 1:17 quotes the Synoptic verse

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'This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased'.

But it is altogether probable the 'the Beloved' was a Messianic title in use among the Jews at the beginning of Christianity, and that both Ephesians and the relevant Synoptic passages (and therefore, 2 Peter) reflect this usage. In other words, Ephesians and 2 Peter are here giving a contemporary and prior Jewish thought.

(2) Eph. 4:2 and 2 Pet. 3:15-16 have nothing in common except that both mention forbearance (μακροθυμία), a common word and a virtue stressed in the catechetical teaching of the early Church.

We therefore find no direct literary dependence between Ephesians and Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter.


The Gospel of John.

Here the affinities that exist seem rather to indicate a common outlook than formal dependence. A glance at the principal points of contact makes this apparent.

(1) Eph. 1:4, '... even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him',

and John 17:24, 'Father, I desire that they also, whom thou hast given me, may be with me where I am, to behold my glory which thou hast given me in thy love for me before the foundation of the world.'

Here we find an affinity in thought. Ephesians has the idea of predestination which is also present in John. The

only hint of a more intimate relationship is that both passages incorporate the phrase μέτοχος τῆς θυσίας which is only found again in the New Testament in 1 Pet. 1:20. But, as we have seen, this was a common form of expression and closely related types are quite frequent in the New Testament, and it is a perfectly natural phrase to use in sections handling the notion of predestination.

(2) Eph. 1:6 where Christ is called 'the Beloved' and numerous passages in John where God is spoken of as loving the Son are quite independent except in so far as Eph. 1:6 is certainly, and John is possibly, recalling a current Jewish messianic title.

(3) Eph. 1:9 speaks of God having 'made known to us ... the mystery of his will, according to his purpose which he set forth in Christ;' while John 17:26 puts on the lips of Jesus the words, 'I have made known to them thy name,' i.e. God's purpose and plan. But both passages are simply saying in different language virtually the same thing, a thing any Christian would have said. Of course the early Church held that God's nature and purpose had been made known by Jesus! The Church everywhere believed that. It would never have come into being otherwise. There is no other link between these passages. The verb common to both is quite frequent in the New Testament.

(4) The thought behind the words 'to unite all things in him' in Eph. 1:10 and that behind the teaching on the Logos in John 1:1-18 share a similar environment, though John's
concept is much more developed. But no more can be said than that.

(5) 'The word of truth' in Eph. 1:13 was practically a technical term in the early Church. The phrase 'truth came through Jesus Christ' in John 1:17 has a certain kinship with that in Ephesians. Jesus did give men a gospel, a message, or word, and Jesus did bring 'the truth' and was indeed soon regarded as being himself 'the truth'. The technical term 'the word of truth' grew from such ideas. But there is no formal link between these passages.

(6) The statement in Eph. 1:22, concerning Christ, that God 'has put all things under his feet' and that in John 3:35 that God 'has given all things into his hand' are merely convenient metaphors to describe the paramountcy of Christ. Moreover, whereas Ephesians is using the testimonial Psalm 8:6, John is recording what echoes a genuine saying of Jesus also reported in Matt. 11:27 and the parallel passage in Lk. 10:22. 'All things have been delivered to me by my Father'.

(7) The word 'fulness' in Eph. 1:23; 4:13 and John 1:16 appears to be used in quite distinguishable ways. In Eph. 1:23 it is applied to the Church 'which is his body, the fulness of him who fills all in all'. Here 'fulness' may mean either that which makes complete, a complement; or it may mean the object of the act of filling, that which is filled, i.e., 'fulness' here implies either that the Church is the completion of Christ or that the Church is pervaded
in all its parts by Christ. In Eph. 4:13 ff. 'fulness' seems to carry a different sense again. Apparently the thought is that the Church, which is Christ's Body, together with Christ, who is the Church's Head, makes up the 'fulness' of the perfect Christ. But in John 1:16, 'And from his fulness have we all received, grace upon grace,' 'fulness' means the totality of the divine attributes. Yet, on the other hand, the teaching in the Church as the fulness of Christ which we find in Ephesians reappears in a different garb in John in the Allegory of the Vine (15:1 ff.), and we should note that πλήρωμα is only used with a Christological reference in Ephesians-Colossians and John in the New Testament.

(8) In Eph. 2:1-5 we have material on the new life expressed in thoroughly Jewish terms. In John, e.g., 5:21, 10:10 we are told that Christ gives life. But Ephesians and John are here occupied with quite distinct conceptions. In Ephesians the new life is the new mode of conduct as contrasted with the pre-conversion mode of conduct. In John 'life' involves a prior and more basic idea. It is the spiritual gift imparted through Christ whereby here and now a man may pass from darkness into light.

(9) The association of disobedience and wrath in Eph. 2:2-3, 5:6 and John 3:36 is not of the slightest significance. These twin notions were part of the common Jewish inheritance of the Church.
The teaching on unity in Eph. 2:14 and John, e.g., 10:16, 17:20, and especially 11:52, involves the same thought, but there is no other connexion.

The sections on the Descent and the Ascension of Christ which we find in Eph. 4:8-10 and John 3:13 simply reflect common ideas in the Church. The use in both of κατάβαςαίω and ἀνάβαςαίω is perhaps, though not necessarily, due to each writer employing a familiar κατάβαςαίως - ἀνάβαςαίως formula that neatly summed up the two ideas of the Descent (= death) of Christ and of the Ascension of Christ.

The only feature shared by Eph. 4:7 and John 3:34 is the word μέτεποθήμα. In Ephesians the writer is discussing the different 'measures' in which Christ gives grace to each and every believer to enable him to fulfil his due function in the 'one body', the Church. But in John the thought is otherwise, to the effect that to Christ God does not give the Spirit by measure but in his fulness. In other words Ephesians is thinking mainly of the position of believers; John is thinking purely of the position of Christ himself.

Eph. 2:22, cf. 3:17, and John 14:23 are also distinct except superficially. In Ephesians it is the Church that is to be indwelt by the Spirit, whereas in John it is the individual believer.

The teaching on light and darkness in Eph. 5:7 ff. and John 3:35-36 is due, as we have seen, to both documents reporting common material.
(15) The ideas of cleansing and consecration in Eph. 5:26 and John 15:3, 17:17-19 are both perfectly common and familiar. All that can be said is that both writers show a similar outlook. There is no trace of a literary connexion.

None of these passages which we have so far noticed indicate any direct connexion between Ephesians and John, though they do point towards both writers breathing very much the same spiritual atmosphere. There are, however, two cases where it is possible that Ephesians and John may be formally related. In neither case is the evidence completely convincing one way or the other. The most we can say is that the problem is left open. The passages are:

(1) Eph. 2:14, τὸ μαστούλιον τῶν φρέατων λύσας, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν... and John 2:19, Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον.

There are two curious features about these passages. First, we should note that λύω in the sense of 'todeestroy' is the verb used in both Ephesians and John. But in the parallel passages to John in the Synoptics the simple λύω is not used, but the compound καταλύω (Mt. 14:58; Matt. 26:61). In Acts 6:14 καταλύω is also employed in the allegation against Stephen that he had been heard saying "That this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place..." Second we should observe that this verse in John is linked with 2:21 - "But he spoke of the temple of his body" - the only passage outwith Paul and Ephesians (if Ephesians is not by Paul) that equates ναὸς and σῶμα.

(2) In Eph. 2:17 we read, "he came and preached peace ...."
This is based on Is. 52:7 and 57:19.

In John 20:19 we have, "Jesus came and stood among them and said to them, "Peace be with you".

In John this saying is given at a post-resurrection appearance of Jesus, and in Ephesians it is clear that the reference is "not to the work of the Lord Jesus on earth before the Crucifixion, but to the work of the exalted Christ in announcing the peace which His death had made." Now the odd point is that the Synoptists never use ἐξοματ in connexion with the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus.

On the other hand John's words, "and he said to them, 'Peace be with you'", may, though it is debatable, be part of the original text for Luke 24:36. If this is so, it further confirms the belief that Luke and John are following the same tradition in their accounts of the appearances of the risen Lord to his disciples.

But the insoluble problem remains as to whether Ephesians shares this common Lukan-Johannine tradition, or whether, the association of ἐξοματ and εἰσήγη in Ephesians and John in these two passages points to a closer relationship.

1 John.

Here only a few passages call for attention.

(1) Eph. 1:7 speaks of redemption through the blood of Christ and associates the forgiveness of sins with that idea. 1 John 1:7 thinks of the blood of Christ cleansing, and links that with

8. Robinson, Ephesians, pg. 66.
forgiveness. But both writings are reporting a common thought in the early Church in slightly different language. (2) Eph. 4:13 and 1 John 4:6 both merely exemplify that general emphasis on knowledge that marks Ephesians and the Johannine Corpus. But John is in thought a long way ahead of Ephesians at this point, for in 1 John 'he who knows God' practically means 'he who belongs to God', i.e. a Christian. Ephesians and John are not directly related here. Either both reflect a common type of environment, or John remotely reflects an atmosphere that perhaps Ephesians helped to create.

(3) Eph. 5:6 and 1 John 3:7 both have the injunction, 'Let no one deceive you ... ' The only connexion, however, between the two passages is that both are in ethical sections. They do not even use the same verb for 'to deceive'. Ephesians employs the rare New Testament verb ἐπανάλαβε; 1 John the common πλανάω.

(4) The teaching on light and darkness in Eph. 5:7-14 and 1 John 1:6-7 belongs to a fairly fixed type of teaching often used in baptismal contexts.

(5) The stress on cleansing which we find in Eph. 5:26 arises again in 1 John 1:7-9. But the connexion is one of thought only. There is no formal literary link.

(6) Material on overcoming the devil appears in both Ephesians and 1 John. Eph. 6:16, which deals with 'overcoming the evil one', i.e., the devil, belongs to teaching on resisting the devil that occurs at the end of the primitive catechism.
This type of catechetical teaching may, though not necessarily, lie behind 1 John 2:13-14 also. But other passages in 1 John that mention 'the evil one' do not even share a background with Ephesians.

The Johannine Tract 2 John.

There are only two possible points of contact between Ephesians and 2 John and neither instance is at all impressive or important.

(1) There is patently no significant connexion between Eph. 4:15 and 2 John 3. The mention of 'love' is perfectly familiar and was a cardinal notion in the early Church.

(2) Eph. 5:2 and 2 John 6 both speak of 'walking in love'. But this was a widespread ethical injunction. Love and humility were the two main virtues stressed by the Church in the first century. The exhortation 'to walk in love' was a commonplace.

Viewing the relationship between Ephesians and the Johannine Corpus as a whole we may with some confidence hold that there is no evidence of direct literary connexion, though a suspicion of such may legitimately be allowed in the case of two unimportant passages in John's Gospel. However, it is merely a suspicion based on very slight linguistic evidence. But while it is true that there is probably no formal dependence between Ephesians and these writings, it is equally true that there is considerable agreement in thought
among them, especially in their common emphasis on knowledge, love, consecration, cleansing, unity; and Ephesians is not so very far distant from a full scale Logos doctrine. If Ephesians is by Paul these affinities in thought may be due to the fact that the Christology of that Epistle so impressed the author of the Fourth Gospel that he resolved to write his Gospel in terms of it, though developing the material in his own way. If, on the other hand, Ephesians was written by a sub-Paulinist between 60 and 90 A.D., we can either hold as above that John was familiar with it, or that both Ephesians and the Johannine literature originated in the same school of thought in Asia Minor. On any theory of authorship Ephesians must be earlier, though perhaps only very slightly so, than John. If there is any dependence it lies with John, not with Ephesians. But, on the whole, the explanation of a common environment of thought seems best to cover the facts.

iii. Revelation.

There are emphatically no suspicious contacts here at all. Practically everything in the alleged affinities belongs to the common belief of the early Church. Thus:

(1) Eph. 1:2 and Rev. 1:4 both simply give a common benedictory greeting.

(2) The notion of 'sealing' in Eph. 1:13, 4:30 and Rev. 7:2-3 was a regular idea in the Church mainly inherited from Judaism.

(3) Those passages on the exaltation of Christ and of Christians which we find in Eph. 1:20, 2:4-6 and Rev. 3:21
reflect, as we have seen, apologetic credal-doctrinal material of the Church. This is particularly true of the session of Christ at God's right hand.

(4) In Eph. 2:13 we have, "You ... have been brought near in the blood of Christ," and in Rev. 5:9, "... and by thy blood didst ransom men for God." But this is a very common notion. The idea of the blood of Christ as the price of redemption was familiar all over the Church, and what we have here could almost be described as a well known redemption formula.

(5) Between Eph. 2:19-22 and Rev. 3:12 there is in fact no dependence. The picture in Ephesians of the 'spiritual house' has affinities different from those in Revelation. Selwyn has asserted and shown that "the idea of Christian believers, individually and corporately, as constituting a house or temple of God is found in several strands of the early tradition, and is to be traced to our Lord himself." The figure in Ephesians is in essence not exclusively Pauline, for, though it appears regularly in the Pauline Corpus, it also appears in Hebrews, 1 Peter, and the Pastorals. On the other hand, the figure in Revelation is a commonplace in most languages and was familiar in Judaism. In addition, the

9. Selwyn, 1 Pet., pg. 236; see pgs. 286-291.
'temple' in the two passages involves quite distinct notions. In Ephesians the Church is built of living Christians and God dwells there in the Spirit, i.e. in his true servants who constitute his Church. But in Revelation there is a great difference. In Revelation both 'pillar' and 'temple' are used metaphorically and ultimately the apocalyptist held, of course, that there would be no temple — the temple was God Himself. Thus in Revelation for believers to have become pillars in the heavenly temple meant that they had become united with God, and no idea of the Church is present at all.

Neither is there any connexion between 'the foundation of the apostles and prophets' in Eph. 2:20 and the reference in Rev. 21:14, "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb." Revelation, unlike Ephesians, is not thinking of the Church but only of the foundations of the wall that surrounds the New Jerusalem, and these foundations are not the apostles but only bear their names. This is not to say that here Ephesians and Revelation are not in the same broad stream of thought. The thought sequence probably goes back to the saying of Jesus in Matt. 16:18, and may even go far beyond that to, e.g., Ps. 118:22 and Is. 28:16. But it is to say that there is no direct literary relationship between Ephesians and Revelation.

(6) Eph. 3:4-5, "...the mystery of Christ ... revealed to his holy apostles and prophets."
Rev. 10:5-7, "And the angel ... swore ... that there should be no more delay, but that in the days of the trumpet call to be sounded by the seventh angel, the mystery of God as he announced to his servants the prophets, should be fulfilled."

Christian prophets are referred to in both passages and the word 'mystery' is common to both. There the relationship ends. In Ephesians the 'mystery' is the inclusion of the Gentiles with the Jews within the Church. In Revelation 'mystery' has a very much wider meaning. Charles states that the "phrase appears to mean the whole purpose of God in regard to the world, which must finally be accomplished ....... καὶ ἐτελέσθη τῷ μ. τ. Θεῷ means the consummation of the growing purpose of God that has run through all the ages." Clearly there is no indebtedness between these passages.

(7) Eph. 3:9 and Rev. 4:11, 10:6 describe God as the creator of all things. But every Jew and every Christian held that God had created all things. Reference to this belief is frequent in later Judaism and occurs, though less often, in the Old Testament.

(8) Both Eph. 5:11 and Rev. 18:4 speak of 'taking part in evil'. But the contexts are utterly different and the only common feature is the verb συνκολονωνέω which is only found

(9) The conception of the Church as the Bride of Christ in Eph. 5:25-35 should be compared with Rev. 19:7; 21:2, 9; 22:17. The passages share the same thought but they are not directly related. This marriage figure is one of very great age. God is the Bridegroom of Israel in the Old Testament. In the New Testament this symbolism is applied to Christ and the Church, the Church being the Bride of Christ. Figures of this sort are found in the New Testament in the Synoptics, John and Paul.

(10) Teaching on the Christian's warfare occurs in Eph. 6:10-15, 18 and perhaps comparable material is to be found in Rev. 2:3, 7, 10-11, 17, 25-29. It is obvious that there is no formal connexion here between Ephesians and Revelation. But it is just possible that Revelation is echoing catechetical paraenetic material given to Christians to resist the devil and stand firm such as lies behind the closing section of Ephesians.


Nearly all the 'parallels' here are due to Luke and Ephesians recording common apostolic thoughts and forms. Thus:

(1) The Ascension of Christ mentioned in Eph. 1:20-22; 4:8-10 and perhaps in Luke 24:51 (there is some doubt whether 'and was carried up into heaven' is original in
Luke) was an idea spread throughout the early Church.

(2) The metaphorical use of "νεκρός" in Eph. 2:1, 5 and Luke 15:24, 32 is quite common and insignificant.

(3) The teaching on light and darkness such as we have in Eph. 5:13 and Luke 11:34-36 is part of a vast body of well known material on this subject.

(4) The stress on the Christian's need for alertness and prayer in Eph. 6:18 reflects catechetical material of the early Church, material that arose from teaching of Jesus as in Luke 21:36.

(5) The mention of 'the will of God' in Eph. 5:17 is not related to the use of 'will' in Luke 12:47. In Ephesians 'will' is used in a specialized sense which it lacks in Luke.

(6) Eph. 1:6 and Luke 3:22, 9:35, 20:13 are likewise not directly connected. 'The Beloved' in Ephesians is a current Messianic title and this title may be reflected in the Lukan passages.


(8) Eph. 1:5 (9) and Luke 2:14 (10:21) are sometimes compared. But the only point of contact lies in the common use of the not too common New Testament word εὐδοκία which is, however, found in the Septuagint. It is a fiction to suppose that there is any formal connexion here.

The Acts.

All the supposed 'parallels' here are said to occur between different portions of Ephesians and Paul's speech at Miletus to the Ephesian Elders in Acts 20. These 'parallels' are singularly insignificant. Thus:

(1) The conception of the divine Βουλή in Eph. 1:11 and Acts. 20:27 betrays no direct affinity. Βουλή is used in the same sense on several other occasions in Luke-Acts (once in a speech attributed to Peter), and in Heb. 6:17 in an entirely different setting.

(2) Eph. 1:14 and Acts 20:32 both stress the κληρονομιά of the faithful. But this is also the subject of, e.g., Rom. 4:14; 8:17; Gal. 3:18, 29; 4:7, and is in any case a common Jewish and early Christian notion.

(3) The passage in Acts 20:28 on the purchasing of the Church can hardly be formally connected with Eph. 1:14. To begin with, while Acts does refer to purchasing or acquiring or ransoming the Church, the Ephesian passage may not refer to the Church at all. The Ephesian verse may well mean 'with
a view to our winning back our divine possession', i.e. man's heritage lost through sin; though, of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Ephesian verse means 'with a view to the redemption of God's own possession,' i.e., Christians, i.e., the Church. Again Ephesians and Acts may here be derived from different Old Testament passages. Ephesians may be from Ex. 19:5,

'... then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people',

which also underlies 1 Pet. 2:9. Both Ephesians and 1 Peter read περιποιήσαις, whereas the Septuagint reads περιούσιος. Acts, on the other hand, with περιποιήσατο may be based on Is. 43:21,

"This people have I formed for myself" - LXX λαόν μου ὁν περιποιήσαμην, or even Ps. 74:2 (LXX 73:2),

"Remember thy congregation which thou hast purchased of old" - LXX τῆς συναγωγῆς σου ἡς ἐκτήσω

It is very improbable that at this point Ephesians and Acts are connected at all. The idea in Acts that Christ purchased the Church "with his own blood" is in no way formally related to Eph. 1:7, 'in him we have redemption through his blood'. Both are simply stating a common 'redemption' idea.

(4) The apostle's commission is mentioned in Eph. 3:2, cf. 3:6-7, and Acts 20:24. But this is often emphasized in the Pauline Epistles. In the case of Acts its mention may only show Luke's knowledge of a common thought in Paul. In the case of Ephesians its mention is due simply to Paul saying what he often said if he is the author, or to an anonymous writer using a well known Pauline assertion in order to lend resemblance to his homily.

(5) The pastoral metaphor with reference to the care of the
Church appears in Eph. 4:11 and Acts 20:28. But, while the pasters (ποιμήν) mentioned in Ephesians are only in the sense of Christian teachers, the general use of the figure is sufficiently common to remove suspicion. It is found, for example, in 1 Pet. 5:2 and John 21:16 (ποιμανεῖν).

Christ is described as a shepherd in Heb. 13:20, 1 Pet. 2:25, 5:4, and above all in John 10. The figure goes back to sayings of Jesus such as Matt. 9:36 = Mk. 6:34, and beyond that to Jewish thought. "The 'pastoral' terminology had long before entered the Jewish (not to mention earlier Semitic) religion, and its occurrence in other Christian writings about as early as Acts suggests that it was a term readily resorted to, if not fully established, in Christian parlance." Luke 12:32 attributes the description of Christians (or the Church) as a flock to Jesus.

(6) The 'building' metaphor is found in Eph. 2:20-22 and Acts 20:32. But the use of ὄικος ὁμοίωμα of the growth of Christian character is not infrequent in the Pauline Epistles, e.g., 1 Cor. 8:1; 10:23; 14:4, 17; 1 Thess. 5:11. Thus its presence in Acts is due either to Luke's thorough knowledge of Paul, or to his accuracy in reporting; while its presence in Ephesians is due either to Paul himself if he wrote it, or to the anonymous writer incorporating Pauline

'touches'. The metaphor occurs again in 1 Pet. 2:5 and in Acts 9:31, but the figure is really far older than Christianity. We find it again, e.g., in Ps. 28:5 (LXX 27:5), "...he shall destroy them, and not build them up..." (οἰκοδομέω, πρε) and Jer. 24:6,

"For I will set mine eyes upon them for good ... and I will build them ..... " (ἀνακοδομέω, πρε)

(7) The Apostle's suffering for the faith is mentioned in Eph. 3:13; 4:1; 6:20 and Acts 20:23. But again this idea is present in several Pauline Epistles, viz., 2 Cor., Col., Phil., Phm., and its presence in Acts and Ephesians is due to the same reasons as are given in dealing with the 'building' metaphor. In addition, Paul's sufferings must have been a well known fact in the early Church.

(8) The teaching on honest work and the help of the needy in Eph. 4:28 and Acts 20:34-35 at first glance seems to show a connexion. But in Acts what is presented is an apologia for Paul's own way of living. In Ephesians we have what was probably a common ethical 'tag' partly repeated in 1 Thess. 4:11. A much closer parallel to Acts would be 1 Cor. 4:12. No doubt the Church was familiar with the fact that Paul 'worked for his keep'.

(9) The humble service of the Lord is mentioned in Eph. 6:6-7 and Acts 20:19. But in Ephesians, unlike Acts, it is introduced in an elaboration of part of the code of subordination as applied to slaves. Δουλεύω, to be a slave, is
common in the New Testament and is found in the Septuagint. The figure was quickly taken over into the Church. The mention of τάπεινοφροσύνη (lowliness) here in Acts and in Eph. 4:2 is similarly unimportant. This was one of a group of 'humility' virtues stressed throughout the early Church. Humility and love were indeed the cardinal virtues of the Church in the first century.

(10) What is said about alertness in Eph. 6:18 in the closing part of the catechism, and in Acts 20:31 is of no significance. Teaching on alertness was familiar and relatively stereotyped in the early Church.


It is sometimes observed that certain words are confined to Ephesians and Luke-Acts in the New Testament, viz.,

( but for one occurrence in Hebrews)

ἀνίμη
ἀπειλή
ἐργασία
πανοπλία
πατρία
πολιτεία
συνκαθίσω
τὸ σωτήριον (σωτήριος)
φρόνησις

But the implication of this observation seems to be fatally weakened when we note that each of these words is found in the Septuagint, in certain cases with great frequency.

Two other words are worth looking at. Ἑυαγγελιστής, which is not found in the Septuagint nor in any other Greek version
of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, nor in classical Greek, only occurs in the New Testament in Eph. 4:11 and Acts 21:8 apart from 2 Tim. 4:5. But it is very doubtful if the presence of this word in Ephesians and Acts indicates any connexion for it is used with a slightly different meaning in Ephesians and Acts and with a decidedly different one in 2 Timothy. Χαρίτων, which is not found in the Septuagint Version of the Hebrew canonical books nor in classical Greek, only occurs in Eph. 1:6 and Luke 1:28 in the whole New Testament. But this word already appears once in the Book of Sirach 18:7, one of the Old Testament Apocrypha far older than our documents.

In the case of Ephesians and Luke-Acts we may reasonably say that there is no evidence to indicate literary dependence between them...

v. The Gospels of Mark and Matthew.

It is self-evident that there is no formal link between Eph. 1:6 and Lk. 1:11, 9:7, 12:6; Matt. 3:17, 12:18, 17:5. What we have in Ephesians is a current Jewish Messianic title and that title may have influenced the Markan-Matthaean passages. There is no closer connexion than that between these passages.
vi. **Excursus** on the Authorship of Ephesians.

We cannot discuss the problem of the literary affinities between Ephesians and the Pastorals and the fully Pauline Corpus until we have decided whether or not Paul wrote Ephesians. If he did then obviously we can hardly speak of literary affinities, in the usual sense of the term, between Ephesians and the Pauline Corpus since the one man wrote them all. If he did not the position is, of course, quite different. In the case of the Pastorals similar considerations apply. The Pastorals, and in especial 2 Timothy, probably incorporate fully Pauline fragments. Yet in the main they are not from Paul's hand as they stand. Still, if Ephesians is by Paul, some of the affinities between it and the Pastorals could conceivably be due to community of authorship. On the other hand, if Ephesians is not by Paul, then the literary affinities are not due to a common hand, for clearly the sub-Paulinist responsible for the Pastorals and the sub-Paulinist responsible for Ephesians cannot have been one and the same person.

The principal data concerning the authorship of our Epistle fall into eight main classes. Most of these are perfectly familiar and a rehearsal of them would be superfluous. For that reason we only mention briefly seven sets of data, but develop more fully an eighth and highly significant group of facts. These chief arguments are:
(1) **Language.**

Moffatt\(^{14}\) has noted that there are in Ephesians 38 words not used elsewhere in the New Testament; and 44 more never elsewhere used by Paul though found in the New Testament. But an argument of this sort is not by any means conclusive. The length of Colossians to that of Ephesians is approximately as 11 is to 16. Now Colossians has 38 words of the former type and 18 of the latter, and 11 more found only in Colossians and Ephesians that would be 'hapax' in Colossians if not copied in Ephesians, and 7 found elsewhere in the New Testament but not in Paul outside Ephesians–Colossians. Moreover quite a large number of words found in Ephesians and/or Colossians have New Testament parallels only in 1 and 2 Corinthians; and at least 25 words found in Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Philippians occur in Ephesians but not in Colossians.\(^{15}\) Again, the length of Galatians is practically the same as Ephesians yet Galatians has 31 words that occur nowhere else in the New Testament, and 39 that are found elsewhere in the New Testament, but not in the other Pauline letters.\(^{16}\) Leaving aside quotations, Romans has 100

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words not elsewhere in the New Testament; 1 Corinthians has 103; 2 Corinthians has 95; and Philippians has 41. Thus a purely linguistic argument leads nowhere. On this argument Ephesians is less suspect than many of the acknowledged Pauline letters, and markedly less so than Colossians now recognised by most scholars as fully Pauline.

Much weightier is the evidence provided by a few peculiar expressions found several times in Ephesians yet not found in any other Pauline letter (if Ephesians is by Paul), e.g.,

\[ \text{eis } \epsilon\nu\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \delta\omicron\xi\nu\varsigma \] 1:6, 12, 14.
\[ \text{en } \tau\omicron\iota\iota\varsigma \iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\alpha\nu\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \] 1:3, 20; 2:6; 3:10; 6:12.

But the first phrase is closely related to Phil. 1:11b.

\[ \text{eis } \delta\omicron\xi\nu\varsigma \ kai \ \epsilon\nu\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \theta\iota\omicron\nu \] and 1 Pet. 1:7
\[ \text{eis } \epsilon\nu\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ kai \ \delta\omicron\xi\nu\ kai \ \tau\iota\mu\iota\nu . \]

\[ \varepsilon\nu\iota\sigma\iota\nu\varsigma \] is found on five other occasions in the Pauline letters. The second phrase may not in its turn be so impressive either. \[ \varepsilon\nu\iota\sigma\iota\nu\varsigma \] also occurs five times elsewhere in Paul - one usage, in Phil. 2:10, affording a close parallel. Indeed Murray in one of his essays goes to great pains to show that this phrase is characteristically Pauline. 17

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17. Abbott, T.K., The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, Edinburgh, 1897, Introd., pg. XV.
Further, there are in Galatians a number of phrases peculiar to that Epistle, e.g.,

\[ \text{Tō eúaggélion tῆς ἀκροβυστίας 2:7} \]
\[ \text{ὁ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ 6:16} \]

This argument, too, is indecisive.

(2) **Style.**

Unlike the other Pauline letters "we cannot speak here of vivacity, hardly of energy; if there is energy it is deep down below the surface. The rapid argumentative cut and thrust is gone. In its place we have a slowly-moving onwards-advancing mass, like a glacier working its way inch by inch down the valley."¹⁹ There is an amazing piling up of what are practically synonyms, e.g.,

\[ \text{kατὰ τὴν ἐνέγεισιν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἱσχύος αὐτοῦ 1:19} \]
\[ \text{kατὰ τὴν βούλην τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ 1:11} \]

in a way which makes no perceptible addition to the thought.

Further, Ephesians consists of a number of unusually lengthy sentences, e.g., 1:3-14, 15-23; 2:1-7; 3:1-7.

On the other hand we must agree that a writer's subject matter and his mood can greatly affect his style. As Scott laconically remarks, "The sentences are involved, but there are chapters in Romans which are not entirely lucid and simple."²⁰ In comparing a passage from Ephesians with one from Romans Sanday and Headlam observe,

"... the general tendency to the formation of periods on what we have called the 'telescopic' method - not conforming to a plan of structure deliberately adopted from the first, but linking on clause to clause, each suggested by the last - runs through the whole of the first three chapters of Ephesians and has abundant

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analyses in Romans (1:1-7, 18-24; 2:5-16; 3:21-26; 4:11-17; 5:12-14; 9:22-29; 15:14-28). The passages from Rom. are as we have said somewhat more lively than those from Eph.; they have a more argumentative cast, indicated by the frequent use of ὑπερθέν; whereas those from Eph. are not so much argumentative as expository, and consist rather of a succession of clauses connected by relatives. But the difference is really superficial, and the underlying resemblance is great. 21

The same two writers also hold that there is a marked similarity between Ephesians, Romans and Galatians in the use of a quotation from the Old Testament with running comments. 22 We cannot, therefore, dogmatically claim that the writer who could pass from the style of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians to that of Colossians, could not pass on yet further to that of Ephesians. Here again we have an indecisive argument.

(3) Certain references in the Epistle.

It is often said that some of the personal allusions in Ephesians would come more fittingly from a sub-Paulinist surveying Paul's work after his death than from Paul himself. For example, it is denied that Paul would have used the phrase 'holy apostles and prophets' (3:5), when he claimed to be an apostle himself. But 'holy' simply means 'saints', i.e. Christians, in the New Testament, and Paul had already used

the term of the Corinthians - 'called to be saints'
(1 Cor. 1:2) - and he could surely have used it of himself.
Paul often used δυσ in ways that included himself, e.g.,
1 Cor. 6:2-3; Col. 1:26.

Again, in Eph. 3:4 it is said that Paul could not have invited his readers to admire 'my insight' into the mystery of Christ'. But in 2 Cor. 11:5-6 Paul wrote,

"I think that I am not in the least inferior to these superlative apostles. Even if I am unskilled in speaking, I am not in knowledge; in every way we have made this plain to you in all things."

Again, it is said that Paul would not have overstressed his humility by writing, 'though I am the very least of all the saints' (3:8).

But in 1 Cor. 15:9 he wrote,

"For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God."

Paul never forgot his early career and the memory of it could explain his language in Ephesians.

Again, it is said that the manner of speaking of circumcision in 2:11 points to a period after Paul's death -

"Therefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh, called the uncircumcision by what is called the circumcision... "

But the sense of this whole passage in Ephesians agrees with that of Rom. 2:26-29; and the form of expression seems natural enough to one who could write in Phil. 3:2-3,

"Look out for the dogs, look out for the evil workers, look out for those who mutilate the flesh. For we are the true circumcision, who worship God in spirit..."
311.

Κατατομή is used sarcastically of 'mutilation' in contrast to the true περιτομή. Κατατέμνω is employed in the Septuagint of forbidden mutilations.

This group of arguments is also indecisive.

(4) doctrine.

While no one disputes that the teaching of Ephesians is deeply rooted in Paulinism, it is sometimes held that many of its ideas, especially in connexion with the doctrine of the Church and the doctrine of the Person of Christ, are given in a form so far removed from that of the earlier Epistles as to rule out unity of authorship. There is a pronounced emphasis on 'knowledge' and a general thread of Hellenistic speculation that perhaps more nearly resembles John's Gospel than the Epistles of Paul. On the other hand it may be urged against this claim that anything in Ephesians could have been written by Paul. Admittedly he elaborates and pushes to a conclusion ideas found in germ in the earlier Epistles. But the fact remains that these self-same ideas in Ephesians are Paul's in origin. Could anyone else have so developed them?

Again, Colossians is Pauline and Colossians shows a remarkable advance in thought over the earlier Epistles. The question is whether the advance, if any, on the part of Ephesians over even Colossians towards a Johannine standpoint is so great as to preclude common authorship. At least one scholar goes so far as to say,

"The Epistle to Colossians is the connecting link between the Pauline writings and the Fourth Gospel; in several of its leading conceptions it approaches
even more nearly to the Johannine type of thought than the sister Epistle to Ephesians." 23

Once more we have an indecisive argument.

(5) **The literary affinities of Ephesians.**

It is often urged against Pauline authorship that Ephesians has literary affinities with Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, John and 1 and 2 John, Revelation, and Luke–Acts. But it is quite certain that there is no satisfactory evidence of anything that could properly be described as direct dependence between Ephesians and Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and Revelation; and it is more than very doubtful if there is any formal link between Ephesians and John's Gospel and Luke–Acts. Many of the seeming connexions are due to all these writings sharing underlying catechetical material or reporting a common thought in the early Church. The significant affinities of Ephesians are entirely with the Pauline Corpus, including, to a limited degree, the Pastorals. This need hardly surprise us on any theory of authorship.

(6) There is no evidence whatsoever that the Pauline authorship of Ephesians was doubted in antiquity.

(7) **Relationship to Colossians.**

The intimacy and formal nature of the relationship between Ephesians and Colossians is accepted by all scholars.

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Of the 155 verses of Ephesians over 30 contain direct parallels with Colossians. This raises the question of whether a creative writer like Paul would have copied from himself. To this question Moffatt gives an emphatic negative. He says,

"It was a catholicized version of Colossians, written in Paul's name to Gentile Christendom (2:11, 3:1); the solitary reference to concrete conditions (6:21-22) is adapted from Colossians, in order to lend vraisemblance to the writing, and the general traits of the homily rank it among the catholic epistles or pastorals of the early church." 24

Against this it may be argued that Paul read over Colossians before composing Ephesians, or else composed Ephesians while his mind was still packed with what he had just written to the Colossians, and so he was antecedently likely to reproduce the ideas of the earlier letter.

Up till this point the evidence for and against the Pauline authorship of Ephesians has been so finely balanced as to render a decision impossible. But arising out of the relationship of Ephesians and Colossians a new point of decisive value emerges. We mentioned under (7) above the possibility of Paul reproducing the ideas of Colossians.

"But the difficulty is that he does not reproduce them. To each of them he gives a different point and brings it into relation to a different set of ideas. If Paul wrote the letter himself would he not use the language of Colossians in the sense he had given it already? We seem to be dealing with another writer who has taken Colossians as his model and adapted it to his own thinking. 25"

24. Introduction, pg. 393.
25. Scott, E.P., The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians, London, 1930, pg. 120.
This claim we must examine more closely. In the following pages we avail ourselves freely of the work of Goguel. The key passages are those in which Ephesians employs the very words of Colossians but modifies their significance and attaches to them what is manifestly a more advanced doctrinal position.

(8) **Linguistic parallelism accompanied by divergence of thought in Ephesians and Colossians.**

Sometimes the thought of Colossians is reinforced in Ephesians. An apparently simple expression in Ephesians is seen to show an enrichment of thought over its parallel in Colossians. For example, Col. 3:18 runs,

"Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is fitting in the Lord."

This simply means, "Wives, be subject as is your duty as Christians" - a blunt undeveloped statement. But Eph. 5:22 runs,

"Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord."

Here wives are called to obedience as though that obedience were to Christ himself. This is a much stronger phrase and raises the whole ground for submission to a higher level. Col. 3:22 enjoins,

"Slaves, obey in everything those who are your earthly masters, not with eyeservice, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing the Lord."

Here we have a common enough idea to which any Jew could have subscribed - serve out of fear. But in Eph. 6:5 we read,

"Slaves, be obedient to those who are your earthly masters, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart, as to Christ."

Fear is certainly mentioned, but the ground of obedience is that service is to be rendered as though it were service done to Christ. Again we have a nobler appeal.

Col. 3:19 runs,

"Husbands, love your wives, and do not be harsh with them."

There is nothing specifically Christian in this injunction at all. But in Eph. 5:25 ff. we have,

"Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her."

Once more there is a marked enrichment of thought.

These Ephesian passages all illustrate an advance towards a mystical viewpoint, especially in the marriage figure, that is absent from Colossians. The language of Ephesians is that of Colossians, but the thought is new and richer.

The use of the word μυστήριον in Ephesians is equally instructive. A comparison between the use of this word in Ephesians and in Colossians shows that what we have in Ephesians is not an accurate reproduction of Paul's thought but a calculated transference of Paul's language from Colossians to bring it into connexion with a different idea in Ephesians. 'Mystery' occurs four times in Colossians (1:26, 27; 2:2; 4:3). In these passages the 'mystery' is
the mystical union of believers with Christ whereby their salvation is assured -

"...this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (1:27).

It is a 'mystery' since it has been 'hidden for ages and generations' but has now been revealed to the saints (1:26).

'mystery' is used six times in Ephesians (1:9; 3:3, 4, 9; 5:32; 6:19). In Eph. 6:19 the language runs parallel to that in Col. 4:2-4 and it is possible, though not certain, that 'mystery' may there carry the sense which it has in Colossians.

But in Eph. 5:32 the 'mystery' is presented in a new sense and associated with a passage in which marriage provides an analogue to the relationship of Christ to the Church. In Eph. 1:9; 3:3, 4, 9 the 'mystery' is the essential content of the writer's gospel, namely, the access to salvation that is now open to the Gentiles and their re-union with the Jews in the Church. That is, in Colossians 'mystery' describes an essentially religious and an essentially individualistic experience. In Ephesians, on the other hand, the 'mystery' describes an objective and communal fact, namely, the entry of the Gentiles along with the Jews into the Church. Here once more Ephesians reproduces the language of Colossians, but stamps it with a different, perhaps later, die.

The concept of reconciliation (καταλλαγή) is also revealing. In Col. 1:20-22 what is principally in view is the reconciliation of the cosmos with God. In Eph. 2:16 what is in view is the reconciliation of Gentiles and Jews 'in one body', i.e., within the Church. This unity sin-
The significance of Christ's death is not discussed in Ephesians, the cosmic function of 'uniting all things in him' in 1:10 not being associated with his death. Again, in Col. 1:20, as in 2 Cor. 5:18-19, it is God who reconciles; in Eph. 2:16 it is Christ himself. Here too we have the same language but with a different signification.

Another instance of the same sort is given by the use of 'body' (σῶμα). In Col. 1:20-22 we have the thought that Christ reconciled the Gentiles ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σωρός αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν θανάτων. In Eph. 2:16 we have a direct echo of this passage in καὶ ἐκ καταλαλάξει τῶν ἅμφωτερων ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τῶν σταυρῶν.

The reference to the 'body' in Ephesians is clearly dependent on Colossians. But in Colossians the 'body' means the mortal body of Jesus; in Ephesians it means the mystical body of Christ, i.e. the Church.

Other examples are to be seen in the use of κεφάλη and πλήρωμα with reference to Christ in the two Epistles. In Col. 2:10 Christ is spoken of as 'the head of all rule and authority' and in him 'dwells the whole fulness of deity bodily' (2:9). In Eph. 4:15-16 we read,

"... we are to grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body...", i.e. Christ is head, not of the cosmic powers, but of the Church; and in 1:23 the pleroma realizes itself not in the Person of Christ, but in his mystical body, i.e. the Church.

That is, while Christ is spoken of as the 'head' in both Colossians and Ephesians, in Colossians the idea is...
to underline the cosmic significance of Christ and in Ephesians to underline the mystical relationship between Christ and the Church. These two variant conceptions of the headship of Christ and of the pleroma surely bear witness to quite different pre-occupations belonging to distinct spheres of thought.

In keeping with this increased emphasis on the Church in Ephesians as compared with Colossians is the prominence given in Ephesians to baptismal material, to the idea of 'cleansing' and 'consecrating'; and to the duty of 'love'. Further, ideas like 'revelation' (1:17; 3:3) and 'knowledge of the Son of God' (1:17; 4:13) are given in ecclesiastical 'group' contexts. But in Paul ideas like these designate charismata, spiritual gifts granted to faithful individuals and related directly to some religious experience such as Paul himself had undergone. The same applies to expressions like 'created in Christ Jesus' (2:10); 'to comprehend... and to know the love of Christ' (3:18-19); 'to learn Christ' (4:21); 'mature manhood' (4:13); for the origin of these ideas is inextricably bound up with the charismatic experience of the life 'in Christ'. Yet in Ephesians all are used with reference to the spiritual life of the community or Church.

Putting the matter briefly, we may say that the chief characteristic of Ephesians as compared with Colossians is its very marked ecclesiastical interest. Thus the 'mystery'
is the union of the Gentiles and the Jews in the Church; reconciliation is that between Gentile and Jew in the Church; the 'body' is the Church; Christ is 'head' of the Church; the pleroma realizes itself in the Church; and as we have seen there is a strong tendency to give an ecclesiastical setting to what are individual mystical experiences. In other words, we meet with an attempt to refer all Christian experience to the Church and to confine it within the limits of Church life. This fact, in isolation, may not be a final argument against the Pauline authorship of our Epistle, but as Goguel puts it,

"S'il avait voulu transporter sa pensée du domaine mystique au domaine ecclésiastique, il l'aurait fait librement et non en utilisant, parfois littéralement, une épître antérieure." 27

Knowing what we do of the exceptional fertility of Paul's mind we cannot but agree with that judgment.

When we couple this major fact that emerges from a comparative study of the doctrine of Ephesians and Colossians with the other suspicious, though indecisive, data which we have considered and with some features we observed in discussing the destination of Ephesians, e.g., the impersonal tone of the letter and the absence of any concrete historical situation, we are left with a very strong case against the Pauline authorship of Ephesians, and we seem justified in

concluding that it is the work of a gifted sub-Paulinist. Curiously enough a purely statistical analysis of Ephesians supports this conclusion. 28

The identity of this author is unknown and it is useless to attempt to ascertain it with precision. Whoever he was, he must have been a man of exceptional quality, spiritually and intellectually, for Ephesians has none of those marks of inferiority that so easily betray the sub-Pauline nature of the Pastorals. He must have known thoroughly the Pauline mode of thought, for in this regard he 'out-Paul's Paul'. He was also saturated in the language and thought of Colossians and, as we shall see, he was acquainted with the whole Pauline Corpus, particularly with Romans and with the Corinthian and Galatian correspondence. That is, the writer of Ephesians was a disciple of Paul equipped with a general knowledge of the Pauline Corpus. Perhaps it had been collected before he wrote Ephesians; perhaps he assembled the Pauline letters himself, possibly after the publication of Luke-Acts, and wrote Ephesians as an introduction to the Corpus as Goodspeed suggests. 29 Beyond that we cannot go. It is of interest to note that the few direct personal references in the Epistle look like deliberate devices to lend vraisemblance to the writing, for all could certainly be suppressed without

damaging the sequence of thought (1:1; 3:1-13; 4:1; 6:20).

vii. The Pastoral Epistles: 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus.

A good many of the affinities between Ephesians and the Pastorals are due, not to the one borrowing from the other nor to Ephesians and the Pastorals both depending on fully Pauline writings, but to both reflecting underlying catechetical material. Thus:

Eph. 6:1 and 1 Tim. 3:4 dealing with the obedience of children to parents;

Eph. 6:4 dealing with the Christian instruction of children, echoed in 2 Tim. 3:15-16;

Eph. 6:5-7 and 1 Tim. 6:1-2 dealing with instructions to slaves;

Eph. 6:10-17 and probably 1 Tim. 6:11-12; 3:7; 2 Tim. 2:1, 3, 26; 4:7 dealing with the Christian's warfare and resistance to the devil;

Eph. 5:22-24 and Tit. 2:4-5 dealing with the duties of wives - all reflect catechetical teaching of the early Church and are not inter-dependent.

Again, we find in Ephesians and the Pastorals some material which, if it is not catechetical in each case, is at least common and early and need arouse no suspicion. Thus:

(1) Eph. 5:18 and 1 Tim. 3:8 both give a warning about wine. But teaching against drunkenness was common in the early Church and went back to the teaching of Jesus.

(2) Eph. 2:1-3 and Tit. 3:3 both give a familiar description of the pre-conversion life in Jewish terms.

30. Διάβολος may simply mean 'slanderer' here.
(3) Eph. 1:13 and 2 Tim. 2:15 both mention 'the word of truth'. This was a semi-technical term in the early Church.

(4) Eph. 1:15-17 and 2 Tim. 1:3 both reflect a common epistolary practice. But there are certain passages where both Ephesians and the Pastorals are dependent on Pauline usage. These are:

(1) Eph. 2:1-7 and 1 Tim 1:16-17 treat of the Divine mercy in affording salvation to sinners. This thought is one much emphasized in Paul, and the verb εὐδείκνυμι that occurs in both passages is found (apart from Eph.) only twice outwith the Pauline Corpus and the Pastorals in the New Testament (Heb. 6:10, 11).

(2) Eph. 3:8 and 1 Tim. 1:15 portraying the writer's self-condemnation ('the very least of all the saints', Eph.; 'the foremost of sinners', 1 Tim.), must inevitably be based on something which Paul himself had said or written. No pseudonymous writer could ever have invented this idea. Probably both writings at this point arise from 1 Cor. 15:8-9,

"Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God."

(3) Eph. 1:4-5, cf. 2:4-8, and 2 Tim. 1:9-10 both reflect Paul's doctrine of predestination. The common thought is that God had called his people from all eternity. "The grace had been given before the world was made, but has now been
revealed in the appearance of our Saviour Christ Jesus. Behind these words, there is the thought of something which had already taken place in that higher world which is hidden from us. What happened on earth was only the manifestation in space and time of the things of eternity. 31 Both the writers of Ephesians and the Pastorals have "rightly grasped Paul's idea of the act of salvation as bound up with a cosmic drama, the meaning of which was disclosed by the appearance of Christ. 31 Much the same applies to Eph. 2:4-8 and Tit. 3:4-7, cf. Eph. 3:2-4, 8-9.

4 The picture in Eph. 3:1, 4:1, 6:20 and 2 Tim. 1:8 of Paul as a prisoner is clearly based on similar passages in e.g. Phil., Col., and Phm. We should note that here in Eph. 3:1, Phil. 1:12, 2 Tim. 1:8, Paul is a prisoner in the sense that Christ had made him one for some purpose of his own rather than that he had been imprisoned simply for being a Christian.

In the fourth and last group of passages worth comparing it is doubtful if there is any real affinity at all.

1 Eph. 1:15 and 1 Tim. 3:13 are obviously unrelated.

2 The material on the household of God in Eph. 2:19 and 1 Tim. 3:15 shows no connexion. The only conceivable link is

that Ephesians uses \textit{oikēios tòu Theòu} and 1 Timothy \textit{en oikō Theòu}. But Ephesians is referring to the universal Church; 1 Timothy only to a particular local church-community. The precise phrase 'the household of God' occurs in Heb. 10:21 and 1 Pet. 4:17; and is found in the Synoptics and in almost identical terms in John for the Temple—doubtless the origin of its Christian use. \textit{Oikēios} is only employed again with reference to members of the Church in Gal. 6:10. Its only other occurrence is in 1 Tim. 5:8 literally of persons of the same family or kin. \textit{Oikēios tūdos} is not an uncommon phrase in profane writers for 'acquainted with', e.g., \textit{φιλοσοφίας} ... "32

(3) There is similarly no connexion between Eph. 4:5-6 and 1 Tim. 2:4-5. That there was one God was the fundamental tenet of Judaism carried over into Christianity. That there is one mediator, Christ, links 1 Timothy more closely with Hebrews than with Ephesians. The notion of Christ as the mediator, the great High Priest, constitutes the main theme of Hebrews. The idea of the mediatorship of Christ was common in the Church at this time, though expressed variously, and the doctrine was probably used obliquely to combat gnostic theories.

(4) In Eph. 5:32 the analogy between the relation of husband to wife and Christ to the Church is described as 'a great mystery'. But this is not related to 1 Tim. 3:16 for there

the 'mystery' is "the revealed secret of true religion, the mystery of Christianity, the Person of Christ."  
(5) The mention of love and faith in Eph. 6:23 and 1 Tim. 1:14 clearly is independent.
(6) Eph. 2:19-20 with its mention of 'the foundation of the apostles and prophets', and 2 Tim. 2:19 with its mention of 'God's firm foundation' are likewise unrelated. In Ephesians the idea is that Christians are part of the 'house' of God - the apostles and prophets are the foundation, and the cornerstone is Christ. But in 2 Timothy the 'foundation' probably refers to the group of sincere believers who are the basis of the Church. It may, however, mean Christian teaching or God's law, or Christ. Θεόπλος is only used metaphorically in the Pauline and sub-Pauline writings and in Hebrews. The same vague idea seems to lurk behind these two passages, but it would be very rash to claim that they exhibit any formal connexion.
(7) It is plainly evident that the virtues listed in Eph. 4:2 and 2 Tim. 2:22 are not related.
(8) In Eph. 4:11-12 and 2 Tim. 4:5 'evangelists' are introduced (ἐvangελιστὴς). This word only occurs again in the New Testament in Acts 21:8, and in Ephesians and 2 Timothy it is associated with 'the ministry' (διάκονια). This

33. Luck, W., The Pastoral Epistles, Edinburgh, 1924, pg. 44.
(evangelist) is a rare word in the New Testament and it is not easy to say whether or not Ephesians and 2 Timothy are here directly linked. It is important to notice that the word seems to be used slightly differently in Acts, Ephesians and 2 Timothy. In Acts it is probably not a semi-technical term for a certain type of officer in the Church. Philip is described as an 'evangelist' apparently to remind the readers of his work depicted earlier in Acts (8:12, 35, 40) where εὐαγγέλιος is employed. In Ephesians the word is used to denote "those who are specially engaged in the extension of the Gospel to new regions."34 i.e., it is a special title for a type of person distinct from a prophet or teacher. Moreover, the following διακονία has an official tang. In 2 Timothy, on the other hand, the word appears to lack this technical sense and simply means one who announces the gospel. In addition the idea of a missionary does not fit Timothy well, and διακονία seems just to involve general Church work and duties. On these grounds we are reluctant to affirm that Ephesians and 2 Timothy are here related. Besides, the word εὐαγγελιστής may have been picked up quite independently by the New Testament writers from non-Christian sources for it "occurs in an inscription of Rhodes which may refer to non-Christian oracles."35

34. Robinson, Ephesians, pg. 181.
(9) It is self-evident that there is no formal affinity between Eph. 4:11-12 and 2 Tim. 3:16-17, nor between Eph. 2:10 and Tit. 2:14.

(10) Teaching on the Church in Eph. 5:25-27 and Tit. 2:13-14 is worth comparing. In Titus we have a thoroughly Jewish passage on the conception of the Church as the chosen people, the new Israel. This idea is very prominent in 1 Peter and is the same idea as we find in Paul. Ephesians has the idea of the Church as specially set apart as Christ's Bride. But with this very tenuous similarity in thought the connexion between Ephesians and Titus ends. Not too much should be made of Eph. 5:26 and Tit. 3:3-5 alone using λουτεία in the New Testament. The former passage speaks of the Church being cleansed 'by the washing of water'; the latter of Christians having been saved by 'the washing of regeneration'. In both passages the characteristic Pauline insistence on faith as an indispensable condition of baptism appears to be lacking, and both passages are on the way to a magical view of baptism. Yet this only means that they are reflecting the view current in the Church around them and their selection of the word λουτεία is consistent with such a view and is not necessarily due to inter-dependence.

Thus the literary affinities between Ephesians and the Pastorals are much fewer than might be supposed. Where they do exist they are not to be explained in terms of direct dependence. Rather they have come into being mediately through the common relationship of both Ephesians and the
Pastorals to the Pauline Corpus.

viii. The Pauline Corpus excluding Colossians.

There is a considerable amount of material in Ephesians that indicates an acquaintance with the Pauline Corpus. In this section we are primarily concerned with affinities between Ephesians and Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon. We are not treating the relationship between Ephesians and Colossians. No scholar disputes that Ephesians reproduces most of Colossians and no one has so far satisfactorily explained this phenomenon nor is likely to do so convincingly in the present state of our knowledge. It is a curious literary fact which has to be accepted but which cannot, except in terms of conjecture, meantime be elucidated. For that reason a discussion of the relationship of Ephesians and Colossians would be largely descriptive and consequently redundant. But the remarkable degree of affinity between Ephesians and the rest of the Pauline Corpus has been neglected owing to the peculiar fascination of the Colossian problem. Still, this secondary problem, though less apparent, is of the greatest interest and is worth examining in some detail.

But before we outline the relationship between Ephesians and the Pauline Corpus excluding Colossians we must discount those passages in Ephesians and the Pauline Epistles, which appear to be connected directly, but are in fact due to our
documents all utilizing common and catechetical elements before and around them in time. This is not to say that Ephesians cannot possibly be indebted to Paul in any of these cases, but to assert that direct dependence is neither necessarily nor probably the explanation of these affinities.

(1) **Conventional Epistolary Elements.**

(a) The form of the opening sentence in Eph. 1:1 is not due to borrowing from the Pauline letters (see Rom. 1:1, 7a; 1 Cor. 1:1-2; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1-2; Phil. 1:1; 1 Thess. 1:1a; 2 Thess. 1:1; Phm. 1-2). All are reproducing in Christian dress the pattern which they found around them in contemporary letter writing. Of course, the personal reference in Eph. 1:1, 'Paul, an apostle...', is due to the pseudonymous writer copying Paul.

(b) The benedictory greeting in Eph. 1:2 (as in Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; Phil. 1:2; 1 Thess. 1:1b; 2 Thess. 1:2; Phm. 3) represents simple the Christianizing of the current practice of affixing to the address some such formula as χαίεων, πολλά χαίεων, πλέοντα χαίεων. The process of rehabilitating these benedictory formulae for Christian use almost certainly took place before Paul's day.

(c) After the address and greeting ancient letter writers usually introduced a prayer for the well-being of the recipients or a thanksgiving to the gods. This influence is apparent in Ephesians where the Thanksgiving
occupies 1:3-14 and emerges very clearly in 1:15-17. This latter passage and also Rom. 1:8-10; 1 Cor. 1:4-5; Phil. 1:3-5, 9; 1 Thess. 1:2-3; 2 Thess. 1:3, 11; Phm. 4-6 are all due to this practice and the pseudonymous writer is not dependent here either.

(d) It was further customary to conclude a letter with the 'Vale'. This gave way in Christian letters to the typical benedictory 'grace', and the concluding Christian benedictions in the Pauline letters are essentially pre-Pauline. Thus Eph. 6:23-24; Rom. 16:20/24 ('the text is uncertain); 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 13:14; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; 1 Thess. 5:28; 2 Thess. 3:18 and Phm. 25 are independent.

(e) A very frequent epistolary phrase — μη χαλασαί τοι — is found in Eph. 4:1; Rom. 12:1; 15:30; 16:17; 1 Cor. 1:10; 4:16; 16:16; 2 Cor. 2:8; Phil. 4:2. Here again the writer of Ephesians may not have been influenced by Paul, though the possibility always remains that he has been, since Paul uses the phrase quite often.

(2) Common Doxological Elements.

Elements illustrative of the two main types of doxology occur in Ephesians.

(a) In Eph. 1:3 we have a developed example of the type of doxology commencing with the word 'Blessed'. This variety appears again in Rom. 9:5; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31, and was well known and quite 'fixed' in form before Paul's day.
(b) In Eph. 3:20-21 we have a similarly developed example of the type of doxology that ascribes 'glory' to God. This variety re-appears in Rom. 11:36; 16:27; Gal. 1:5; Phil. 4:20. It is also of great age and like type (a) is Jewish in origin.

In neither Eph. 1:3 nor 3:20-21 is it necessary to postulate literary dependence.

(3) An Apologetic Credal-Doctrinal Fragment in Ephesians.

In Ephesian 1:20-22 we have a semi-credal-doctrinal statement of the early Church that incorporates three articles, viz.,

Christ's resurrection.
Christ's session at the right hand of God.
Christ's universal transcendence.

This simple 'creed' is found also in Rom. 8:34-39 and its three articles are individually freely distributed throughout the New Testament. The first article was a commonplace and was stereotyped into probably two main forms. The second article was likewise drawn from 'stock' and was the result of 'testimony' work. The third article, employing lists of 'powers' over which Christ is supreme, was frequent and common. It recurs in Eph. 3:10; 6:12; 1 Cor. 15:24 (cf. 24-27); and Phil. 2:10. The contrast in Eph. 1:21b between 'this age' and 'that age' was perfectly familiar in Rabbinic thought. These Ephesian passages are quite independent.
(4) A Baptismal Hymn in Ephesians.

In Eph. 5:14 we find a fragment of a baptismal hymn embedded in a passage using the motif of light and darkness—a passage which as a whole probably reflects a type of catechetical material.

(5) The Doctrine of the 'Stoneship' of Christ in Ephesians.

This primitive doctrine emerges in Eph. 2:20b and appears again independently in Rom. 9:32-33.


This triad is incorporated in Eph. 4:2-5. We find it again pre-eminently in 1 Cor. 13:13; fairly clearly in Gal. 5:5-6; 1 Thess. 1:3, 5:8 and less obviously in Rom. 5:1-5. In respect of this triad these Epistles can hardly be held to exhibit interdependence.

(7) The Doctrines of the Descent and the Ascension of Christ in Ephesians.

These two doctrines are presented together as an indivisible pair in Eph. 4:8-10. The doctrine of the Ascension was spread in various forms all through the early Church, and that of the Descent had a similar popularity though it is merely a figure for the 'death' in the New Testament except in the case of 1 Peter. The joint presentation of these two ideas and the use of καταβαίνω and ἀναβαίνω in Eph., Rom. 10:6-7, and John 3:13 may suggest (but this by no means necessarily follows) that the twin concepts—he died, he rose—were sometimes given in a fixed formula. It is not at all
likely, however, that here Ephesians betrays any indebtedness to a specific document.

(8) **The Idea of 'Sealing' in Ephesians.**

In Eph. 1:13-14, 4:30 we meet with the notion of the Christian being sealed. This again is a very old figure common in Judaism and heathenism, and it is very doubtful, with one exception, whether Ephesians is influenced by or influences any other New Testament document. Certainly Ephesians and Revelation are independent here, for not only is the idea a common one but it has also often a quite different reference in Revelation. Ephesians and Rom. 4:11 are also independent. But Ephesians and 2 Cor. 1:22, 5:5 are probably more formally related since both add to the thought of sealing that of the 'pledge' (δεμοσιον) - a word confined to these passages in these two Epistles in the New Testament.

(9) **Material reflecting a Primitive Christian Catechism, or closely associated with Catechetical Teaching.**

(a) The gospel is 'the word' or 'the word of truth'. This semi-technical phrase occurs in Eph. 1:13 and 1 Thess. 1:6, cf. 1:5. Both passages are using a common and familiar term from Christian instruction.

(b) The transformation that results from hearing the word is portrayed under four different metaphors in the New Testament - those of rebirth, new creation, the old and the new man, and the passing from darkness to light. The first
figure is unknown in Ephesians; the second, which is purely Pauline, may be echoed in Eph. 2:15; the third, which is also exclusively Pauline, appears in Eph. 4:22-24; the fourth, which is very common in the New Testament, is found in Eph. 5:7-14. The third, and possibly the second, of these metaphors has found its way into Ephesians through the influence of the Pauline Epistles; but the last is due to Ephesians reporting a common figure in the early Church, and we cannot maintain that there is any dependence between Eph. 5:7-14, Rom. 13:12, 2 Cor. 6:14-15; 1 Thess. 5:4-5, and, more remotely, Phil. 2:5.

(c) The idea that the new life involves the abandoning of certain things introduces the ἀποκλίθημα formula. This formula occurs in Eph. 4:25 ff., but it is not typical of the Pauline Corpus and only appears there less formally in Rom. 13:11b-14. Both Ephesians and Romans at this point show a common pattern. Thus:

| The things to be abandoned | | | | | |
| A paraenesis | | | | | |

The similarity here is, however, best explained by saying that both Epistles are employing an underlying and well known formula.

(d) Teaching on worship is found in Eph. 5:18-20; Rom.12:1-2; 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 2 Cor. 5:17. Significantly in Phil. 2:10-11 and 1 Thess. 5:12-13. It is largely used in these passages.
share is that they all handle the general topic of worship. 
1 and 2 Corinthians and to a lesser extent Romans are, unlike 
Ephesians, levitical in tone. The passage in Ephesians, as 
in Colossians, merely follows the practice of the catechism 
of introducing material on worship after material on 
renunciation and before material on subordination. There is 
here no direct relationship between Ephesians and the Pauline 
Corpus.

(e) Teaching on catechumen virtues occurs in Eph. 4:1-3, 32, 
5:2, and in Rom. 12:9-19 and 1 Thess. 5:12-22. There is no 
direct dependence here either. The Ephesian section is 
liberal in outlook; those of Romans and 1 Thessalonians are 
neo-levitical. The primitive Church did give teaching on 
virtues appropriate to catechumens, and Ephesians possibly 
reflects a catechetical section based on the teaching of 
Jesus. Romans and 1 Thessalonians are here mainly founded on 
Old Testament material.

(f) Teaching on subordination is given in Eph. 5:21-6:9; 
but is by no means prominent in the Pauline Corpus. Indeed 
the only good example of it is in Rom. 13:1-7 which inculcates 
obedience to the civil power - an injunction absent from 
Ephesians. 1 Cor. 11:3 may echo teaching on the duty of 
women to be subordinate and Gal. 5:13 may echo teaching on 
mutual subordination.

(g) Teaching on being alert, praying, standing firm, and 
resisting the devil belongs to the concluding section of the 
catechism, and is given in Eph. 6:10-18. It is found most
prominently in the Pauline Corpus in 1 Thess. 5:6-8, cf. 17-18, and emerges in 1 Cor. 16:13 and perhaps in 2 Cor. 2:11. But there is no interdependence present.

(h) A specialised use of \( \Theta \eta \nu \) in the phrase 'the will of the Lord' occurs in Eph. 5:17, Rom. 12:2, and 1 Thess. 5:16-18, and is almost certainly derived from the rôle of the 'sermon' in the instruction of catechumens. These passages are all independently due to that usage.

In all these passages Ephesians is using common and catechetical material of the early Church, and it is most improbable that it is dependent at these points on the Pauline Epistles. But we must now consider a number of passages which show that the writer of Ephesians had direct knowledge of most, if not all, of the Pauline Corpus. Here we are not concerned primarily to demonstrate the many doctrinal affinities between Ephesians and the fully Pauline writings. These are self-evident and accepted by all. Ephesians is always regarded as a thoroughly 'Pauline' document and would never have earned the reputation of being what may be termed a symposium of Paulinism if its thought had not been in the closest relation to that of Paul. Rather we are concerned to exemplify the widespread borrowing not only of ideas but of words and phrases from the letters of Paul - borrowings that prove a detailed knowledge of the written works of the apostle. The following passages provide the principal examples of the dependence on Paul of the unknown writer of Ephesians.
(1) The idea of God's (eternal) selection of Christians in Eph. 1:4 is in practically the same terms as 2 Thess. 2:13, and very strongly resembles 1 Cor. 1:26-31. Rom. 5:1-11 is also worth comparing.

(2) The idea of sonship, of Christians being destined to be sons of God, which we have in Eph. 1:5 is prominent in Rom. 8:14-29, especially in verses 14-15, 23, and in Gal. 3:26; 4:5-7. The word ἴδιοθεία, which is not found in the Septuagint or other Greek version of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha nor in classical Greek, though it is found frequently in inscriptions in formulae, for the adoption of a son, never occurs in the New Testament except in these three Epistles, and there only in the passages cited but for Rom. 9:4 where it is used of Israel.

(3) The idea of redemption and forgiveness through the blood of Christ in Eph. 1:7 was common enough in the early Church. The actual phrase 'forgiveness of sins' is only found once in Paul in Col. 1:14 on which our passage is based. (Eph. uses παλάπτωμα; Col. ἰματια). The word 'redemption' in Ephesians only has parallels in Rom. 3:24; 8:23; 1 Cor. 1:30, and Col. 1:14 in the Pauline Corpus. Its occurrences in Hebrews and Luke do not provide a true analogy. It seems

clear that Ephesians is here indebted not only to Colossians, but also to the language of Paul elsewhere, and, of course, to his thought: in passages like Romans 3:24-25, 5:9, 1 Corinthians 6:20, 7:23 ('You were bought with a price').

(4) The use of the word 'riches' in Ephesians 1:7, 18; 2:7, 3:8, 16 is of special interest. There are three curious features to note about these passages. They are:

(a) The word πλούτος is used in four different ways in the New Testament.

It is used literally of external possessions in Matthew 13:22 = Mark 4:19 = Luke 8:14; 1 Timothy 6:17; James 5:2; Revelation 18:17.

It is used in a doxological utterance by the heavenly host in Revelation 5:12 of something which the Lamb is worthy to receive.

It is used insignificantly in Hebrews 11:26 in an everyday metaphor applied to Moses, "He considered abuse suffered for the Christ greater wealth than the treasures of Egypt." The predominant use is that in Paul where it is always employed with reference to something pertaining to the intrinsic nature of God, or to the purpose of God for men, viz., Romans 2:4; 9:23; 11:12, 33; Philippians 4:19; Colossians 1:27; 2:2.

2 Corinthians 8:2 is only an apparent exception for although there the word is used with immediate reference
to men - "a wealth of liberality on their part" - the phrase is regarded as describing "the grace of God which has been shown in the Churches of Macedonia" in 8:1. It is in this particular Pauline connexion that the word is always used in Ephesians.

(b) The word is only used as a neuter in some Pauline sections (2 Cor. 8:2; Phil. 4:19; Col. 1:27, 2:2) and in Eph. 1:7; 2:7; 3:8, 16. It is masculine everywhere else in the New Testament.

(c) In Eph 2:7 we find the phrase 'the immeasurable riches of his grace' (τελετος), and in 2 Cor. 9:14 the phrase 'the surpassing grace of God' (τελετος).

τελετος is only found in the New Testament, apart from the passages cited, in these same two Epistles in 2 Cor. 3:10 and in Eph. 1:19; 3:19.

It looks very much as if there is a close connexion between the 'riches' passages in Ephesians and those in the Pauline Corpus.

(5) The notions of the Divine mystery, purpose and will, and of revelation found in Eph. 1:9-11; 3:3-5, 9-11 are clearly indebted to Paul. These passages are not only intimately linked with Col. 1:24-27, but also with Rom. 16:25-26 and 1 Cor. 2:7-10. Words and phrases in these Ephesian sections also echo Rom. 8:28-30; 9:11,19; 1 Cor. 4:1; Gal. 1:4; 12, 16; Phil. 2:13; Col. 2:2; 4:3. There are one or two interesting linguistic affinities.
Πρόθεσις meaning the Divine purpose, as in Eph. 1:11; 3:11, is only used in that sense elsewhere in the New Testament in Rom. 8:28 and 9:11, and in the sub-Pauline 2 Tim. 1:9.

Προειδομένος of Eph. 1:9 is found again in the New Testament only in Rom. 1:13; 3:25.

In Eph. 1:10 it is said that God's purpose is 'to sum up' all things in Christ. The verb used, ἀνακεφαλαίω, is found again in the New Testament only in Rom. 13:9. Compare Col. 1:20.

In Eph. 3:9 we have the 'hidden mystery' as in Col. 1:26. There is almost an exact linguistic parallel in 1 Cor. 2:7, "we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God."

Αποκρύπτω is never used in connexion with 'mystery', or in fact in any other connexion, in the New Testament except in these passages, but for Luke 10:21. But the relative dating of 1 Cor., Col., Eph., and Luke renders unimportant the Lukan example.

In Eph. 3:3 we read that "the mystery was made known to me by revelation", and in Rom. 16:25 we have the phrase "the revelation of the mystery". It is only in these two passages in the whole New Testament that ἀποκάλυψις and μυστήριον are coupled.

For the thought of these passages we should compare Gal. 1:11-12.

(6) The idea of the raising of believers with Christ in Eph. 2:5 is almost certainly primarily dependent on Col. 2:12; 3:1. Συνεγέρω, used of the Christian's
mystical resurrection with Christ, is found only in these three passages. On the other hand, the thought of both Ephesians and Colossians clearly recalls Rom. 4:6-11, and it is worth noting that συνθάνειον, in the symbolical sense of baptism, occurs only in Col. 2:12, "You were buried with him in baptism" and in Rom. 6:4 "we were buried with him by baptism". The thought of Ephesians may also echo Phil. 3:20.

(7) The teaching in Eph. 2:8-9 that salvation is a gift of grace and not due to works is, of course, typically Pauline, and is found, e.g., in Rom. 3:24-28, and indeed throughout chapters 3-5 of Romans, cf. 9:32. We may also compare Gal. 2:16.

(8) The mention of 'boasting' (καυχόμενοι) in Eph. 2:9 recalls several Pauline passages, especially 1 Cor. 1:29-31 (verse 31 quotes Jer. 9:23-24). It is curious that καυχόμενοι and its related words καύχησις and καύχησις are almost exclusively Pauline in the New Testament. Thus: καυχόμενοι is found 34 times in Paul (4 in LXX quotations) and twice in James.
καύχησις is found 10 times in Paul and once in Hebrews.
καύχησις is found 10 times in Paul and once in James.

(9) The teaching on circumcision and uncircumcision in Eph. 2:11 in thought and language not only strongly resembles Col. 2:11-13, cf. 3:11, but also Rom. 2:25-29; Gal. 6:12-15; Phil. 3:2-7. It may also remotely recall 1 Cor.12:2.
The words ἀκροβυστία and περιτομή are overwhelmingly Pauline in their incidence in the New Testament, the former occurring only once, apart from Ephesians, outwith the Pauline Corpus; the latter six times, apart from Ephesians, one instance being in the Pastorals.

(10) Eph. 2:12, "...you were at that time separated from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world," seems obviously to be based on Col. 1:21. Ἀπαλλοτρίω is found only in Ephesians 2:12, 4:18 and Col. 1:21 in the New Testament. At the same time Ephesians may also be influenced by Gal. 4:8-9,

"formerly, when you did not know God, you were in bondage to beings that by nature are no gods."

Compare Gal. 5:4, "You are severed from Christ."

(11) In Eph. 2:14, 17 we have the idea of Christ bringing peace to men, especially in the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile. Rom. 5:1-2 also makes the point that through Christ men have peace with God. Both passages associate the idea of peace with that of access. It may be, on the other hand, that Ephesians is simply drawing on Isaianic passages here, and in addition Ephesians has at this point a manward reference but Romans a Godward. The idea in Ephesians is expressed in different terms in Gal. 3:28.

(12) The material on 'new creation' in Eph. 2:15; cf. 2:10, is almost certainly based on the specifically Pauline metaphor
of 'new creation' which is found in 2 Cor. 5:17 and Gal. 6:15. But in Ephesians, as usually happens, the figure has been transferred from the individual to the ecclesiastical domain. (13) It is highly probable that the passages on confidence and access in Eph. 2:18, 3:12 are indebted for their language to Paul, even though the thought was quite frequent in the early Church. Ephesians here seems to recall Rom. 5:1-2 and 2 Cor. 3:4, 12. Ἡσυχία, which is not found in the Septuagint or in any other Greek version of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, only occurs in these two verses in Ephesians and in the Roman passage in the whole New Testament. Ἐκκλησίας is found only in Eph. 3:12 and in the Pauline Corpus in the New Testament - in 2 Cor. 3:4 above, and 2 Cor. 1:15, 8:22, 10:2; Phil. 3:4.

(14) The idea of the Church or the believer being a dwelling-place of the Divine, such as we have in Eph. 2:20-22; 3:17, reflects Rom. 8:9-12; 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 2 Cor. 6:16, 13:5. In Ephesians the setting tends to be ecclesiastical rather than individualistic. These passages in Ephesians have also some minor linguistic affinities with Colossians and other Pauline Epistles.

(15) The 'building' and 'edification' metaphor of Eph. 2:20-22; 4:12-16, 29, though not an uncommon figure and pre-Christian in origin, yet seems in Ephesians to be dependent on Paul. We should compare especially 1 Cor. 3:10-16 and also 1 Cor. 14:12, 26; 2 Cor. 10:8; 12:19; 13:9-10. It
is worth noting that the metaphorical use of οἰκοδομή in the New Testament, for a building or for the act of building, is confined to Ephesians and the Pauline Corpus. Indeed the word is almost confined entirely within these limits, for it is only found in the literal sense three times in the rest of the New Testament in Matt. 24:1 = Mk. 13:1, 2.

(16) Those passages in Ephesians which represent Paul as a prisoner are obviously based on sections of the Pauline Epistles in order to lend vraisemblance to the homily. The same naturally applies to the inclusion of Paul's name in Eph. 1:1, and to the personal references in Eph. 6:21-22 (cf. Col. 4:7-9). Eph. 3:1, 4:1 are clearly dependent on passages like 2 Cor. 6:4; Phil. 1:7, 13-14, 17; Col. 4:3, 18; Phm. 8-10, 13.

Eph. 6:20 - "I am an ambassador in chains" is most probably directly due to 2 Cor. 5:20 - "So we are ambassadors for Christ." — περιβάλλοντας — only occurring in these two verses in the New Testament. In Phm. 9 the noun περιβάλλοντας = περιβαλλόντας is found and may there mean an ambassador. If so, Eph. 6:20 could be dependent on Phm. also.

(17) In Eph. 3:2, 7-8 we find mention of the stewardship of grace, or the gift of grace, given to the apostle. Eph. 3:2 is paralleled in Col. 1:24-26. οἰκονομία, used in the sense of the stewardship entrusted to the apostle, is only found in the Ephesian and Colossian verses given and in 1 Cor. 9:17.
The Ephesian passages are further closely matched by Rom. 12:3, 15:15; 1 Cor. 3:10, 1:4. The thought is balanced in Gal. 1:15-16, 2:7-9. The phrase 'the grace given to me' is typically Pauline, and Ephesians is here entirely indebted. (18) The stress on Paul's knowledge as seen in Eph. 3:4 "my insight into the mystery of Christ," has certainly been added by the writer of Ephesians in a not too successful attempt to lend reality to his letter. Ephesians may well recall here 2 Cor. 11:5-6, and passages like 1 Cor. 2:7-8 or Gal. 2:7-8 may be at the back of the writer's mind. (19) The mention of the apostle's message in Eph. 3:5-6 is likewise obviously based on such sections as 1 Cor. 2:6-10 and especially Gal. 3:26-29 and Col. 3:11. (20) There may be a formal link between what is said about losing heart in Eph. 3:13 and in Paul's letters. ἔννοια is not found in the Septuagint version of the Hebrew canonical books nor in classical Greek. In Paul it is only found in passages comparable with that in Ephesians, viz. 2 Cor. 4:1, 16; Gal. 6:9; 2 Thess. 3:13. It is only once elsewhere in the New Testament in Luke 18:1. (21) In Eph. 3:16 the metaphor of 'the inner man' is derived from Paul. This metaphor is exclusively Paul's and only appears in his writings in the New Testament, viz., Rom. 7:22 and 2 Cor. 4:16. Indeed the best exegesis of Eph. 3:16 is
provided for by 2 Cor. 4:16.

(22) Strangely enough the phrase 'the love of Christ' of Eph. 3:19 is only found in the New Testament again in Rom. 8:35 and 2 Cor. 5:14. In Ephesians it is described as the love of Christ that surpasses knowledge (ἐνίκησις).

ἐνίκησις is confined to Ephesians and 2 Corinthians.

(23) The emphasis on the concept of unity in the Church and the unity of Jew and Gentile therein, which appears in Eph. 2:14; 3:6; 4:3-7, 25; 5:30, derives principally from Rom. 4:13-17; 12:4-5; 1 Cor. 10:17, and the whole twelfth chapter of 1 Corinthians, especially 12:4-6, 13, 27. Associated passages are Rom. 8:17 (συνεκαθομένος — a rare New Testament word — only here and in Eph. 3:6); 3:30; 1 Cor. 1:13; Gal. 3:28; cf. Phil. 1:27.

Phrases of the sort 'members one of another' (Eph. 4:25) or 'members of his body' (Eph. 5:30) are elsewhere confined to the Pauline Corpus. In fact μέλος is never used figuratively outside the Pauline Corpus and Ephesians.

(24) The teaching in Eph. 4:1 on 'leading a worthy life' recalls Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:12 (cf. 2 Thess. 1:11); Phil. 1:27. ἁγίασμα is an uncommon word found in the New Testament only once outside Paul, apart from Ephesians.

Περιπατεῖται ἁγίασμα only occurs in Eph. 4:1; Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:12 in the whole New Testament.

(25) In Eph. 4:7, 11, 12 we have a passage on the gifts Christ gives the Church. These are that some should be
apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. This is influenced by 1 Cor. 12, especially 12:8-10, 28, and also perhaps by Rom. 12:6-8. It is quite possible that 'testimony' work underlies both Ephesians and 1 Corinthians at this point.

(26) The 'babe' metaphor of Eph. 4:14 is paralleled in Gal. 4:3; 1 Cor. 3:1; cf. Rom. 2:20; 1 Thess. 2:7. But there may not necessarily be a direct link here. We discover the same figure in Heb. 5:13, and the metaphorical use of this word (νήπιος) goes back probably to the teaching of Jesus and beyond that to the Old Testament.

(27) The description of the former pagan state in Eph. 4:17-19 is in common Jewish terms such as we get in 2 Cor. 12:21 or Col. 1:21. Yet the connexion seems more than accidental in the case of Rom. 1:18-32, especially 1:21, 24, 29. Not only is the thought there the same, but there are also strong linguistic affinities. Ephesians has the words ματαιότης, σκοτία, ἀκρασία, πλεονεξία in that order, and Romans preserves exactly the same sequence with ματαιόω, σκοτίζω, ἀκρασία, πλεονεξία.

(28) The curious phrase in Eph. 4:21, 'as the truth is in Jesus', appears to recall 2 Cor. 11:10, 'as the truth of Christ is in me.' It may also be related to Rom. 9:1, 'I am speaking the truth in Christ,' though that is much less likely.

(29) The metaphor of the old and the new man of Eph. 4:22-24
is beyond dispute Pauline and is derived from Col. 3:9-10; Rom. 6:5-11, especially 6:6. The odd term in Eph. 4:23, 'be renewed in the spirit of your mind,' recollects Rom. 12:2, 'be transformed by the renewal of your mind.' The idea of 'putting on the new man' is worth comparing with similar Pauline turns of phrase like Rom. 13:14, 'Put on the Lord Jesus Christ,' and Gal. 3:27, 'For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ.'

(30) The teaching in Eph. 4:28 on honest work recalls 1 Cor. 4:12; 1 Thess. 4:11-12. A somewhat similar thought occurs in Acts 20:34-35. The idea may be a common one and we may have here a fragment of early teaching. Still the parallelism with 1 Thessalonians in particular is remarkable in both language and thought.

(31) The idea of 'imitation' which we find in Eph. 5:1 is probably due to Paul. Ephesians runs, 'Therefore be imitators of God,' and this echoes several Pauline phrases, e.g., 1 Cor. 4:16, '... be imitators of me', and 11:1, 'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.' There are close parallels also in Phil. 3:17 and 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14. Outside Paul and Ephesians μιμησις is only found once in the New Testament, though the thought is found elsewhere especially in 1 Pet. 2:18-25.

(32) There is an amazing likeness between Eph. 5:2 and Phil. 4:18. Thus, Eph. 5:2,

"... as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God..."

(προσφοραν και θυσίαν τῷ Θεῷ εἰς ὑμῖν εὐωδίαν)
Phil. 4:13, "...having received from Epaphroditus the gifts you sent, a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God."

(ὄσμην εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτήν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ)

'Οσμή, a smell or odour, is used literally in John 12:3. Elsewhere in the New Testament it is found only metaphorically in the passages given and in 2 Cor. 2:14, 16 where it is associated with Christ as in Ephesians.

Εὐωδία, fragrance, is found again in the New Testament only in 2 Cor. 2:15 and there it is again associated with Christ. The phrase ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας (a metaphor of sacrifice which is most frequent in the Pentateuch and in Ezekiel - it occurs about forty times in the Pentateuch and four in Ezekiel) is only found in the New Testament in these passages from Ephesians and Philippians, although the two words are closely connected in 2 Corinthians. Ephesians seems here to be directly dependent on Philippians and probably also on 2 Corinthians.

(33) In Eph. 5:3-5 certain vices are listed. This list bears a family likeness to those in Paul, e.g., Gal. 5:19-21; Col. 3:5; and especially 1 Cor. 5:10-11; 6:9-10. Generally such lists of vices in the New Testament are not due to direct dependence between writings. Such lists were familiar to the Jews, and many of the vices given in Ephesians are common in the Septuagint. Here, however, there seems to be a formal connexion between Ephesians and the Pauline Corpus and in particular with 1 Corinthians.

We should observe that πλεονέκτης of Ephesians, which
is not in the Septuagint version of the Hebrew canonical books, is only found again in the New Testament in 1 Cor. 5:10-11; 6:10.

which is not in the Septuagint nor in any other Greek version of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha nor in classical Greek, is only found in Ephesians and in 1 Cor. 5:10-11; 6:9-10; 10:7, apart from two instances in Revelation.

Again Eph. 5:5 states that no immoral man 'has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ or of God.' In 1 Cor. 6:9-10 practically the same phrase is found twice. In 1 Cor. 6:9 it is said that 'the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God,' and in 1 Cor. 6:10 that thieves, etc., will not 'inherit the kingdom of God.'

The phrase in Eph. 5:16 (cf. 6:13) that 'the days are evil' may echo Gal. 1:4, 'the present evil age.'

The picture of Christ as Bridegroom is presented in Eph. 5:25-32. The marriage metaphor is very old and common, but it is quite possible that Ephesians is here picking up and developing the idea cast out in 2 Cor. 11:2, "I feel a divine jealousy for you, for I betrothed you to Christ to present you as a pure bride to her one husband."

In the teaching in Eph. 6:5 on the obedience of slaves we find the phrase 'with fear and trembling' (μετὰ φόβου καὶ τέρτου). We have already seen that 'fear' was probably an original element in the code of subordination. The
interesting point, however, is that the exact phrase of Ephesians is found again in 2 Cor. 7:15 and Phil. 2:12 and nowhere else. \(\phi\beta\omicron\sigma\varsigma\) and \(\tau\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\) are only again employed together in 1 Cor. 2:3 (ἐν \(\phi\beta\omicron\sigma\varsigma\) καὶ ἐν \(\tau\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\)). Apart from 1 and 2 Cor., Phil., and Eph. \(\tau\rho\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\) is only found once in the New Testament in Mk. 16:8. On the other hand, the thought behind this phrase may go back independently to the Old Testament, compare, e.g., Gen. 9:2 and Ex. 15:16.

(37) The passage in Eph. 6:6 on eye-service and men-pleasing must be based on Col. 3:22. ὁ \(\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\  \omega\beta\omicron\nu\lambda\ion{da}\) and ἀνθρωπάρεσκος are only in these two passages in the New Testament. But we get the same thought in Gal. 1:10 and 1 Thess. 2:4 (ἀνθρωπός ἄρεσκεν). Compare Rom. 8:8; 15:2-3.

(38) Practically everything, as we have seen, in Eph. 6:10-18 is due to common and catechetical material. 6:12-13 may also, however, be partly indebted to 2 Cor. 10:3-4. Compare Rom. 8:38-39.

(39) The prayer for the apostle in Eph. 6:19-20 is based on the usual practice in the Pauline letters in order to lend verisimilitude to the homily. Ephesians is here directly dependent on Col. 4:2-4, but it has also much in common with Rom. 15:30; 2 Cor. 6:11; Phil. 1:19-20; and 1 Thess. 2:2.

\(\Pi\alpha\epsilon\nu\gamma\iota\alpha\iota\Sigma\omicron\alpha\varsigma\) of Eph. 6:20 only occurs in the Pauline Corpus in 1 Thess. 2:2, though it is found several times in acts.

There are a few other cases in which Ephesians seems to
be dependent on 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians. These are:

(40) The apostle's self-belittlement in Eph. 3:8 is undoubtably founded on 1 Cor. 15:9.

(41) The teaching on the washing and consecration of the Church in Eph. 5:26-27 may well represent an elaboration of 1 Cor. 6:11 transferred to the ecclesiastical realm of thought. 

'Ἀφελεία is used in the same forensic sense of 'freeing from guilt' in both passages, and ἀπολούω of 1 Corinthians is represented by λουτρόν in Ephesians. It is very probable that the writer of Ephesians was acquainted with this Corinthian passage.

(42) The notion of the 'pledge' in Eph. 1:13-14 is dependent on 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5. 'Ἀφεβίων is only found in these passages in the New Testament.

(43) In Eph. 2:19 we have the phrase 'members of the household of God', and in Gal. 6:10 the phrase, 'those who are of the household of faith.' Ὀικεῖος is only used metaphorically in these two passages in the New Testament. Literally it occurs only once in the sub-Pauline 1 Tim. 5:8.

(44) There may be some sort of direct link between Eph. 5:2 (see 5:25), 'as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us,' and Gal. 2:20, 'who loved me and gave himself up for me.' There is nothing unusual in the thought of these passages, but strangely enough they are the only two passages in the New Testament that speak of Christ giving up himself.

(Παρὲσιμον). But we should compare Gal. 1:4 and the
There may be a tenuous connexion between the image of 'the fruit of light' in Eph. 5:9 and 'the fruit of the Spirit' in Gal. 5:22-23.

ix. Note on the Date of Ephesians.

The date of our Epistle cannot be determined with the same accuracy when the Pauline authorship of the Epistle is refuted and when the use of 1 Peter by the unknown writer is denied. Still, we are left with the facts that the Pauline Corpus was familiar to the writer of Ephesians, and that indubitably the bulk of Colossians was used by him. This fixes the terminus a quo at circa 61 A.D. at the earliest. A still later point is indicated by the fact that the doctrine of Ephesians shows so considerable an advance over that of Colossians.

The terminus ad quem can only be approximately fixed from traces of the Epistle in later and extra-canonical Christian writings and from certain doctrinal features in Ephesians.

The genuine Epistle of Saint Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written about the end of Domitian’s persecution, i.e., circa 96 A.D., appears to show fairly clear signs of a knowledge of Ephesians. For example, the following passages are worth comparing:
Ephesians.

1:3-4. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him.

1:18. ...having the eyes of your hearts enlightened, that you may know what is the hope to which he has called you, what are the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints.

Clement of Rome.

64.38 Finally may the All-seeing God and Master of spirits and Lord of all flesh, who chose the Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him for a peculiar people, grant unto every soul that is called after His excellent and Holy Name faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, chastity and soberness, that they may be well-pleasing unto His Name through our High-priest and Guardian Jesus Christ, through whom unto Him be glory and majesty, might and honour, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.

59:3.39 (Grant unto us, Lord,) that we may set our hope on Thy Name which is the primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our hearts, that we may know Thee, who... cf. 36:2 below.

38. Lightfoot, A.P. Fath, pgs. 84-85,

There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all.

... they are darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them, due to their hardness of heart.

Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us? And is there not one calling in Christ?

... through Him the eyes of our hearts were opened; through Him our foolish and darkened mind springeth up unto the light.

Certain of the Epistles of Saint Ignatius and the Epistle of Saint Polycarp, which belong to the early years of the second century (circa 110-120 A.D.) show even more clearly the influence of Ephesians. Thus:

**Ephesians.**

1:23. ... the Church, which is his body, the fulness of him who fills all in all.

2:16. ... and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end.

**Ignatius.**

To the Smyrneans.

1:242 ... That He might set up an ensign unto all the ages through His resurrection, for His saints and faithful people, whether among Jews or among Gentiles, in one Body of His Church.

Ephesians.

3:9. and to make all men see what is the plan of the mystery hidden for ages in God who created all things.

4:2-3... with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

5:1. Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children.

Ignatius.

To the Ephesians.

19:1-2. 43 hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing and likewise also the death of the Lord - three mysteries to be cried aloud - the which were wrought in the silence of God. How then were they made manifest to the ages?

To Saint Polycarp.

1:2 44 Have a care for union, than which there is nothing better. Bear all men, as the Lord also beareth thee. Suffer all men in love, as also thou doest.

To the Ephesians.

1:1 45 ... being imitators of God, and having your hearts kindled...

10:3 46 ... but let us be zealous to be imitators of the Lord...

Ephesians.

5:25. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the Church.

6:13-14. Therefore, take the whole armour of God, that you may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breast-plate of righteousness.

2:8-9. For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing; it is the gift of God - not because of works, lest any man should boast.

4:26. Be angry but do not sin; do not let the sun go down on your anger.

Ignatius.

To Saint Polycarp.

5:147 In like manner also charge my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, as the Lord loved the Church.

6:48 Please the Captain in whose army ye serve, from whom also ye will receive your pay. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism abide with you as your shield; your faith as your helmet; your love as your spear; your patience as your body armour.

The Epistle of Saint Polycarp.

1:349 ...forasmuch as ye know that it is by grace ye are saved, not of works, but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

12:150 Only as it is said in these scriptures, Be ye angry and sin not, and let not the sun set on your wrath.
From this evidence we may say with confidence that Ephesians was in existence before 120 A.D., and almost certainly before 96 A.D. for its affinities with Clement of Rome's Epistle seem more than accidental. Further, a date before John's Gospel, i.e., before circa 90-100 A.D., appears to be altogether likely because the thought of Ephesians, although approaching a Johannine position, has yet all the marks of being less developed and earlier in time than the full 'Johanninism' of the Fourth Gospel. The probability is that our Epistle is to be placed between 60 and 90 A.D., and nearer the latter than the former for three main reasons (the last two of which to a certain extent overlap); first, because of its strong, Johannine tendencies; second, because of its doctrinal advance over Colossians; third, because of the catholicism of its ecclesiology. Perhaps a date between 80 and 85 A.D. is the most likely for Ephesians.

x. Brief Summary of Results.

Our principal study has been that of the literary affinities of Ephesians with other documents of the New Testament. This problem has of necessity involved the discussion of the closely related problems of the Epistle's destination, authorship, and date.

In investigating the riddle of the literary affinities of our Epistle we have throughout taken for granted the close, extensive and formal relationship that exists between Ephesians and Colossians. The conclusions reached regarding
the connexion between Ephesians and other writings of the New Testament, are as follow:

(1) There are no traces whatsoever of direct literary dependence between Ephesians and Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter. All the apparent parallels either vanish upon examination, or else are due to our documents utilizing common and sometimes catechetical material of the early Church. In the case of James, for example, every seeming contact with Ephesians arises from both Epistles drawing independently on catechetical elements.

(2) There is no evidence of direct literary dependence between Ephesians and Revelation. Some of the 'affinities' simply do not exist. The presence of such as do exist is to be attributed to each writing using common beliefs and doctrines of the Church.

(3) Ephesians shows no formal affinities with Matthew and Mark.

(4) It is virtually a certainty that Ephesians betrays no direct contacts with Luke-Acts. In the instance of Luke practically all the shared material is due to the common employment of familiar thoughts and forms of first century Christianity. In the instance of Acts the alleged affinities retire into insignificance on inspection; and the data so often produced concerning the supposed phenomena exhibited by the vocabulary of Ephesians and Luke-Acts lose all their impressiveness when set against the wider background of the vocabulary of the canonical and extra-canonical books of the
Old Testament in Greek.

(5) Ephesians, the Gospel of John, and 1 and 2 John undoubt-
    edly share a common outlook and breathe a very similar atmos-
    phere. But only in the case of two passages in the Gospel
    is there even the possibility of direct dependence upon
    Ephesians. That possibility rests in the main on singularly
    slender linguistic arguments and never amounts to anything
    more striking than a suspicion.

(6) In the case of Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles the
    position is somewhat different. Some of the "affinities" are
    mere figments of the imagination. Some are to be explained in
    terms of common and catechetical material. Indeed we do not
    find any affinity that points to direct dependence. But, on
    the other hand, some are clearly due to both Ephesians and the
    Pastorals borrowing from the Pauline Corpus. That is to say
    that at certain junctures Ephesians and the Pastorals are
    related in a secondary manner through these affinitites
    'once removed' that came into being mediately because of the
    mutual relationship of both Ephesians and the Pastorals to
    the Pauline Corpus.

(7) The connexion between Ephesians and the Pauline Corpus
    is much more intense and is of a quite different order. Here
    too, of course, many of the accepted parallels are merely the
    outcome of Ephesians and the Pauline Epistles reporting common
    and catechetical material. But a vast number of parallels
    remains that can only be explained in terms of direct indebted-
    edness on the part of Ephesians. This is most markedly the
case, as we have assumed, in the instance of Colossians; but it is also equally true in varying degrees in the instance of every letter in the Pauline Corpus and especially true of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians.

Thus an examination of the literary relationships, real and supposed, of Ephesians shows that the extent of these relationships has been grossly over-estimated through the failure to isolate and discount the considerable number of catechetical elements in widespread use in the Church of the early first century and the equally considerable number of common beliefs and doctrines that often assumed a quite fixed form of expression. In the light of that conclusion we are justified in making three broad statements on the literary affinities of Ephesians.

(1) Ephesians is at some point or other directly dependent on every Epistle in the Pauline Corpus.

(2) There are some literary affinities 'once removed' between Ephesians and the Pastorals due to their common dependence on the Pauline Corpus.

(3) There is no satisfactory evidence of direct literary affinity between Ephesians and any other New Testament document (apart from the Pauline Corpus and the Pastorals.)

Regarding the questions of the destination, authorship, and date of Ephesians, we may say,

(1) The reading at 'Ephesus' in 1:1 is not original; the participle in 1:1 has a 'local' sense and the verb should
be translated 'to the local saints and believers in Christ Jesus'. All the evidence supports the view that Ephesians was an encyclical.

(2) The author was a sub-Paulinist familiar with the entire Pauline Corpus and especially with Colossians.

(3) The date of the Epistle is most probably between 80 and 85 A.D.
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