

FINNY PHILIP

The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

194

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

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Finny Philip

The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology

The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon
Gentiles in Judaism and in the Early Development
of Paul's Theology

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 3-16-148598-X 978-3-16-157059-9 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

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The book was printed by Druckpartner Rübelmann GmbH in Hemsbach on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Schaumann in Darmstadt.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

This book represents a minor revision of my doctoral thesis accepted by the University of Durham in 2003. I wish to thank Prof. Jörg Frey who read and accepted this work for publication in the *WUNT 2* monograph series, Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, Mr. Matthias Spitzner, and the whole editorial team at Mohr Siebeck.

I would like to express my appreciation to the numerous people who, in a variety of ways, enabled me to complete this research. I am heavily indebted to Prof. James D.G. Dunn, Lightfoot Professor of Divinity, for his stimulating insights and his careful supervision of my research. Prof. Dunn continues to be a source of inspiration in my academic journey. I also remember fondly his and Meta's gracious hospitality on numerous occasions.

I would like to thank my examiners, Professor Loren Stuckenbruck and Professor Max Turner for their constructive comments and suggestions. The weekly Postgraduate New Testament Seminars at Abbey House provided an excellent environment to present, test and shape new ideas. Discussions with scholars of highest calibre like Professors F.W. Horn (Universität Mainz) and Robert Hayward (University of Durham) helped me to sharpen and develop much of my thinking. I am also grateful to former fellow New Testament doctoral students and friends, especially, Jerry Truex, Ian Yorkston, John Byron, Michael Widmer and Terence C. Mournet for their friendship and unstinting support during the sojourn.

I am more grateful than I can say to Emmanuel Church, Durham for their love and encouragement. The fellowship of the members of *House to House* group made our stay in Durham memorable. Although a number of friends helped at the proofreading stage, I owe a great debt to Andy Jones who took time to read and edit every page. I gratefully acknowledge the painstaking job of my students and colleagues at Filadelfia Bible College, (Udaipur, India) in cross-checking all the scripture references in the manuscript. Their contributions have certainly saved me from several embarrassments. Nevertheless, the remaining blemishes are wholly my own.

This research could not have been possible without the financial assistance of the Langham Partnership International. John Stott and the

friends at Langham Trust have been a great encouragement. A University of Durham Postgraduate award also lightened the financial load.

I am particularly indebted to the Principal, Dr. Thomas Mathews, the students and faculty of Filadelfia Bible College and the network of Filadelfia churches in North India for their inspiration to undertake this research.

Beyond doubt, my gratitude is also due to my parents, Philip and Molly, for bringing me up in a Christian home and for their prayers for my work. Among many other family members, I am thankful to Ginny, Shiney, Joy Punnoose, Dr. Paul Mathews and their families and Mary Mathews who have constantly assisted me with their generous support and love. Other friends, too numerous to mention, have been a source of immense encouragement and companionship over the years, and their anonymity here does not in the least diminish my appreciation of them.

My wife, Glory, deserves more credit than I can ever express. She, too, has lived with the research, along with her own postgraduate research in sociology, and I owe her more than I can hope to repay. Her love, support and encouragement have been indispensable. I cannot fully express my appreciation to my daughters, Joanne and Aviva for their love and their willingness to let Daddy go to work all the time. Above all thanks be to God who enabled me to complete this research.

Finny Philip, Udaipur, March 2005

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List of Abbreviations

General abbreviations and abbreviations of periodicals, series, lexicons and publishers follow the rules of SBLHS (P.H. Alexander, *et.al.* [ed.], *The SBL Handbook of Style For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* [Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1999]). In addition the following abbreviations are used:

<i>AJPS</i>	Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies
BAFCS	B.W.Winter (ed.), <i>The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting</i> (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993-1996)
BO	<i>Berit Olam</i>
<i>DNTB</i>	C.A. Evans and S.E. Porter (eds.), <i>Dictionary of New Testament Background</i> (Leicester: IVP, 2000)
<i>EDSS</i>	L.H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam (eds.), <i>Encyclopaedia of Dead Sea Scrolls</i> (2 vols.; New York; Oxford: OUP, 2000)
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
HCOT	<i>Historical Commentary on the Old Testament</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>Hekhalot Rabbati</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie
JPTSS	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSPSS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</i>
LVTA	<i>Librorum Veteris Testamenti Apocryphorum Philologica</i>
<i>NRT</i>	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
SJTOP	Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers
SPM	Studia Philonica Monographs
<i>ThBei</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
<i>TynB</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplements

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Rationale

This research is an attempt to understand Paul's early thinking (as a Christian) on the Holy Spirit, with an interest in clarifying the origins of Paul's thought by setting it in the light of his Jewish background, experience and Gentile mission.

Of the New Testament writers Paul most deserves the title 'the theologian of the Spirit'. This is not just because the term πνεῦμα has a prominence in Paul's writings which far exceeds its place in both Old Testament literature¹ and the rest of the New Testament,² but also because of the profound theological implication that the term has in relation to Pauline theology and mission.

The theology of the Spirit in Pauline writings has been a matter of interest in recent New Testament scholarship.³ A major concern in

¹ In relative numerical terms, רוח refers to the Spirit of God an estimated 90 times in the MT, and πνεῦμα does so 100 times in LXX.

² The Gospels and Acts together make 86 and the rest of the New Testament 26 times. In contrast πνεῦμα refers to God's Spirit 112 to 115 times (depending on the exegesis of some passages) in the corpus of Pauline letters. See W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden, *A Concordance of the Greek Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1978) 819–825; C.H. Bachmann and W.A. Slaby, *Computer Concordance to the Novum Testamentum Graece* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1985) 1563–1566.

³ Specific treatments on the subject in recent years are by J.S. Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (Assen: van Gorcum 1973); F.W. Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien Zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); G.D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence. The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994); M. Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul, An Examination of Its Christological Implications* (WUNT 2/128; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). General treatments on the subject are by J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today* (London: SCM Press, 1970); idem, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1975); idem, *The Christ and the Spirit* (Vol.2; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998); G.T. Montague, *The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition* (New York: Paulist Press, 1976); E. Schweizer, 'The Spirit of Power:

previous as well as present course in research has been to trace the origins and development of Pauline pneumatology. Although the question of the origins of Paul's pneumatology is a long-standing one,⁴ there is no consensus among scholars on the issue. Previous researchers investigated the issue in terms of the similarities and distinctive features that Paul draws from the understanding of the Spirit in Jewish-Hellenistic backgrounds. Especially, the uniqueness of Paul's pneumatology is explained by the differences that he shows in comparison to the understandings of the Holy Spirit found in primitive Christianity (*Urgemeinde*),⁵ in the Old Testament,⁶ and in Jewish and Hellenistic backgrounds.⁷

Part of the difficulty in the diversity of opinion among Pauline pneumatologists is that Paul did not write his letters as theological treatises. Each is rather his response to a particular situation that arose within the different Christian communities he worked with and situations in his missionary work. Further, compared with other New Testament writers, Paul creatively relates the Spirit to so many themes that it becomes more difficult to distinguish what is central from what is peripheral to his understanding of πνεῦμα.⁸

However, concerning the origins of Paul's thoughts on the Holy Spirit, the main difficulty in my opinion is that interpreters have actually lost touch with much of the early conceptual framework that undergirds Paul's discussion.⁹ A significant factor in Paul's early conceptual and convictional framework on the Holy Spirit is his call as 'an apostle to the

The Uniformity and Diversity of the Concept of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament', *Int.* 6 (1952) 259–278; idem, 'πνεῦμα', *TDNT* 6: 389–455; idem, *The Holy Spirit* (trans. R.H. and Ilse Fuller; London: SCM Press, 1980); R.P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts* (JSNTSS 54; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts Then and Now* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996).

⁴ Since B. Weiss, (*Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des neuen Testaments* [Berlin: Hertz, 1873] 216) who laid the groundwork for noting the distinctiveness of Paul's pneumatology as against the pre-Pauline Christian community.

⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*.

⁶ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 1994; H. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit, The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul* (trans. R.A. Harrisville and P.A. Quanbeck; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

⁷ O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology* (Vol.1; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1891); Schweizer, 'The Spirit of Power', 259–278; idem, *TDNT* 6:389–455; Menzies, *Development*; M.E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament* (Heythrop Monographs 1; London: Heythrop College, 1976).

⁸ Turner, *Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 103.

⁹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, is an exception.

Gentiles' (Rom. 1.5, 13; 15.16–19; Gal. 1.15, 16; cf. Acts 9.15; 22.21; 26.17) and the perception that God has poured out 'His Spirit' upon the Gentiles apart from the Law (Gal. 3.1–5; 1 Thess. 1.4–6; 2 Thess. 2.13–14; cf. 1 Cor. 2.4–5; 6.11). Without understanding these initial thoughts and experience of Paul it is impossible to second-guess the origins or development of Paul's pneumatology. In other words, the lack of a thorough investigation of Paul's early thinking as a Christian on the Spirit is not merely an inadvertent omission of previous Pauline scholarship, but rather suggests that scholars assumed that Paul's early pneumatology had only a peripheral significance for the understanding of his overall teaching on πνεῦμα. This assumption of a merely peripheral significance is quite clear in the following review of scholarship.

1.2. A Review of Scholarship

The following study is a historical survey of the current state of research,¹⁰ particularly concentrating on the studies that are important¹¹ in relation to the questions on the origins/development of Pauline teaching on the Spirit. The scholars reviewed below have dealt with issues surrounding the origins of Pauline pneumatology in a variety of ways.

1.2.1. O. Pfleiderer

The modern investigation of the origins of Pauline pneumatology began with the liberal consensus of the nineteenth century, that expounded the

¹⁰ See Horn, *Das Angeld*, 13–24; Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1–25.

¹¹ There are books devoted to the Spirit in the New Testament. See H.B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1909); E.F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923); D. Ewert, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (Harrisburg: Herald, 1983). R.B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928); N.Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul* (SJTOP 6; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957) deal exclusively with the subject of the Spirit in Paul's letters and theology. See also the unpublished dissertations by C. Pinnock, 'The Concept of Spirit in the Epistles of Paul', (Ph.D. Diss., University of Manchester, 1963); W.C. Wright, Jr., 'The Use of Pneuma in the Pauline Corpus with Special Attention to the Relationship between Pneuma and the Risen Christ' (Ph.D. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1977); K. Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus* (Zürich: Evz-Verlag, 1962). On the French side see M.-A. Chevallier, *Esprit de Dieu, Paroles d'Hommes* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux and Niestlé, 1966). But in the present study, only those investigations, which specifically deal with the question of the origins/development of Pauline teaching of the Spirit, will be discussed.

concept of the Spirit in terms of Hegelian categories of spirit/mind.¹² It was Pfleiderer who set the theological agenda for the idealist view by explaining that the divine Spirit provides a new content and motivation for human spirits so that the conflict between man and God ceases for the Christian.¹³

Pfleiderer's interpretation of Pauline pneumatology is representative of the 19th century tendency to view the New Testament, and Paul in particular, in the context of the history of early Christianity, especially in its doctrinal development. Accordingly, Pfleiderer studied Paul to provide an answer to his central question, "How are we to conceive the genesis of the Pauline doctrine?" and the subsequent question "whence came this doctrinal system of the apostle Paul with its derivation from that of the more ancient type?"¹⁴

In his answer to the first question, Pfleiderer developed a Pauline pneumatology within the framework of Paul's doctrine of salvation.¹⁵ By logically thinking out the Jewish idea of atoning death, Paul was led, according to Pfleiderer, to the anti-Jewish conclusion that redemption is for all mankind, and that the law is consequently invalidated.¹⁶ Pfleiderer argues that redemption consists in the influence exercised by the Holy Spirit upon the "fleshly creatureliness," in consequence of which sin and death are abolished.¹⁷ The beginning of this process, according to Pfleiderer, is to be sought in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹⁸ Through his resurrection, Christ has entered into the sphere of pure spirit (2 Cor. 3.18) and also has become a life giving principle (1 Cor. 15.45) to those who unite themselves with Christ.¹⁹ In accordance with the belief of primitive Christianity, Paul conceived that Christians received πνεῦμα at the time of

¹² The interpreters of this school came to the view that the human spirit is the God-related principle of self-consciousness within man, which could be directed by the divine spirit towards moral activity in opposition to flesh. For example, F.C. Baur, (*Paul: His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine: A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity* [trans. A. Menzies; London: William & Norgate, 1866] 2:139) who read Paul's pneumatology from a christocentric basis argued that Christ, for Paul, is the one who unites all opposites in him. In Christ, those subjective spirits that have the mind of Christ are united to the objective spirit. Pneuma, 'spirit' as opposed to 'flesh', denotes the sphere of the eternal, the absolute as opposed to the finite. Christian self-knowledge, in so far, that is, as Christians have the mind of Christ in them (1 Cor. 2.16), is 'identical' with the spirit of God itself.

¹³ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 1, 2.

¹⁴ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 215.

¹⁵ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 201.

¹⁶ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 5.

¹⁷ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 193.

¹⁸ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 17.

¹⁹ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 209.

baptism.²⁰ Further, Pfleiderer probes into the question on the effect of the Spirit upon Christians. It was described in idealistic terms as the “*religious moral content*”²¹ that provide direction to a human’s spirit. Thus Paul, according to Pfleiderer, made his doctrine of πνεῦμα the principle of an entirely new ethical system.²²

In response to his second question Pfleiderer sharply distinguished Paul’s concept of the Spirit from that of the pre-Pauline community. The earliest community, Pfleiderer maintains, did not understand ‘the Spirit’ as conveying salvation, but viewed the Spirit as nothing essentially different from the Old Testament prophetic Spirit of revelation, which manifested itself as a purely supernatural force by extraordinary miracles — and thus a *donum superadditum*.²³ It was Paul who first expounded the Spirit’s work as the inner principle of new creation life.²⁴

Pfleiderer placed the above development of Pauline pneumatology within a duality, which could be described as both ‘Christianised Pharisaism’²⁵ and as ‘Christianised Hellenism’.²⁶ This duality in Paul’s thought resulted from the psychological process of his conversion creating, as it were, a void in his Jewish consciousness.²⁷

Given the fundamental conception of Pfleiderer’s presentation of Pauline pneumatology within the doctrine of salvation and the duality of thought pattern, we should not be surprised to learn that Pfleiderer took little notice of Paul’s early thoughts on the Spirit.

²⁰ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 203.

²¹ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 206.

²² Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 22.

²³ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 200.

²⁴ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 203 ff.

²⁵ According to Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teaching in their Historical Connections* [Berlin: G. Reimer, 1887] 299), Paul takes over from Pharisaism the belief in the sleep of the dead and their resurrection, coupled as it was with the belief that after judgement there will be a transformation of his world ‘freeing it from enslavement to transitoriness’.

²⁶ Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity*, 175) claims that the Wisdom of Solomon must be recognised as one of the main sources of Paul’s theology. Pfleiderer claims that, “We can confidently say that Paul’s theology would not have been what it is, if he had not drawn deeply on Greek wisdom as this was made available to him through the Hellenised Judaism of Alexandria.” Pfleiderer several times advances the suggestion that Apollos, the Alexandrian may have introduced the Apostle to the Alexandrian Platonism (p.170).

²⁷ According to Pfleiderer, (*Paulinism*, 21) the thought forms, which he has hitherto used, prove incapable of dealing satisfactorily with the implications of his new faith. So the Apostle is driven to have recourse to another system of ideas. He no longer remains indifferent to the ideas that stream in upon him from Jewish Hellenism and Greek thought. In this way there arises a remarkable duality in his thought. Pharisaic and Hellenistic trains of idea form two streams “which in Paulinism meet in one bed without really coalescing.”

First, by placing the doctrine of Spirit within the hierarchy of early Christian doctrinal developments Pfleiderer has limited any possibility that was available for him to understand the origins of Paul's thoughts on the Spirit.

Second, the duality on which Pfleiderer worked seems to raise certain doubts about his understanding of Paul. Pfleiderer is not sure whether Paul was influenced directly by the Greek or Jewish source. Pfleiderer is doubtless to be understood in the sense that both possibilities have to be taken into account, separately and in combination. He conceives the psychological process within Paul as determined from without, which made Paul to think Judaically with one-half of his mind and Hellenistically with the other, a process that, nevertheless is supposed to be capable of being conceived within a single integral personality.

Third, such an approach of duality has the greatest weakness of ignoring the context to which he wrote the epistles. The issues that resulted from his Gentile mission, particularly the issue of Gentile admission, become irrelevant for Pfleiderer.

Pfleiderer's presuppositions as well as the idealist consensus that had dominated New Testament studies since Baur, were strongly challenged by the study of Gunkel, who from a phenomenological perspective discovered that the Spirit in the early church was understood as a divine wonder working power, which expresses itself in ecstatic experiences.

1.2.2. H. Gunkel

H. Gunkel's first scholarly work, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, laid the groundwork for a new approach to Paul. Gunkel made a radical attempt to explain Paul's understanding of the Spirit by discerning the ways in which he adopted the popular view of his day. Gunkel asserted that Paul shares "the popular view of the New Testament age," according to which men thought of themselves "in the 'Spirit'... the supernatural power of God which works in man and through man."²⁸ Unlike Pfleiderer, Gunkel's task was not to produce a New Testament doctrine of the Spirit but rather to describe the specific experience of the pneumatic, i.e., "to ascertain the symptoms by which an 'effect' of the Spirit is recognized."²⁹

Consequently, in tracing the pre-Pauline pneumatology Gunkel asks, "what according to the popular view were the marks of individual activities of the Spirit?" Gunkel's answer was glossolalia.³⁰ Along with glossolalia the primitive Christians traced certain types of experience to the Spirit, namely, wisdom (Acts 6.3; 1 Cor. 12.8), prophecy (Acts 11.28;

²⁸ Gunkel, *Influence*, 34, 25.

²⁹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 2.

³⁰ Gunkel, *Influence*, 32.

Rom. 11.25–26), and faith (Matt. 10.19; Mk. 13.11; Lk. 12.11, 12).³¹ A second popular view was that it was through the mediation of the exalted Lord that Christians receive the Spirit from God (Jn. 20.22; Acts 2.33; 10.38; Titus 3.6; Rev. 1.1).³² All Christians were assumed to be filled with the Spirit, a very different view from ancient Israel as well as Judaism, which recognised possession of the Spirit only on the part of individuals and hoped for a general outpouring.³³

According to Gunkel, the eschatological framework of the early church must be read against a background of the Jewish doctrine that the Spirit had been withdrawn until the eschaton.³⁴ These manifestations were indications of the in-breaking of the Kingdom of God.³⁵

Gunkel placed Pauline pneumatology within these popular notions of the Spirit. He believed that Paul was aware of the ideas concerning πνεῦμα which were prevalent in the churches.

Gunkel contends that Paul agrees with the popular view that sees the evidences for the presence of the kingdom of God in the reception of the divine Spirit and all his activities. For Paul, just as for the primitive Christian community, the understanding of the spiritual gifts as a guarantee of the truth of the gospel has an eschatological apex.³⁶ Paul merely asserts that the Holy Spirit now given to Christians is the content of that promise God once gave Abraham (Gal. 3.14). For Paul the present possession of the Spirit and the future possession of the kingdom are so mutually interrelated that they can be interchanged.

However, Gunkel insisted that there were significant differences in Paul's perspective. First, for Paul the supreme sign of the gift of the Spirit was not limited to mysterious and powerful effects. It entailed the divine purpose of the gift — the edification of the Christian community.³⁷ For this reason Paul, in contrast to the primitive church, held glossolalia in relatively low esteem (1 Cor. 12.8).³⁸ In this regard Paul was the first to emphasise the ethical dimension of the gift of the Spirit.³⁹ He introduces an ethical judgment and valuation of spiritual gifts, which was new to the Christian community.

Second, Paul worked out his pneumatology in contrast to the primitive Christian view, which sharply draws the limits of supernatural and natural.

³¹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 34–38.

³² Gunkel, *Influence*, 40.

³³ Gunkel, *Influence*, 48.

³⁴ Gunkel, *Influence*, 70.

³⁵ Gunkel, *Influence*, 71–72.

³⁶ Gunkel, *Influence*, 81.

³⁷ Gunkel, *Influence*, 84.

³⁸ Gunkel, *Influence*, 82.

³⁹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 87.

For Paul, however, the miraculous gifts are only a special activity of the same Spirit who is also miraculously at work in all Christians. Paul viewed the Spirit also as the source of Christian life in its totality.⁴⁰ With this idea Paul is farthest removed from the soil from which he sprang, where the Spirit was merely the power that works specific miracles and guarantees even greater ones; for Paul the present possession of the Spirit, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ζωῆς is everything the Christian has for time and eternity. Thus for Paul, the Christian life in its entirety was a sign of the presence of the eschatological Kingdom.⁴¹

Gunkel attempts to identify Paul's unique presentation of the Spirit. Gunkel asserted that Paul had neither taken from the Old Testament⁴² nor was influenced by the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, particularly Wisdom.⁴³ Gunkel then asks, "What is the reason for the difference?" He insists that the source of Paul's unique insight into the working of the Spirit was his own personal experience and maintains an essential originality of Paul's teaching. Paul found ready-made the concept of the πνεῦμα as a wonder-working power, but on the basis of his experience, by which the Christian himself appeared to be the greatest miracle, he described the Christian life as an activity of the πνεῦμα in a completely original way.⁴⁴

Gunkel's contribution has been remarkable. For Gunkel Pauline pneumatology emerged from the popular view that was prevalent in the Old Testament, Judaism and primitive Christianity. At the same time he separated the pneumatology of Paul from that of Judaism and the early Christians. He had unquestionably established the importance of the supernatural and experiential dimension in the early Christian pneumatology. Unlike his predecessors Gunkel looks into the influence of the Holy Spirit as conceived by the popular view of the Apostolic age and according to the doctrine of Paul, and is obliged to come to the conclusion that a Greek element in Paul's thought is not to be assumed.

In spite of his remarkable achievements, it should be observed that Gunkel took little notice of Paul's early experience of the Spirit, or of his call and ministry as an apostle among the Gentiles. Essentially, Gunkel proceeded as though Paul developed his understanding from the primitive church's experience of the Holy Spirit.

One needs to be conscious about Gunkel's overemphasis on the popular view of the primitive community. There is a lack of clarity in his usage of

⁴⁰ Gunkel, *Influence*, 96.

⁴¹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 96.

⁴² Gunkel, *Influence*, 92–99.

⁴³ Gunkel, *Influence*, 100–101.

⁴⁴ Gunkel, *Influence*, 102.

the term *Urgemeinde*. What constitutes the *Urgemeinde*? By considering the primitive church as monolithic entity⁴⁵ Gunkel has ignored the diverse strands of understanding concerning the Spirit that were prevalent in the early church. An example would be on the question of the anticipation of the Spirit upon the Gentiles (Acts 10.45; 11.15, 18).

For Gunkel, the gifts of the Spirit mentioned in the Pauline letters are for the edification of the community (and not limited to the mysterious power effects). The Spirit as the source of Christian life in its totality does not depend on Old Testament or Hellenistic Jewish influence on Paul, rather on his own personal experience. However, Gunkel is not clear about what exactly is Paul's personal experience. Is it the experience that Paul had while interacting with the churches he ministered to or is it the experience of the Spirit at the time of his conversion (2 Cor. 3.16) or his later pneumatic experiences (1 Cor. 12–14; 2 Cor. 12.1 ff.)?

Key to Gunkel's argument is that the theological significance of the claim of the early church to have the Spirit must be read against a background of the Jewish doctrine that the Spirit had been withdrawn until the eschaton. Recent studies have questioned such alleged absence of the Holy Spirit during the New Testament era,⁴⁶ which may provide new insights into Paul's own understanding of the Spirit than what Gunkel perceived.

Finally, that the gift of the Spirit was given also to Gentiles was one of the popular views that was recorded by the earliest traditions of the New Testament. This was recognised among the first Christians and acknowledged as the sure indication of God's acceptance (Gal. 3.2–5; 4.6; 5.5; see also Rom. 8.9, 14; cf. Acts 10.44–48; 11.15–18). Gunkel overlooks this important factor in his study of both primitive and Pauline pneumatology.

1.2.3. E. Schweizer

Eduard Schweizer's remarkable discussion on New Testament pneumatology⁴⁷ stands clearly in the tradition of *Religionsgeschichte*, which views Paul and early Christianity as significantly influenced by contemporary religious movements and myths.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ For example, see R.E. Brown and J.P. Meier (*Antioch and Rome; New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* [New York: Paulist Press, 1983]) who argue for diverse theological strands that were prevalent in the early church.

⁴⁶ J.R. Levison, 'Did the Spirit Withdraw from Israel? An Evaluation of the Earliest Jewish Data', *NTS* 43 (1997) 35–57; idem, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (AJGU 29; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁴⁷ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 259–278; idem, *TDNT* 6: 389–455.

⁴⁸ For example, E. Käsemann, 'Geist und Geistesgaben im New Testament', *RGK* 11³, 1271–79.

Schweizer's attempt to understand Pauline pneumatology begins with the notions of the Spirit in primitive Christianity. According to Schweizer, Matthew and Mark understood the Spirit largely in the OT terms as the power of God, a source of supernatural power for the performance of miracles.⁴⁹ Schweizer points out that Luke is unique in presenting the Holy Spirit in Old Testament and Judaistic terms. Unlike Matthew and Mark, Luke presents Jesus not as an object of the Spirit, but as the Lord of the Spirit.⁵⁰ Luke always portrayed the Spirit as the source of inspired speech, such as glossolalia or preaching.⁵¹ A further development in Luke is his emphasis on the bestowal of the Spirit. Luke however, understands that a new age has dawned; the Spirit had been given to all of God's people.⁵²

Schweizer offers a new dimension to the discussion on Pauline pneumatology. He distinguishes sharply Paul's pneumatology from that of the primitive church. The key to Schweizer's argument is that he distinguishes two different strands of influence on Paul's understanding of the Holy Spirit — the Jewish⁵³ and Hellenistic strands.⁵⁴ According to Schweizer, Paul's pneumatology was largely the result of the Hellenistic context in which Paul found himself, while he tried to get away from this. For this reason Schweizer finds it difficult to disentangle Paul from the above two strands.⁵⁵

For Schweizer the primitive Christian community failed to answer the question of how the imparting of the Spirit was connected with the coming, the life, the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus. The real problem for the early church was the relationship between the message of the Spirit and that of the crucified, risen and coming Lord.⁵⁶

According to Schweizer, the Hellenistic community gave a radical answer to this problem. The possibility of this interpretation arose from the fact that a Hellenist could think of power only in the form of a substance.⁵⁷ Therefore, in the Hellenistic community which understood the Spirit as a heavenly substance, Jesus was the bearer of this heavenly

⁴⁹ Schweizer, 'The Spirit of Power', 260–264; idem, *TDNT* 6:397, 400–404; idem, *Holy Spirit*, 46 ff. The only difference that Schweizer sees in Matthew and Mark in relation to OT perspective were their emphasis on the presence of the Spirit in Jesus — a unique eschatological figure in whom God himself encounters his community eschatologically.

⁵⁰ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 265; idem, *TDNT* 6: 404.

⁵¹ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 406–407.

⁵² Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 268; idem, *Holy Spirit*, 56 ff.

⁵³ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁴ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁵ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁶ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁷ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 416.

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