

SEYOON KIM

Paul and the  
New Perspective

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament*

140

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**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgegeben von  
Jörg Frey, Martin Hengel, Otfried Hofius

140





Seyoon Kim

# Paul and the New Perspective

Second Thoughts  
on the Origin of Paul's Gospel

Mohr Siebeck

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*For Otto and Isolde Betz  
Saints, Mentors, and Friends*



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## Preface

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my debt to the many persons and institutions that have helped me in writing this book. I would like to thank Fuller Theological Seminary for granting me a sabbatical quarter during the fall of 1999, the *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung*, Bonn, Germany, for enabling me to concentrate on my research during the sabbatical with its generous fellowship, and the University of Tübingen for hosting me. I owe a debt of gratitude to my former teachers in Tübingen, Professors O. Betz, M. Hengel, and P. Stuhlmacher for their friendship and encouragement. During my stay at Tübingen, Professor Stuhlmacher put his office at my disposal, and it was a great help for my work. My old friend Professor Herrmann Lichtenberger was a generous host to me, and his secretary, Frau Monika Merkle (another old friend!), and his other *Mitarbeiter* in the Evangelisch-theologischen Seminar lent me many helping hands in practical matters. I have a fond and grateful memory of my stay at Wilhelmsstift, the Catholic convent, in Tübingen. I would like to thank Professor Hengel also for recommending this work to J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) for publication. I am grateful to Bill Eerdmans, his son, Sam, and Georg Siebeck for undertaking to publish this book, and to their staff for their dedicated labor.

I would like to thank Susan Carlson Wood of Faculty Publications Services, School of Theology, Fuller Theological Seminary, for improving my style and editing the book, and Jin Ki Hwang and Scott Mackie, Ph.D. students at Fuller, for help with compiling the bibliography and indices. Finally, I record my appreciation of the loving support that my wife, Yea Sun, and our two daughters, Eunice Songi and Hahni, have provided me.

I affectionately dedicate this book to Professor and Mrs. Otto Betz. As I (*d.v.*) expect to have the honor of having my name associated with the great name of my British teacher, the late Professor F. F. Bruce, in my next work,

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and I hope to dedicate that work to his memory, I think it is appropriate for me to dedicate this work to my German teacher and his dear wife for their matchless care over all these years.

*Pasadena, California,  
Thanksgiving 2000*

SEYOON KIM

## Introduction

In 1977 I submitted my doctoral dissertation to the University of Manchester; it was published in 1981 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) of Tübingen, Germany, as *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, volume 4 in the second series of *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*. In the following year, Wm. B. Eerdmans of Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A., published its American edition. In 1984 J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) published its second edition with a postscript in which I interacted with some of the reviewers of the book and also with Heikki Räisänen. As the American edition has been out of print since the mid-1980s, my friends at Wm. B. Eerdmans have several times expressed their desire to reprint the book. Each time I told them to wait until I revised the book or at least added another postscript interacting with the new developments in Pauline scholarship, especially the revolution of the New Perspective on Paul that had been initiated by Ed P. Sanders's *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, which was published in the year I submitted my dissertation. However, my eight-year stint of service in Korea was not conducive to the work of serious research and writing, and my subsequent relocation in 1995 to an entirely foreign setting, namely Fuller Theological Seminary, in Pasadena, California, required much time for adjustment. When I began to feel better settled into the life and work at Fuller, I was given a sabbatical quarter during the fall of 1999, and the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung of Germany was kind enough again to invite me over to Tübingen for a research stay during the period. I decided that the work was to consist of merely adding a new chapter because I saw the content in need of supplementing in the light of new discussions rather than of thoroughgoing revision. But I soon realized that with one chapter I could not do justice to the discussions that have taken place in Pauline scholarship during the twenty-three years since the book was written. Therefore, the publishers and I agreed to publish a new book as a se-

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quel to *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), the original publisher of my first book, has joined in publishing this sequel as well.

For this new book, I have written five new essays, chapters 1 to 5. Of them, three (chs. 1, 2, and 4) are directly concerned with the New Perspective on Paul, and one (ch. 3) is also partly or indirectly concerned with it. The fact that in my renewed discussion of the origin of Paul's gospel I should devote more than half of the space to an interaction with the New Perspective must be self-explanatory. Since the Reformation, I think no school of thought, not even the Bultmannian School, has exerted a greater influence upon Pauline scholarship than the school of the New Perspective. With its radical reinterpretation of Paul's gospel, especially his doctrine of justification, on the basis of Ed P. Sanders's definition of Second Temple Judaism as covenantal nomism, the New Perspective School is in many respects overturning the Reformation interpretation of Paul's gospel. The potential significance of the school for the whole Christian faith can hardly be exaggerated. Some representatives of the school are so confident about the correctness of their perspective and about its epoch-making significance that they deride as out of date those who have not adopted their perspective, and they divide scholarship in terms of pre- or post-Sanders.

In the debate with the New Perspective School, the question of the origin of Paul's justification doctrine, when and how it originated, is a vital element. It is not possible to address all the issues raised by the New Perspective in this book, but from this angle I try to cover at least some of the major ones. Furthermore, since James D. G. Dunn has tied the New Perspective closely to the question of the origin of Paul's justification doctrine and has repeatedly denied the role of Paul's Damascus experience in this, my debate with the New Perspective School takes in part the form of a critical discussion with him as a most prominent representative of the school.

Besides the New Perspective, there has been another important development in Pauline scholarship that is relevant to my thesis, namely the interpretation of Paul in the light of the Old Testament-Jewish apocalyptic-mystical vision tradition of Ezek 1. Although the influence of this interpretation cannot be compared with that of the New Perspective, Alan F. Segal and others have made it more acceptable at least to some quarters of New Testament scholarship. This lends great support to the thesis that I propounded about Paul's Image-, Adam- and Wisdom-christology in the light of the *merkabah*-vision tradition of Ezek 1 as well as other epiphany visions of Old Testament and Jewish literature. Therefore, one chapter (5) is devoted to a reexamination of the thesis in an interaction with Segal and others.

As the grip of the Bultmannian existentialist interpretation over New

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Testament scholarship is loosened, there is now more willingness to see continuity as well as discontinuity between the historical Jesus and Paul. To be sure, there are still those hypercritics who maintain extreme scepticism about Paul's knowledge and use of the Jesus tradition. But I think it is fair to say that now an attempt to see a measure of the historical as well as the theological continuity between Jesus and Paul is no longer rejected out of hand. My work on the Jesus tradition in Paul's letters has convinced me that Paul used various elements of it extensively and that it played a vital role in the development of his gospel. Therefore, concerning the origin of Paul's gospel, we can now contemplate the hypothesis of a double origin: the Damascus revelation and the Jesus tradition. Together with Paul's use of the Old Testament, this raises the question of his method of theologizing. Therefore, I have my essay on the Jesus tradition in Paul reprinted here (ch. 8), and I try to see whether the Jesus tradition plays any role with regard to the theological topics dealt with in this book (especially in ch. 5).

The book reprints two more essays that I have already published, one on Paul's concept of "reconciliation" and the other on the "mystery" of Rom 11:25-26, as they substantiate further my theses on their origin from the Damascus experience. Both of them are at least indirectly relevant to the question of the New Perspective as well.

Thus, in this book with essays old and new, I reconsider the question of the origin of Paul's gospel and I do it especially in *Auseinandersetzung* with the New Perspective School.





## CHAPTER 1

# *Paul's Conversion/Call, James D. G. Dunn, and the New Perspective on Paul*

James D. G. Dunn is certainly the most tireless, if not the most prominent, proponent of the “New Perspective on Paul.” The “New Perspective on Paul” is in fact the phrase that he himself coined for the new approach to the interpretation of Paul<sup>1</sup> based on Ed P. Sanders’s definition of Second Temple Judaism as covenantal nomism.<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge, in recent years no scholar has treated Paul’s conversion and call more often than Dunn; he has repeated basically the same interpretation of the event in his numerous writings.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he has done so because it is a cornerstone of his “New Perspective on Paul.”<sup>4</sup> These facts alone should be sufficient to justify my concentration here

1. J. D. G. Dunn, “The New Perspective on Paul,” originally in *BJRL* 65 (1983), reprinted in J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (Louisville: Westminster/Knox, 1990), 183-214.

2. E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

3. E.g., J. D. G. Dunn, “‘A Light to the Gentiles,’ or ‘The End of the Law’? The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul,” originally in *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament* (ed. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright; Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), reprinted in Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 89-107; *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Trinity, 1991), 119-39; “Paul and Justification by Faith,” in *The Road from Damascus* (ed. R. N. Longenecker; McMaster New Testament Studies; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 85-101; “Paul’s Conversion — A Light to Twentieth Century Disputes,” in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche* (P. Stuhlmacher Festschrift; ed. J. Adna, S. J. Hafemann and O. Hofius; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1997), 77-93; *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 346-89; see also his *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: Black; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1993), 51-71.

4. In his essay, “Paul’s Conversion,” 77, Dunn calls “Paul’s conversion” “a good test passage” for the “New Perspective on Paul”; cf. also Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 345-56. For Dunn, Gal

on a critical examination of his interpretation of the Damascus event.<sup>5</sup> However, the fact that Dunn has repeatedly advanced his view in opposition to my own interpretation adds further justification.

### Dunn's Interpretation

According to Dunn, Paul's autobiographical statement that he was a Pharisee with "zeal" for the law in "Judaism" (Phil 3:5; Gal 1:13-14) indicates that the pre-conversion Paul was a "zealot" who, after the model of the Maccabees (1 Macc 2) and Phinehas (Num 25:6-13), devoted himself to maintaining the integrity of the Jewish religion over against the syncretistic corruption of Hellenism and to safeguarding Israel's distinctive national identity from the pressures of the gentiles.<sup>6</sup> So Paul persecuted the Hellenist Jewish Christians not for their preaching of the crucified Jesus as the Messiah nor for their breaking the law but for their preaching the gospel to the gentiles and accepting gentile converts without requiring their circumcision. He perceived the latter as a serious threat to "Israel's integrity and purity."<sup>7</sup> But then at the Christophany on the Damascus road he was called to be an apostle to the gentiles. Therefore he converted "from *this zeal*, and from 'Judaism' as it called forth *this zeal*," to a mission "to the Gentiles,"<sup>8</sup> "*from a zealous determination to defend Israel's Torah-defined boundaries . . . to fulfil[ing] Israel's eschatological mission to the nations.*"<sup>9</sup> Thus, the primary significance of the Damascus Christophany is that it was a divine call or commission which also involved such a conversion on his part. In order to stress this point, Dunn has repeatedly criticized those who, like myself, try to see the significance of the Damascus event also in terms of Paul's obtaining new convictions about

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3:10-14 is another test passage for the New Perspective: see his "Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Gal 3:10-14)," in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 225-30. We shall deal with this "test case" (*ibid.*, 225) in ch. 4 below.

5. In the postscript to the second edition of Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 2/4; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984), 345-58, I have countered the views of H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), and, to a lesser extent, also the views of E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism and Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), which are in many ways similar to Dunn's.

6. Dunn, *Partings*, 119-22; "Paul and Justification by Faith," 93; "Paul's Conversion," 87-89; *The Theology of Paul*, 347-54.

7. Dunn, "Paul's Conversion," 90; similarly also *Partings*, 121-22; *The Theology of Paul*, 352.

8. Dunn, "Paul's Conversion," 90 (his italics).

9. *Ibid.*, 92 (his italics).

christology and soteriology and new insights about the law.<sup>10</sup> Whereas, for Dunn, God's call for Paul to the gentile mission had "*immediacy*" and so was the "*primary feature*" of Paul's Damascus experience, "the implications for the law and its bearing on the gospel [were] more the *corollary*, worked out with increasing sharpness over the early years of his work as a missionary to the church at Antioch."<sup>11</sup>

This interpretation of the Damascus event leads Dunn to see the distinctive Pauline doctrine of justification as developing late in the wake of the Antiochian incident, and to understand it mainly in terms of defending against Jewish nationalism the gentile converts' right to be included within the people of God without works of the law.<sup>12</sup> In this context, the phrase "works of the law" is concerned not with general deeds of law observance but specifically with the deeds of obedience to those commandments that mark the covenant people of Israel off from the nations, namely circumcision, food laws, and sabbath.<sup>13</sup> So Dunn concludes

that the law became a primary concern for Paul precisely in its boundary-defining role (separating Jew from Gentile); that justification through faith emerged in Paul's theology as Paul's attempt to explain why and how Gentiles are accepted by God and should be accepted by their Jewish fellow believers; and that the works of the law . . . were precisely those practices which had most clearly defined Judaism and most sharply distinguished Jew from Gentile since the time of the Maccabees (circumcision, food laws and feast days/sabbath).<sup>14</sup>

This, of course, represents a new understanding of Paul's doctrine of justification. This new understanding of the doctrine, ultimately based on Ed P. Sanders's notion of Judaism as covenantal nomism constitutes the heart of the New Perspective that Dunn has enunciated.<sup>15</sup> Insofar as the doctrine is understood in the narrow sense of its function of defending Paul's gentile mission, it is characteristic of the New Perspective School as a whole.<sup>16</sup> As it

10. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 91-98; "Paul's Conversion," 80-84.

11. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 92 (his italics).

12. Dunn, *Partings*, 130-39; "Paul and Justification," 90-100; *The Theology of Paul*, 359-79.

13. Dunn, *Partings*, 135-37; "Paul and Justification," 95-99; *The Theology of Paul*, 354-66.

14. Dunn, "Paul's Conversion," 92.

15. See J. D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," *BJRL* 65 (1983), reprinted in *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 183-214.

16. Cf. e.g., E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*; H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law*; T. L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997); N. T. Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans;

leads Dunn to such an understanding of the doctrine, Dunn's interpretation of Paul's Damascus experience is a cornerstone at least for his version of the New Perspective.

### Dunn's Critique of My Thesis

Dunn criticizes me for deriving directly from Paul's experience of the Damascus Christophany his doctrine of justification through faith without works of the law as well as his εἰκόν-christology, from which I argued his Adam- and Wisdom-christology, in turn, developed.<sup>17</sup> I grant that sometimes my unguarded language gave readers an impression that I was claiming Paul obtained all these christological and soteriological doctrines immediately from the Damascus Christophany.<sup>18</sup> However, anybody who reads my book carefully would note not only how my youthful enthusiasm gave way to such unguarded language at many places, but also how I made efforts to show the *process* by which Paul developed those doctrines from the Damascus revelation of Christ through reflections on the primitive church's kerygma, the relevant texts of the Old Testament, the Jewish tradition, and partly also the Jesus tradition. By its very nature, the process could not be completed instantly at the moment of the Damascus Christophany but did take time. I still hold that the process did not take a long time and that the main features of Paul's gospel took firm shape within the first few years, although they continued to be refined through his biblical reflection, his controversies with his opponents, and his other experiences in the mission fields, eventually reaching the state in which they are now found in his epistles. I base my conjecture on an appreciation of Paul as a trained theologian, the circumstances of his conversion, the nature of the Damascus revelation, his experience of the Holy Spirit, and, of course, his call to the gentile mission and his immediate experiences in it. I have attempted to set as a *terminus ad quem* for the "mystery" of Rom 11:25-26 Paul's first visit to Jerusalem "to get to know Peter" (Gal 1:18), that is, A.D. 33-36. Paul's doctrine of justification is related to his gentile mission, no mat-

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Cincinnati: Forward Movement Publications, 1997). Dunn, *Partings*, 305 n. 31, traces the insight of the New Perspective to W. Wrede, *Paul* (London: Philip Green, 1907), 122-28, and K. Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56 (1963), reprinted in *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* (London: SCM, 1973), 1-7.

17. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 93-98; *Partings*, 119-24; "Paul and Justification by Faith," 85; "Paul's Conversion," 81-85; *The Theology of Paul*, 346. See Kim, *Origin*, 193-311.

18. But surely it does not give D. J.-S. Chae (*Paul as Apostle to the Gentiles* [Carlisle: Pater-noster, 1997], 302-5) the right to distort my thesis to such an absurd extent.

ter whether it developed out of the latter as Dunn claims or originated together with the latter as I claim. This being so, if my dating the “mystery” is plausible, it should be reasonable to believe that the doctrine of justification also took a firm shape by that time. Nevertheless, in my book I was concerned to show *how* the main lines of Paul’s theology originated from the Damascus revelation rather than *when* they did so, let alone when the mature formulations of various christological and soteriological doctrines came into being. I still stand by my main thesis that Paul’s gospel is basically an unfolding of the revelation of Jesus Christ on the Damascus road.

In chapter 5 I will reply to Dunn’s critique of my deriving Paul’s christology from the Damascus Christophany. This chapter is concerned with the origin of the doctrine of justification. But before taking up that question, I will address Dunn’s criticism that I did not properly observe the “immediacy” of the call to the gentile mission and failed to show adequately the correlation of Paul’s christological and soteriological affirmations with his gentile mission.<sup>19</sup> This is a strange criticism because in my book I discussed the Damascus event as “the Apostolic Commission”<sup>20</sup> even before discussing it as “the Revelation of the Gospel.”<sup>21</sup> Dunn himself quotes my sentence from the former section: “for Paul the Christophany on the Damascus road constituted [both his gospel and] his apostolic commission for the gentile mission.”<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Dunn refers even to my thesis that Paul obtained the “mystery” of Romans 11:25-26 by interpreting the Damascus Christophany in the light of Isaiah 6 and 49:1-6.<sup>23</sup> So there is no question of my failing to observe the “immediacy” of the divine call for Paul to the gentile mission. Dunn complains that I did not show adequately how my affirmation of Paul’s call to the gentile mission ties in to my “main christological and soteriological thesis.”<sup>24</sup> In fact, I showed how Paul’s soteriology of justification through faith alone and his christology of the universal lordship of Jesus Christ correlate to his gentile mission, and concluded the discussion as follows:

Now we can see the inner unity of Paul’s gospel and his apostleship to the Gentiles, both of which he received on the Damascus road. On the one hand, the gospel that proclaims God’s institution of Jesus Christ as the Son of God

19. Dunn, “A Light to the Gentiles,” 94-95.

20. Kim, *Origin*, 56-66.

21. *Ibid.*, 67ff.

22. Kim, *Origin*, 57, quoted by Dunn, “A Light to the Gentiles,” 95. Significantly Dunn quotes the sentence, leaving out the phrase “both his gospel.”

23. Dunn, “A Light to the Gentiles,” 95.

24. *Ibid.*, 95.

in power, the universal Lord, *spells an imperative* for Paul to go to the Gentiles, proclaim him to them, and bring about the “obedience of faith” among them (Rom 1.5; 15.16-18). On the other hand, the gospel which is at the same time “God’s power for salvation to every one who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek” *justifies* Paul’s mission to the Gentiles now. Only because Paul saw Christ’s death and resurrection as God’s redemptive act for our justification *sola gratia* and *sola fide*, could he so freely go to the Gentiles and proclaim the gospel of God’s grace to them, while the Jewish Christians, failing to see the principle of *sola fide* so clearly as he, hesitated to do the same but rather criticized him for his law-free Gentile mission. The Letter to the Galatians is an eloquent testimony to this contrast as well as to the unity of Paul’s gospel and apostleship.<sup>25</sup>

In another place I hinted also at the correlation of Paul’s Adam-christology and its related new creation-soteriology with Paul’s universal mission.<sup>26</sup> Showing such a correlation was natural for me, because a thesis of mine was that the call for Paul to the gentile mission, the revelation of the christological/soteriological gospel, and the revelation of the divine *Heilsplan* embodied in the “mystery” of Rom 11:25-26 were rooted together in the event of the Damascus Christophany, and therefore the three elements belonged together. It is true that I devoted more pages to expounding Paul’s christological/soteriological gospel than to discussing Paul’s gentile apostleship. It was not because I neglected the latter, but rather because the former is much more complicated and so requires a much longer explanation. In spite of his emphasis on Paul’s gentile apostleship as an *Ansatzpunkt* for his theological thinking, in his book *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Dunn himself devotes incomparably more pages to an exposition of Paul’s soteriological gospel than to a discussion of Paul’s gentile apostleship.

When I stated that Paul’s christology of the universal lordship of Christ spelled a universal mission, while his soteriology of justification *sola gratia/fide* justified it, I did not mean that he developed his sense of a call to the gentile mission only as a *corollary* of his christology/soteriology. I only meant to show how the two components of the Damascus event — the revelation of the gospel and the call to gentile apostleship — were *logically* related to each other. Since I believe that the revelation of the gospel and the apostolic commission to the gentiles coincided at the Damascus Christophany, I had no reason to be concerned about the *chronological* order of the two elements. Apparently Dunn is ignoring this fact because he

25. Kim, *Origin*, 308-11 (quotation from pp. 310-11; italics in the original).

26. *Ibid.*, 268; Dunn, “A Light to the Gentiles,” 95, recognizes this.

has determined that the proper correlation between Paul's gentile mission and his theology should show the former determining the latter, or the latter developing as a (chronological as well as logical) corollary of the former. I suspect so because in all his writings on the Damascus event he argues for this form of their correlation. No doubt Paul's experience in his actual missionary work among the gentiles and especially his controversies with the Judaizers about the gentile mission contributed to sharpening his doctrine of justification *sola gratia/fide*, and I acknowledged this.<sup>27</sup> However, the form of their correlation that Dunn proposes cannot be substantiated exegetically, as the following will demonstrate.

### Only an Apostolic Call for the Gentiles?

It should first be pointed out, however, that Dunn's singling out Paul's call to the gentile mission as the primary significance to the exclusion of the revelation of the christological and soteriological insights makes him unable to fulfill his own promise to show how the "different aspects of Paul's response to and understanding of the Damascus road Christophany . . . all hang together or tie up in Paul's thinking."<sup>28</sup> In fact, it makes Dunn self-contradictory at a couple of points. He strongly disputes my thesis that Paul saw the exalted Christ appearing as the "εἰκὼν of God" on the Damascus road and that from that revelation both Paul's Adam-christology and Wisdom-christology originated.<sup>29</sup> But then in the concluding section of his article, without any demonstration of his own, he strangely adopts my main thesis: at the Damascus Christophany, "[Paul] saw Christ as the 'image of God.'"<sup>30</sup> Well then, in the end, Dunn appears to differ with me only on the second part of my thesis: whereas I think that both Paul's Adam-christology and Wisdom-christology originated from the εἰκὼν-christology, Dunn would like to see only the former as originating from it.<sup>31</sup> While his tacit acceptance of my thesis that Paul's Adam-christology is rooted in the Damascus Christophany<sup>32</sup> is welcome, his denial of Paul's Wisdom-christology developing at least partly from

27. Kim, *Origin*, 334-35.

28. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 95.

29. *Ibid.*, 95-97. For my reply to this, see ch. 5 below.

30. *Ibid.*, 100.

31. *Ibid.*, 97, 100

32. Cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (London: SCM, 1980; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 98-128, where his extensive discussion on Paul's Adam-christology does not contain this explanation of its origin.



his εἰκὼν-christology is wrong, and I will show that in chapter 5 below. However, for the moment, let us see how Dunn develops his view:

if indeed the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ in 2 Corinthians 4.4 speaks primarily of Christ as Adam, then the immediate *corollary* is that in 2 Corinthians 3–4 Paul deliberately transforms the matrix of salvation-history from Israel and Sinai to man and creation. The rationale of Paul's thought would then have been more direct: if with Christ now raised from the dead God's purpose for man (and not simply Israel) has been realized, it must follow that the object of his concern is mankind as a whole and not merely the Jews; God's purpose (not least in stopping Paul short in his full flight as a persecutor on behalf of Israel's prerogatives and law) must be to realize through Christ his purpose of creation and not simply election. The puzzling "therefore to the Gentiles" thus becomes a more immediate *deduction* from the Damascus road Christophany than even Kim allows.<sup>33</sup>

In the conclusion, Dunn says similarly,

[at the Damascus Christophany . . . Paul] saw Christ as the "image of God," as the risen embodiment and therefore eschatological fulfillment of God's plan from the beginning to share his glory with the human kind he had created. And he understood this glorious vindication as a reversal of the curse of Deuteronomy 21.23, and therefore as implying God's covenant concern to embrace both outsider and insider, sinner as well as blameless, Gentile as well as Jew.<sup>34</sup>

How can Dunn say that his correlation of Paul's Adam-christology with his gentile mission shows the gentile mission to be "a more immediate deduction from the Damascus road Christophany than even Kim allows"? I do not find in his explanation anything different from what I suggested, his explanation being at most an unfolding of my suggestion.<sup>35</sup> Be that as it may, I am particularly interested in Dunn's favorite term "corollary" (and also "deduction") here. Having specifically complained about my listing Paul's "conviction of universal mission as a corollary of the 'new creation' corollary of his Adam Christology, itself derived from the Damascus Christophany,"<sup>36</sup> Dunn is do-

33. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 97-98 (my emphasis).

34. *Ibid.*, 100.

35. See above n. 25.

36. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 95. See also p. 89 for his emphatic denial: "What is even more striking, however, is the fact that he understood his commissioning from the first as having the Gentiles in view. This is not presented as a deduction or a corollary which Paul drew from some *other* conviction given to him in or brought home to him by the encounter on the Damascus road" (Dunn's italics and my underlines).

ing exactly the same! He says that this way of explaining the correlation between Paul's christology and gentile mission fails to bring out the "immediacy" of the latter.<sup>37</sup> In his eagerness to affirm only the "immediacy" of Paul's call to the gentile mission, he largely neglects to inquire of the christological component of the Damascus revelation, only to tacitly adopt part of my thesis which he ostensibly seeks to criticize. But then once he begins to reflect on the possible correlation between Paul's christology and gentile mission, he cannot help but use the language of the latter being a "corollary" of the former. Thus, in spite of his strong desire to affirm only the "immediacy" of Paul's call to the gentile mission, he cannot help but find himself in the same situation as myself.<sup>38</sup>

The same self-contradiction appears again in Dunn's correlation of Paul's christology/soteriology of the "crucified Christ" with his gentile mission. Dunn says:

[F]or Paul the loyal Jew, the curse of Deuteronomy 21.23 was the opposite of the blessings of the covenant (particularly Deut. 27–28); to be cursed by God was to have the covenant revoked, to be put out of the covenant (28.58–68) — that is, to be put in the position of the Gentile sinner. The crucifixion of Jesus meant that God had rejected him, numbered him with the Gentiles, reckoned him as outside the covenant. The Damascus road Christophany must obviously have turned such a line of reasoning completely on its head, for it indicated clearly that God had accepted and vindicated this one precisely as the crucified. The *immediate corollary* for Paul would be that God must therefore favor the cursed one, the sinner outside the covenant, the Gentile. And thus it can be easily seen how the conclusion "therefore to the Gentiles" could follow directly from the Damascus road Christophany and not at some further remove as a corollary to more elaborate Christological and soteriological schemes.<sup>39</sup>

How Paul can be said to have derived his gentile mission as an "immediate" corollary from such a "tortuous" interpretation of the crucified Christ<sup>40</sup> is a baffling question in itself. Be that as it may, here we are interested only in Dunn's explanation of Paul's gentile mission as a "corollary" of his christology/soteriology! Has he not specifically written: "[Paul's apostolic commis-

37. *Ibid.*, 95.

38. See above, p. 6.

39. Dunn, "A Light to the Gentiles," 99–100 (Dunn's italics and my underline).

40. So N. T. Wright, "Curse and Covenant: Galatians 3:10–14," in *The Climax of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991), 153; also C. E. B. Cranfield, "The Works of the Law" in the Epistle to the Romans," *JSNT* 43 (1991): 92.

sion for the gentiles] is not presented as a deduction or a corollary which Paul drew from some *other* conviction given to him in or brought home to him by the encounter on the Damascus road”<sup>41</sup> It is also not easy to understand how Dunn can claim that his way of explaining the correlation between Paul’s christology/soteriology and gentile mission connects the latter more directly to the Damascus Christophany than the more traditional explanation of their correlation on the assumption of the insight of the “crucified” Christ as “the end of the law.”

Dunn would avoid the charge of confusion and self-contradiction here if he admitted that both Paul’s call to the gentile mission and his christology/soteriology are rooted in the Damascus Christophany and that we use the language of “corollary” here only in explication of their logical, rather than chronological, connection with each other.

All this trouble with Dunn’s interpretation of the Damascus event stems from his arbitrary disjunction of the different components of the event, the revelation of the gospel which Paul formulates both christologically and soteriologically, the apostolic commission to the gentile mission, and the revelation of the divine *Heilsplan* involving the mission to the gentiles prior to the Jews (Rom 11:25-26). Rather than trying to see how they all belong together, Dunn insists on seeing only the call to the gentile mission as the immediate significance of the event and neglects the rest, treating them sometimes at most as a secondary (chronological as well as logical) “corollary” of the former.<sup>42</sup> The cases of self-contradiction above clearly prove his thesis wrong.

However, Dunn repeatedly bases his thesis on Paul’s testimony in Gal 1:13-17.<sup>43</sup> But it is beyond my comprehension how he can read the text to deny the immediacy of the revelation of the gospel and to affirm only the immediacy of Paul’s apostolic commission to the gentiles, or how he can separate ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν from ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν in Gal 1:16 and put all the stress on the former while virtually ignoring the latter.<sup>44</sup> Paul’s testimony in Gal 1:13-17 makes it clear

41. Dunn, “A Light to the Gentiles,” 89.

42. So he explains the rise of the soteriology of justification through faith without works of the law. See above, pp. 2-3.

43. Dunn, “A Light to the Gentiles,” 89-107; “Paul and Justification by Faith,” 85-101; “Paul’s Conversion,” 80-93; *The Theology of Paul*, 346-54, although in the last-mentioned work Dunn avoids setting up an antithesis between the call to the gentile mission and the revelation of the law-free gospel by passing quietly over the latter.

44. Those who, like Dunn, insist that Paul’s justification doctrine with its contrast between faith in Christ and works of the law originated for the first time in the wake of his conflict with

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