

The Indian Church Commentaries

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of the Bishop of Lucknow

GENERAL EDITOR

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THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

The Indian Church Commentaries

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE

TO THE

CORINTHIANS

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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GENERAL PREFACE

A FEW words of introduction are necessary to explain the general purpose of this series of commentaries. The work was commenced under the general supervision of Dr. A. M. Knight, Bishop of Rangoon, and Dr. G. A. Lefroy, Bishop of Lahore and afterwards Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan, acting as a committee appointed in accordance with a resolution of the Synod of Indian Bishops which met in 1900. On the retirement of Bishop Knight, the Rev. C. F. Andrews of the Cambridge Brotherhood, Delhi, was associated with Bishop Lefroy as General Editor. But in 1913 both of them resigned, and the Bishop of Lucknow took their place. In 1921 the Rev. L. E. Browne of Bishop's College, Calcutta, was associated with the Bishop of Lucknow as General Editor. The work of revision before publication is being left mainly in his hands, but a general episcopal supervision of the work will still be maintained.

It is hoped that these commentaries, while presenting a direct and scholarly interpretation of the New Testament, based upon the work of the great Western commentators, will, at the same time, contain such references to Eastern religious thought and life as may make them serviceable to both

Christian and non-Christian. It was the original intention that the series should be translated into the leading Indian vernaculars, and some translations have already appeared in Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Urdu and Marathi. It is inevitable that in the interpretation of the New Testament there will be differences of opinion, and it has seemed best to allow these differences to appear in the series rather than to aim at a colourless uniformity. The final responsibility for the views taken of particular passages will rest with the individual contributors.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.V. The English Version of 1611, commonly called the Authorized Version.
- R.V. The Revised Version of 1880-1884.
- A.V.m. and R.V.m. The marginal readings of these Versions respectively.
- Gk. or LXX. The Greek Version, commonly called the Septuagint.
- V. The Latin Vulgate.
- WH. The Greek Text of Westcott and Hort.
- N. The Greek Text of Nestle, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.
- L. & S. Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.
- Thayer. Grimm's Lexicon of the New Testament, revised by Thayer.
- M.M. Milligan and Moulton's Greek Vocabulary, chiefly from the Papyri. (Four parts published.)
- HDB. Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.
- EB. Encyclopaedia Biblica.

DB¹ and DB². Smith's Dictionary of the Bible,
first and second editions.

Such renderings of the Greek as are here offered are not intended to take the place of our excellent English versions, but are to be looked upon as an attempt to convey as exactly as possible, without any grace of language, the meaning of the original to English readers.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

Analysis.

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|------|----------------|--|
| | i. 1-9. | Introduction. |
| I. | i. 10-iv. 21. | The Unity of the Corinthian Church. |
| II. | iv. 22-v, vi. | The Case of Incest and appeals to heathen tribunals. |
| III. | vii. | Answer to questions regarding marriage and virginity. |
| IV. | viii. 1-xi. 1. | Answer to questions regarding meats offered to idols. |
| V. | xi. 2-34. | Answer to questions regarding behaviour at public worship. |
| VI. | xii-xiv. | Answer to questions regarding spiritual gifts. |
| VII. | xv. | Difficulties with regard to the resurrection of the body. |
| | xvi. | Conclusion. |

The sub-divisions of these sections will be found in the commentary itself.

INTRODUCTION

I. A TRANSFORMATION ¹

THIS lecture is a piece of history, that is to say, the events of which I am about to speak are true. But they happened many years ago and I must begin by asking you to go back in thought to what we call the first century of our present era, and to a country far away in Europe—the little country known by the name of Greece, and in that country to a city called Corinth. I do not suppose that there has ever been a more wicked city than Corinth was at the time of which I am speaking, i.e. about the year A.D. 40 or 50. It was a city situated on a narrow isthmus and it communicated with two seas, and so it was in a double sense a seaport town. Seaport towns are, as we know, apt to be morally worse than other places for they are frequented by strangers: seamen and travellers from many nations throng them, and we know that men when they are away from their home and in a foreign city are very apt to leave their morality behind them. They are often unknown and mere

¹ The substance of a lecture given to Indian students at the Oxford Mission House, Calcutta.

sojourners in the place for a few weeks, and thus they have little or no regard for public opinion ; they feel little or nothing of the restraints which, when they are at home, help to keep them from evil ways. Corinth then was in some respects like Calcutta or Bombay, a commercial seaport city, bringing together in its docks and markets vast numbers of foreigners under circumstances in which they were exposed to many temptations, and were checked by few restraints.

Again Corinth was a city which possessed a very large number of slaves—a class of people whom the ancient and heathen world at that time looked upon as little better than mere animals. They were treated as their owners' goods and chattels—as mere human merchandise. Thus they lived under a system which trained them to believe that they were not responsible for their actions, and produced among them the utmost laxity and immorality.

And again, Corinth, as it then was, was a new city, it had only been in existence about a hundred years. There had been indeed a more ancient town on the same spot, but it had been destroyed about two hundred years previous to the time of which I am speaking, and for a hundred years after its destruction it had lain waste. About 46 B.C. Julius Cæsar caused the city to be rebuilt. But in the newly built city there were none of those

elements which give so much help to cities which have been long established. There was no aristocracy, there were no old and good traditions, no strong public opinion. It was occupied almost entirely by men who went there to make money—and we know how easily the pursuit of wealth may impoverish and debase character.

Here, then, were three great elements of moral corruption, and to these was added a fourth. About a mile from the city, on a hill top, stood a temple dedicated to the Greek goddess Venus, the goddess of love, or more properly speaking, of lust. Attached to this temple was a body of a thousand dancing girls, who nightly went into the city to tempt men to lead immoral lives.¹ And so completely did the Corinthians yield to these different influences, that to '*Corinthianise*' became in the language of that day a synonym for immoral living. And with this central moral evil was joined drunkenness, and with drunkenness extortion and cheating. What an

¹ It is probable that, in this period, the Isthmian Games had also become a source of evil influence. 'The Teutonic regions of the north, and Greece, were about the only provinces in which the bloody games were not popular. The one Greek town where the taste for them was fully developed was the mongrel city of Corinth which was a Roman colony. In the great novel of Apuleius we meet a high Corinthian magistrate travelling through Thessaly to collect the most famous gladiators for his shows.'—Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius*, p. 240.

awful picture it all is, this picture of Corinth, the Greek seaport city in the early part of the first century Anno Domini! What a horrid unspeakable mass of wickedness and sin! And this picture we have drawn is no imaginary sketch; it is the record of history, given to us by a contemporary writer, by one who lived in it, and saw Corinthian society as it then was with his own eyes.

Now it is not often that we are fortunate enough to possess contemporary evidence of the social condition of one and the same place, at two different periods within the short space of fifty years. But by a fortunate accident there has been preserved to us the letter of one who writing to the Corinthians has left us an account of what Corinth was in his own time, i.e. towards the end of the first century; and this is what he says:—

‘Whoever¹ dwelt even for a short time among you, and did not find your faith to be as fruitful of virtue as it was firmly established? Who did not admire the sobriety and moderation of your godliness? Who did not proclaim the magnificence of your habitual hospitality? And who did not rejoice over your perfect and well-grounded knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the commandments of God, being obedient to those who had the rule over you. You

¹ St. Clement Rom. ‘Epistle to the Corinthians,’ ch. i. 2.

enjoined young men to be of a sober and serious mind: you instructed your wives to do all things with a blameless, becoming, and fine conscience, loving their husbands as in duty bound: and you taught them that living in the rule of obedience, they should manage their household affairs becomingly, and be in every respect marked with discretion. Moreover you were all distinguished by humility, and were in no respect puffed up with pride, but yielded obedience rather than extorted it, and were more willing to give than to receive. Content with the provision which God had made for you, and carefully attending to His words, you were inwardly filled with his doctrine. Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and you had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, you did with true earnestness of mind and a godly confidence, stretch forth your hands to God Almighty beseeching Him to be merciful to you if you had been guilty of any involuntary transgression. Day and night you were anxious for the whole brotherhood, that the number of God's elect might be saved with mercy and a good conscience. You were sincere and uncorrupted, and forgetful of injuries between one another. Every kind of faction and schism was abominable in your sight. You mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours: their faults were looked

upon as your own. You never grudged any act of kindness, being ready to every good work. Adorned by a thoroughly virtuous and religious life you did all things in the fear of God. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord were written upon the tablets of your hearts. Every kind of honour and happiness was bestowed upon you.'

That is what I call 'a transformation,' for in those fifty years, that is to say, from A.D. 50 to A.D. 100, when this writer whom I have just quoted wrote, a great moral change had passed over that once wicked city. Where there had formerly been the most open and shameless licentiousness, there was now purity of life; where there had been cheating and extortion, there was now truthfulness and honesty; where there had been drunkenness, there was now sobriety. It was indeed a great and startling change. And let me once again remind you these are not imaginary pictures, but the first of them is the account of Corinth as it was in all its horrible profligacy and sin, and the other the account of Corinth as it had become when the letter I have quoted was written. Both accounts were written by contemporaries and eye-witnesses and have been preserved to us in historical and authentic writings.

I have called this great and surprising change in the moral condition of Corinth a transformation; but notice this, it is a transformation of *character*,

and that is the only transformation which is of any real value. Once before in the history of Corinth a transformation of another sort had taken place. Two hundred and fifty years before, in the year 196 B.C., you might have seen a vast concourse of the citizens of Corinth assembled outside their city; they are standing before Flamininus, the general of the Roman army. He had been called in to settle their tribal quarrels, and he has made himself their conqueror. And now they stand before him, in awe and fear, a conquered and captive people. And as they stand there he gives them a gift; he restores to them their freedom, he makes them once again a free city. There was indeed a transformation of a certain kind on that day, by that gift they were transformed from a conquered people to free citizens—but it was a transformation which did them no good; it was merely a political transformation, it did not affect or change their character. And that this was so we learn again from history, for history tells us, that in the space of another fifty years, i.e. from 196 B.C. to 146 B.C. the old quarrels had broken out again so fiercely that in the latter year another Roman general appears before their city gates, and this time he takes away their freedom for ever.

I want you then to notice the difference between these two transformations, the one political, the other a transformation of character. It took just

fifty years to show the worthlessness of the first, it also took just fifty years to show the reality and power of the second. What made the difference? This is not a merely speculative question, it has an importance for us to-day. The conditions of the city of Calcutta to-day, and of the city of Corinth nearly 1,900 years ago are not dissimilar. I do not mean to say that the moral conditions of Calcutta are as bad as were those of Corinth, but there is in this great city very much that is evil, and one special form of evil has been very forcibly brought into public notice. There is much, very much, who can deny it, which needs to be transformed in this city to-day. If then we can learn what it was which worked so great a change in the moral condition of Corinth, we shall be able to see what it is which is needed to work the same reform among ourselves. What then, once again, was it which so changed Corinth? How was that transformation effected?

One day, some time about the year A.D. 52, there arrived in Corinth a man. He had come by one of the many vessels which brought passengers and cargo to that busy port. If you had been present at the landing stage and had seen him step forth from the ship you would have thought him a very ordinary, perhaps a rather insignificant man—he would have appeared to you at first sight as a somewhat poor and ill-dressed Jew. This is how

he has been described by one who saw him—‘a man small in size, with meeting eye-brows, with a rather large nose, bald-headed, bow-legged, but strongly built.’ Not, you see, at first sight a very attractive person, but then it is told that when you looked at him carefully, you saw something in his face which arrested your attention, you saw ‘that he looked like a man of grace, and at times that he had the face of an angel.’

His landing made no sensation, there was no public reception, no deputation of the leading men of the city—no, he stepped ashore from the ship quite unnoticed among the other passengers—with them he made his way through the busy crowd, and went unobserved through the streets to a small shop where he was to lodge. He had come to speak to the people of that city, but he did not find it easy—he has told us himself in a letter which he wrote to Corinth some time afterwards, that he came before them in weakness, and in fear and in much trembling.¹ Yes, he did not find it easy to speak, and he did not at once attempt it. For the first few days he worked at his trade that he might earn money to support himself, but when the Sabbath day came round, he laid aside his work, and spoke what was in his mind. And to whom did he speak? He spoke to the ordinary men of that great wicked city; and a most terrible picture

¹ 1 Cor ii. 3.

he has given us of what the society of that city was which he saw around him. They were men, he tells us, who were 'filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, hateful to God, insolent, haughty, boast-ers, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, unmerciful.'¹ What a picture it is! Yet this was the society, these were the people, he came to speak to.

But you will perhaps say, those who listened to him and accepted his teaching could not have been such bad people; those whom that other writer whom I have mentioned spoke of fifty years after as being so transformed, as being so good, so holy, so pure, they surely could not once have been so bad as that. Listen once again to what this man who had come to speak to them says to them himself. He is writing to them from another city whither he had gone after he had been at Corinth for more than a year and a half, and he says in his letter to them:—'Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God.' And then he adds '*And such were some of you, but*

¹ See the Epistle to the Romans, Chapter i, written from Corinth.

ye were washed, but ye were sanctified'. Such were some of you ; yes, they had been once among the worst in that bad city, but now they were changed. And if those who listened to him had once been such bad people and had become changed, was their change sudden ? No, hear this same man, as he writes again to his converts in Corinth : ' I fear ' he says ' lest by any means when I come I should find you not such as I would ; lest by any means there should be strife, jealousy, wrath, factions, backbiting, whisperings, swellings, tumults ; lest when I come again, my God should humble me before you, and I should mourn for many of them that have sinned heretofore, and repented not of the uncleanness and lasciviousness which they committed.'¹ The same sins you see coming up again after the transformation had begun, and yet in fifty years a complete change had been effected — a transformation had been accomplished which was not only deep but permanent.

Who was this man of whom I have been speaking, this man through whose preaching this change had taken place ? His name is known to many of you ; his life has been, I believe, translated into Bengali ; it was he whom we Christians call St. Paul, the great missionary of the church of the first century.

What did he say ? What did he teach ? What was there in his preaching which had power to

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 20ff.

bring about this transformation? For this great moral change which I have described to you as having taken place in Corinth is, I repeat, a historic fact. We have the testimony of contemporary writers, both as to its wickedness, and as to the transformation which took place. What then, once again, was it in the teaching of St. Paul which touched and changed the lives of those wicked men? There were three things, three great facts, which he taught them which have the same power to-day, as they had then. He taught a new hope, he taught a new power, he taught a new life.

He gave them a new hope,—for till St. Paul had come among them they had been without hope. And nothing I think so strikes a Christian coming among you here in India, as that the people of this country live without hope, without any certain expectation of anything better after death. You believe indeed in the transmigration of the soul, but yet *that* is hardly a matter of hope, there is little to inspire you with joy or hope in looking forward to another sad and weary life in which you may be reborn as one of the animals or as one of another caste. When death comes to you what consolation have you? When some dear one of your family passes away from you by death, what consolation is it to you, if he is to be born again as another person whom you will not know and who

will not know you? What comfort is it to the sorrowing mother, as she looks on the still face of her dead boy, to be told that he will live again in the form of an animal or in another human being? 'I shall not know him, he will not be my child, he will neither know nor love me', is her heart-breaking thought. Or what comfort is it to be told, as Buddha told the weeping mother, that her sorrow was the common lot? What comfort is it to us, if thousands suffer as we do ourselves? No, it was no empty comfort such as this which St. Paul taught at Corinth; but he spoke of a life beyond the grave, a life in which each will preserve his own identity, a life in which we shall know and love those whom we have known and loved here on earth,—a life in which all that mars and weakens love here will be for ever done away—a life in which every imperfection, every sorrow, every suffering shall be wiped away for ever,—a life in which all our powers of body, mind and soul shall live in the joyous, vigorous fulness of an existence that lasts for ever. Here indeed was hope, here indeed was something which made life worth living, for he taught them that this life was the one great and only opportunity of winning that life which is to come. It was this hope which was one source of the power of his preaching. It was this hope which roused them out of their moral degradation to efforts after holiness and purity of life.

But perhaps you will say, is not all this an idle tale? You have told us of this change of character, you have told us of this new life, of the power of this hope, and we have tried it, we have made efforts after a better life, we have made good resolutions, we have made new beginnings, but they all came to nothing; the old habits, the surrounding customs were too strong for us, our resolutions soon faded away. Yes, no doubt it was so. But here comes in the second great gift St. Paul had to offer to those to whom he preached—he promised them a new strength. If you will believe me, he said, if you will accept the message I am sent to deliver to you, not only shall you find a new hope, a new purpose in life, but you shall receive a new strength wherewith to reach that hope, to bring that purpose to effect. It was not that those people at Corinth wanted only to be helped to make good resolutions, but they wanted above all else a new strength, a new power to perform them; and the promise of that strength was part of the message which St. Paul had to deliver, aye and it is to-day part of the message which we Christian missionaries have come to India to deliver to you. And that strength which we are commissioned to offer to you, is the strength of the living Lord Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever.

And this brings us to the third, the crowning gift

of the gospel message. It offers not only a new hope and new strength, but also a new life.

You and I can sometimes do a noble deed when we feel that the eyes of many of our fellow-men are turned upon us ; the thought that we are being watched nerves us to do what we should not attempt to do if we were alone. But the times when we have the support of many spectators are rare in our lives ; mostly we have to live and work unnoticed. What is to support us in the silent unknown efforts of daily life ? What is to nerve us in our struggle with secret sin, in our efforts to fight for what is pure and good and right when we have to fight alone ? St. Paul tells us, for he tells us of a new Presence, of a new Life. God, he says, shall be with you and shall be in you. What was it which encouraged St. Paul in his fear and weakness when he first came to Corinth ? What gave him power to stand up and boldly declare his message in the face of that great wicked godless city ? It was the presence of God Himself with him, it was the presence of Jesus Christ who in his hour of fear spoke to him, we are told, in a vision by night, saying, ' Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace : for *I am with thee* and no man shall set on thee to harm thee : for I have much people in this city.'¹ Yes, that is the third

¹ Acts xviii. 9, 10.

gift, the third and greatest source of power, the promise of the companionship of God.

These three gifts which St. Paul offered to the Corinthians in that first century of the Christian age, are offered to you to-day. Throughout these nineteen centuries they have been given to men again and again, but they are not thereby exhausted. They retain, and will retain while the world lasts, the fulness of their power; and as they have been received from that day, when St. Paul spoke of them at Corinth, to this, so they have been powerful to change men's character. The transformation which was effected at Corinth was no solitary phenomenon, it has been repeated again and again. We know it for we have seen it. Even in the short experience of our own lives we who speak to you here to-day have seen this transformation taking place, and those gifts which are the source of that transformation are offered to you in all their fulness, and they have the same power still for every one who will commit himself to Jesus Christ.

II. THE EPISTLE

Three years after St. Paul's first visit to Corinth we find him at Ephesus (Acts xix). In the early spring, soon after the sea had become open for sailing, two parties of visitors arrived from Corinth. One was a wealthy lady named Chloe with a retinue of freedmen and slaves. The other was a deputation

from the Corinthian Church, consisting of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus, and perhaps others (1 Cor. xvi. 17). Whether Chloe herself was a Christian or not we do not know, but among her household were some Christian servants or slaves. From them St. Paul received disquieting news about the state of the church at Corinth. It was, they told him, divided into four factions, each of whom had a chosen leader—Paul, Apollos, Peter, Christ. We have no reason for thinking that such partisanship was more acceptable to Peter or Apollos than it was to Paul himself. Apollos had visited Corinth after St. Paul's departure, and his preaching had had great success there, especially among the Jews, but at this time he seems to have been at Ephesus again (xvi. 12), and his reluctance to go back to Corinth shows that he was determined to give no countenance to those who had set him up as their leader. Peter had, so far as we know, never visited Corinth at all. But who were the party who called themselves 'of Christ'? One would think that 'I am of Christ' was exactly what a Christian ought to say, refusing to be connected with any party. But St. Paul evidently does not view it in that light. He looks upon the party 'of Christ' as quite as much in error as the rest, and indeed it appears from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians that this was the only really dangerous party, and the one whose opposition

persisted in spite of his remonstrances. We must, therefore, think of them as being men who made some exclusive claim to belong to Christ which, in their view, vitiated or at least minimised the claims of other Christians. They may have made this claim on the strength of having known Jesus Christ 'after the flesh' (2 Cor. v. 16). Observe that it is partisanship, rather than party-spirit, which St. Paul is here rebuking. Party-spirit means laying undue emphasis on some one principle or aspect of Christian truth, whereas partisanship means attaching oneself to a particular leader. There may have been some principle lying at the back of three at least of the four Corinthian factions, but if so St. Paul does not indicate what it is. Some have supposed that the party which called itself after Paul laid stress on the mystical side of Christianity; those of Apollos, on the intellectual side; those of Peter on the institutional side. Professor Ramsay again supposes that the differences may have been racial; the Roman colonists in Corinth attaching themselves to St. Paul; the Greek to Apollos with his Alexandrian philosophy; and the Jews to Cephas who was the apostle of the Circumcision; but he admits that there is no evidence to confirm this conjecture. We must therefore look upon the passage as a warning not against party-spirit, which has its value in the church if it is not carried too far—that is, if

each party does not try to exclude the rest ; but against that kind of devotion to a human leader which interferes with the direct communion of each soul with Christ. St. Paul's answer to it is the reminder that not only the gifts and leadership of one particular apostle but ' all things are yours . . . and ye are Christ's and Christ is God's.' The Catholicity of the church demands that all gifts be, as it were, thrown into the common stock ; that we should learn all we can from every great teacher without setting him up as an infallible oracle ; above all, that we should recognize and admire all that is good in the religion of our fellow-Christians, and trust that if their faith is in any respect defective their membership in the body will gradually supply the deficiency or at least prevent it from being injurious to their salvation. Professor Ramsay calls these chapters ' that masterpiece in all literature of graceful and delightful irony.' They are this and a great deal more.

Three other matters seem to have been brought to St. Paul's notice by Chloe's people. The first was a moral scandal. One of the Corinthian Christians had taken his father's widow to be his own wife. Such a connexion was an outrage on the feelings not only of Christians but even of the heathen, and was forbidden by the Roman law. If this position rests upon anything but sentiment, it must be on the principle that relationship by marriage has the

same value as relationship by blood, and this principle logically carried out justifies the Table of Prohibited Degrees in our Canons (generally printed in the Prayer Book). A community thoroughly permeated by Christian ideas would have been grievously moved by the scandal, whereas the Corinthians seemed willing to condone the offence. St. Paul points out what steps ought to be taken to remove the offender from their midst; that is, to excommunicate him with a view to his repentance and restoration. As we hear nothing more of this case in the Second Epistle,¹ we may presume that this disciplinary action was carried out and proved effective. Secondly, the Corinthians showed a litigious spirit, even carrying their disputes before heathen tribunals. The remedy which St. Paul suggests is arbitration. If the village panchayats of India were carried over into the Christian church, and did their work with impartiality and a fine sense of responsibility, they would exactly meet the difficulty in such cases. The third matter was the practice of fornication. In such a town as Corinth we cannot be surprised that some Christians were unable to resist this temptation, but the Epistle seems to intimate that they also tried to justify it on the ground that bodily sins could not affect the soul. St. Paul indignantly repudiates any such

¹ 2 Cor. ii. probably refers to a different case.

doctrine, which is in fact a denial of the root-principle of the Incarnation, the interpenetration of body by spirit. The very body of a Christian has become by baptism the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, and the sin so lightly regarded by the heathen is a personal grief to Him (Eph. iv. 30). We see from the Epistle to the Thessalonians how hard was the struggle with this particular sin, especially in Greek cities, and therefore the testimony to the purity of life amongst Christians which comes from a later generation is the more remarkable. We have already seen it in St. Clement, and there are many other testimonies.

The chapters from the seventh to the fourteenth contain St. Paul's reply to a letter from Corinth which was no doubt brought by the delegates. The seventh chapter is devoted to questions about marriage, and is our chief authority, so far as it goes, for settling the various difficult matters of discipline which arise out of that relationship. An institution ordained by God and coeval with the human race, but distorted by erring human custom, had to be restored in the Christian church to its primitive purpose and purity. It had come to be looked upon only as an indulgence and not as a discipline of the affections, and its design 'for the procreation of children to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord' had been almost lost sight of. Polygamy was the symptom of these

abuses, and in reaction from them Christians had doubted whether they ought to marry at all, or if married to retain their wives after they entered the Christian church. In words of wise and well-balanced advice St. Paul puts marriage on its right footing, banishing polygamy and divorce, showing that it is a normal holy state for Christians, but at the same time pointing out the advantages of a religious celibacy. He thus laid a foundation for those celibate religious orders which were afterwards to play so great a part in the history of the church. Three chapters are then devoted to the question of food offered to idols—a question which does not affect us in India quite in the form in which it presented itself to the Corinthians, but it gives occasion for many suggestions throwing light on the relations which ought to exist between Christians and heathen. Then four chapters deal with matters connected with public worship—the covering of women in assemblies of the church, certain abuses connected with the Agape (or Love Feast) and the Holy Eucharist, and the use and abuse of spiritual gifts. The last question has lost its actuality for us, since the gifts spoken of have almost entirely ceased to be bestowed, but the lyrical chapter (xiii) on the supremacy of love remains as a precious outcome of the controversy. Similarly St. Paul's instructions concerning the Eucharist, though the occasion for them no longer

interests us, remain as a valuable legacy to the church, for in them we have the earliest account of the institution of the sacrament.

The great chapter (xv) on the Resurrection was occasioned by the doubts of some Corinthians, not as to the Resurrection of Christ but as to their own resurrection. The argument starts from the admitted fact of Christ's Resurrection—the main points in the evidence for which he recapitulates—and shows the inconsistency of denying the possibility of a harvest when the firstfruits have already been gathered. He then gives us a very interesting passage on the manner of the resurrection, which became the chief store-house of teaching on the subject henceforward in the Christian church.

The last chapter is occupied with personal details and plans for the future.

On the genuineness and authenticity of the Epistle no reasonable doubt can be entertained. Even those who cast doubt upon other Epistles of St. Paul admit that Romans, Galatians and 1 and 2 Corinthians stand unshaken. St. Clement of Rome, who wrote about A.D. 97 or earlier, refers to it in the following terms:—‘Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephass and Apollos, because that even

then ye had made parties.' Most of the great writers of the second century also refer to it. Moreover all the information which we gain from it dovetails exactly into the narrative of Acts. Its date must lie between the years A.D. 53 and 57. It is extraordinarily difficult to date *exactly* any ancient event, because the ancients had no clear-cut system of chronology like our own B.C. and A.D., but fixed the time of events by the name of the reigning monarch, the Roman Consuls, the Greek Olympiads, or other such methods, all of which admit of possible doubt or variation. Even the year of our Lord's birth has not yet been settled in a way which commands universal agreement, and observe how St. Luke labours to reach exactitude when he begins to tell of the preaching* of St. John Baptist (St. Luke iii. 1, 2). But this does not mean that there is any doubt about the events themselves. Whatever scheme of chronology we adopt, the relative positions of events to each other are exactly fixed, and the variations between the different schemes only amount to three or four years. Mr. C. H. Turner who has made a careful study of all the systems gives A.D. 50 as the date of St. Paul's first arrival in Corinth and A.D. 55 as that of the Epistle (H.D.B., vol. i, p. 424). This would mean that the Epistle was written twenty-six years after our Lord's Crucifixion. With the exception of 1 and 2 Thessalonians it is probably the earliest

writing of the New Testament.¹ But in it St. Paul is only reinforcing the teaching which he had already given by word of mouth, so we may carry back its testimony five years earlier. But even this was not the beginning of his witness to Christian truth, for he tells us in the Galatians, that three years after his conversion he spent fifteen days in Jerusalem with Peter and James, and so was able to fix the main lines of what he afterwards taught 'everywhere in every church' (ch. iv. 17). His conversion must be dated in one of the years between 30 and 36, so that by A.D. 39 at the latest—ten years after the Crucifixion—St. Paul started his missionary career with a compact body of doctrine which he held in full agreement with the other apostles.

III. THE DOCTRINE OF THE EPISTLE

We scan then this very early Christian document eagerly to find out what Christianity meant in its first beginnings. Except in the fifteenth chapter the Epistle is not primarily concerned with doctrine: it is practical and disciplinary. All the more then are its *obiter dicta* to be treasured as showing what was taken for granted by the early Christians as the foundation of their religious life. And first of all we remark that God the Father and

¹ Galatians and St. James may possibly be earlier, but there is no general agreement as to the dates of these epistles.

the Lord Jesus Christ are the joint source of grace and peace (i. 3). Let us try to realize the tremendous implication of that expression. There is no formal statement of the divinity of Christ, but He is quietly and as a matter of course treated as one with the God of the Old Testament, the Creator. In his Epistles to the Thessalonians St. Paul had already united the two names as the subject of a singular verb (1 Thess. iii. 11; 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17). Had this been a revolutionary change, it could scarcely have failed to have left some mark of dissidence in the earliest documents of our faith. But there is none. All the evidence points to the fact that after the Resurrection our Lord quietly and naturally came to occupy the position of God in the minds of the early Christians. The same implication is conveyed by the expression 'in Christ' which had already been used by St. Paul to the Thessalonians, and which occurs about a dozen times in our Epistle. It is used also by St. Peter and St. John (1 St. John v. 20); evidently then the faith of the earliest Christians was summarized in this remarkable expression. How remarkable it is we shall begin to realize if we try to substitute for the name of Christ any other name, unless it be one of the divine names. There is no analogy for it in any relation of man to man. The corresponding expression 'Christ in you' appears shortly afterwards (2 Cor. xiii. 5), but already in

this Epistle St. Paul says 'you are the body of Christ' (xii. 27). If we meditate deeply on these words we shall require no other proof that the early church already looked upon our Lord as the Divine Being.

With regard to the Holy Spirit the evidence is scarcely less clear. 'The Spirit searcheth all things.' 'The things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God.' 'Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.' 'Your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you.'¹ 'All these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally as He will.' In these verses the Holy Spirit's personality, His divinity and His co-equality with the Father and the Son, are distinctly recognized. It is not however meant that the Christians of the middle of the first century had worked out for themselves a consistent body of doctrine with regard to the Holy Trinity. That was to be the work of later ages, but the germ of it was given when St. Paul wrote: 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all' (2 Cor. xiii. 14).

¹ The word 'which' rather than 'who' in this verse is due to the fact that the Greek word for 'breath' or 'spirit' is neuter. In Latin it is masculine (the Vulgate has 'who' in this place) and in Syriac it is feminine so that no inference can be drawn from the grammatica gender.

With regard to other fundamental doctrines the evidence of this epistle is equally clear. The Atonement is briefly but sufficiently expressed by 'Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures' (xv. 3). Christ's Resurrection and our own, His present reign and continual presence with His Church are the main subject of the fifteenth chapter, and one verse of that chapter (v. 45) lays the foundation for the doctrine of the Sacraments. If there is no distinct mention of the Ascension, it is implied in the words 'the second man is of heaven.' Baptism and the forgiveness of sins are taught in vi. 11. The Holy Eucharist is declared to be the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ (x. 16). On the other hand public worship is not yet organized: it seems indeed to be extraordinarily disorganized, but that is one of the things which St. Paul hopes to remedy on his second visit (xi. 34). The local ministry does not appear yet to have been settled, but the germ of a settlement lies in the apostolic authority. The position of women is still unregulated. But in all essential respects we can see that the life of this first generation of Christians was what ours is now. And this, let it be remembered, was long before there was any Bible except the Old Testament. The Church was not the creation of the Bible; it would be truer to say that the Bible was the creation of the Church. Many generations passed before the New Testament

took anything like its present shape. As soon as it did so it became an intensely valuable support to the faith and life of the Church—'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness' (2 Tim. iii. 16),—but it was not itself the foundation. Many Christians lived and died without having read a word of the New Testament.

It remains to say a few words about St. Paul's conception of the church, so far as it may be gathered from this epistle. He speaks more than once of the whole Christian society as 'the church of God.' He also speaks of 'all the churches of the saints'; but it is quite clear that by churches he means, not separate societies, independent of each other and in some respects differing from each other, but local congregations of the one society. Much in the same way we speak of the Post Office, and of local post offices. According to English law there can be only one Post Office in the country, and every town or village post office is a representative of the central authority for carrying out its purposes.¹ But the Church is something very much more than a human organization. 'Ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof.' 'In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body.' And again, 'Ye are the sanctuary of God.' Such expressions call up a very solemn and exalted view of

¹ I owe this illustration to Dr. Goudge.

the Christian society, and we must not water them down by imagining that the word 'body' can have its modern meaning of any kind of society of persons, however loosely organized. In the New Testament it always has its full meaning of an organic structure for the maintenance and manifestation of life. The body exists first, and it grows by the accretion of new members. Every one who is baptized is, in St. Luke's pregnant phrase, 'added to the Lord' (Acts v. 14), and no Christian can live his life independent of the rest. 'It appeared instinctively certain to the first believers that in the act of personal regeneration they found themselves already incorporated into a divine society in the city of the redeemed.'¹ An unattached Christian would have appeared to St. Paul an impossible anomaly; equally impossible would it have seemed to him for there to be two 'churches' in the same place. The one divine society lays its obligation on us from the moment of our baptism; we are subject to its rules, we are the recipients of its grace. That it should be united is a matter not of convenience but of principle, for it is now just as much the instrument by which the Spirit of Christ desires to act in the world as His natural Body was the instrument by which He acted during the thirty-three years of His earthly life.

¹ Scott Holland, *Creeds and Critics*, p. 102.

The 'gospel' which St. Paul preached and by which men were saved is by him summed up in three sentences: 'Christ died for our sins—He was buried—He has risen.' (xv. 3, 4). This is equivalent to our Lord's own revelation to St. John: 'I became dead, and behold I am alive for evermore.' (Rev. i. 18.) Our faith is to repose on the living Christ; not on any mere historical facts but on Him who having died is now risen and is alive for evermore. To be able to say in the power of the Spirit—that is, with the whole energy of a soul divinely quickened—'Jesus is Lord,' is to be a Christian (xii. 3). The Bible, the Sacraments, the Church, the ministry, all have their place, but this is the fundamental truth by embracing which, in the twentieth century as in the first, men pass from death to life. The life is theirs because Jesus Christ is 'a life-giving spirit' (xv. 45), communicating His own life to all who open the door of faith to receive it.

IV. THE SPECIAL VALUE OF THE EPISTLE FOR INDIA

To the Indian mind, reading the epistle for the first time, it must seem very unlike a sacred book, a Dharma Sastra. The Hindu Sastras are mostly philosophical disquisitions on the meaning of life, or they are minute ritual directions for the conduct of ceremonies, or they are hymns which wrestle

with the mystery of external nature. They have little relation to the ordinary, daily life of men. But that is just what this epistle deals with—deals with it in order to spiritualize it. For the Christian, when he was baptized, entered upon a discipline which was to renovate his character in every detail. And in this epistle we get glimpses of that discipline. It is not a formal treatise—it is a letter, answering questions which have been put in another letter from the Corinthians and introducing such additional topics as have incidentally been brought to the Apostle's notice. So we get no complete picture. But so far as it goes it shows us how the new principle of love was transforming daily life. 'Follow after love' says the apostle; i.e., carry it out into all the ramifications of conduct and let it take the place of selfishness in all you say and do. And all that the Apostle says is an illustration of this principle. Consequently missionaries are more often able to turn to this epistle, perhaps, than to any other for the solution of their daily difficulties and problems. The many questions that arise about marriage, the temptations to impurity, the quarrelling and litigious spirit, the use of excommunication, the tendency to partisanship, the relations of rich and poor, the attitude towards heathen society, the right use of gifts and endowments, the balance between social and individual religion, the position of women,—these and

other questions are lifted up in the light of Christian principle, and by the way in which they are dealt with the true method in all such cases is indicated. There are other epistles which are of greater use in the explanation of Christianity to the heathen, but in all the questions which concern the conduct of a newly-formed society of Christian converts the First Epistle to the Corinthians takes the leading place among the writings of the New Testament.

1 CORINTHIANS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER i. 1-9

A. *Apostolic Salutation* (1-3)

PAUL, called *to be* an apostle of Jesus Christ **1** **1**
through the will of God, and Sosthenes our brother,

St. Paul begins by using the customary form of greeting as we see it in many of the recently discovered papyri. In its barest form it is 'A to B greeting', but often it is filled out with descriptions both of the sender and of the recipient, and sometimes with words of prayer and thanksgiving. Thus in a soldier's letter of the second century: 'Apion to Epimachus his father and lord heartiest greetings. First of all I pray that you are in health and continually prosper and fare well with my sister and her daughter and my brother. I thank the Lord Serapis that when I was in danger at sea he saved me.'¹ St. Paul takes these common forms and inspires them with new life and meaning, derived from his faith. Who am I? One who has been *called by the will of God to be an apostle*—a delegate—of *Jesus Christ*, and therefore one who

¹ Milligan's *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, p. 90.

2 unto the church of God which is at Corinth, *even* them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called *to be*

writes to you in His name and with His authority ; and with me is associated your well-known *Sosthenes*, now a brother-Christian. There can be little doubt that this Sosthenes is the one mentioned in Acts xviii. 17, otherwise it would be difficult to account for his name being placed in this prominent position. There he appears as the ruler of the synagogue who had prosecuted St. Paul before Gallio, and was beaten by the bystanders because his charge was so evidently unjust and vexatious. Perhaps the beating did him good ; at any rate like many persecutors he afterwards came to see that he was wrong, and embraced the religion which he had persecuted. This must have caused a peculiar affection to grow up between him and St. Paul, whom at this time he visited at Ephesus, and he may have been the amanuensis of the letter (cf. Rom. xvi. 22). He however disappears at once, and the rest of this letter is in St. Paul's name alone (' I,' not ' we '). *To the church of God.* To be a Christian is to be a member of a society ; there is no indication anywhere in the New Testament that it was possible for any Christian to hold his faith in isolation—the very fact that we are initiated by baptism shows at once that we are members of a body, dependent upon others for the fulness of our own spiritual life. This body is the one *church* throughout the world, and the only sense in which the plural ' churches ' is used, is to indicate

saints, with all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, their *Lord* and ours :

the local societies of Christians which belong to and represent this one church. Of these churches there is one which exists *in Corinth*. The words contain a certain emphasis, as if of surprise at the contrast between the wicked city and the holy church. This church consists of men *who have been sanctified in Christ Jesus*. It seems at first sight remarkable that such an expression should be used of a community infected by the gross sins which are rebuked in the epistle, but sanctification, which means dedication to God, is once for all effected by baptism (cf. vi. 11) ; it carries with it the duty of becoming like Him in character, but that likeness is never complete in this life. The wonderful words *in Christ Jesus*—used even earlier than this in the epistles to the Thessalonians—show that the church already possessed the full doctrine of the divinity of Christ and His resurrection ; it would be impossible to be *in* one who was less than God, still less in one who was dead. They also show that the mystical Christ is completely one with the historical Jesus. *Called to be saints together with all those who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place* ; i.e. with all Christians throughout the world, again emphasizing the unity and holiness, in God's intention, of the church. In Acts ix. 14, 21 ; xxii. 16 to call upon the name of the Lord appears as the definition of a Christian, just as in the Old Testament (Joel ii. 32) it had been the

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

mark of a believing Israelite ; ' the Lord ' of the Old Testament is now revealed as *the Lord Jesus*. ' Our Lord ' did I say ? But He is *theirs* also, and we and they are one in Him. It must be remembered that St. Paul's epistles were dictated to an amanuensis, and it often happens that when he has finished a sentence an after-thought occurs to him which it is too late to embody in the text, so it is added rather abruptly at the end (cf. i. 16). In this addition he betrays his anxiety to impress upon the Corinthians that unity flowing from the one Lord is a principle which not only unites them among themselves but also joins them inseparably with all other local churches. *Grace to you and peace*. The commonest greeting in the papyri letters is a word that means 'rejoice'; in Hebrew it was commonly 'peace be unto thee' (cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 6) the same word as 'salaam.' The blessing of Moses (Num. vi. 25, 26) is 'The Lord be gracious unto thee . . . and give thee peace.' From these sources is derived a new Christian salutation ; *grace*—the favour of God—and *peace*—harmony with God springing from the forgiveness of sins—are the two chief needs of the soul, as expressed in our two collects at Morning and at Evening Prayer. *From God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ*. Another evidence of belief in our Lord's divinity ; we cannot imagine the name of a man, however exalted, occurring in such a connection.

B. *Thanksgiving* (4-9)

I thank my God always concerning you, for the **4** grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus ;

Thus the Apostolic greeting strikes at once the key-notes of the Epistle—unity and holiness.

vv. 4-9.—When blame is necessary, it is both wise and charitable to seek out first the points for approbation ; and this St. Paul could do honestly, because in spite of all failure he knew that a movement had been set on foot in Corinth which would issue in the glory of God and the salvation of many souls. We sometimes feel despondent about the Indian church—its slow growth and the deficiencies in character—but after all we know that a seed has been sown which will issue in something far greater than we can see at present. The Christian church has received great gifts and amongst them that of *knowledge*, i.e. a clear moral ideal in contrast with the uncertainties and self-contradictions of Hindu speculation, and an understanding of the true relation between man and God, and these gifts cannot in the long run be unfruitful. My first feeling, says St. Paul, is one of thankfulness for the manifold gifts of knowledge and teaching given to you at your conversion, and of confidence that God on His part is ready to complete the good work then begun. His commendation is not so warm as that which he gives to several other churches (1 Thess. i. 2 ; 2 Thess. i. 3 ; Phil. i. 3 ; Col. i. 3) and there is a significant omission of the word 'love', showing that it was the intellectual aspect of Christianity which first

5 that in everything ye were enriched in him, in all
6 utterance and all knowledge ; even as the testimony

appealed to the Corinthians, but in St. Clement's age this church was not wanting in practical charity (cf. Introduction).

Notice that the verbs *given, enriched, confirmed* are all in the tense which indicates a definite time, not a gradual development ; and no doubt St. Paul was thinking of the moment when they were ' baptized into the one body ' (xii. 13) and so became sharers of all the endowments of Christ ; some of these had already shown themselves, and others were awaiting their manifestation, but all so far as God's purpose was concerned were bestowed when they became in baptism ' partakers of the Divine nature ' (2 Pet. i. 4). So a father bestows certain of his own characteristics on his son in the very act of begetting him, but it takes many years to bring them to their full development. Continual thanksgiving is due for the *enrichment* of our lives by *the grace of God* which was once for all *given to us in Christ Jesus* (cf. the General Thanksgiving : ' but above all for Thine inestimable love in the redemption . . . for the means of grace and for the hope of glory'). It has been well said that ' thanksgiving is the sovereign remedy for despondency, for it is only through a delusion that we can ever imagine that there is more in the world to cause us depression than there is to evoke our thankfulness : it is only an attempt of the devil to magnify himself and his works above Almighty God and His works.'

of Christ was confirmed in you : so that ye come **7** behind in no gift ; waiting for the revelation of

In all utterance refers no doubt to those gifts of tongues, prophecy, and teaching which are commented on in chapter xii, and which the Corinthians were in danger of over-valuing. So here we sometimes find a new convert very eloquent in preaching and skilful in controversy, but he has to remember that there are other graces of the Christian life more important than these. *In all knowledge*, i.e. a quick intellectual grasp of the truths of Christianity, very characteristic of the Greek mind, as it is of some of the races of India. *Even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you.* The witness borne to Christ by my preaching was confirmed by the spiritual gifts—wisdom, knowledge, power of healing, miracles, etc. (xii. 8–10)—which appeared in the Corinthians. When we see, as we often do, wonderful spiritual energies in a new convert, it confirms the truth of Christian teaching and shows that Christianity is the religion which is needed to set free all the capacities of the human soul. *So that ye are not deficient in any gift of grace.* We lose a great deal in the English translation by not being able to mark clearly the connection and distinction between *charis*, the grace or favour of God, which is given to all Christians, and *charisma*—the word used here—which means a special gift of God's grace, not given to all, or at any rate not in the same degree. The *gifts of grace* were extraordinary powers, distinguishing certain Christians and enabling them to serve

our Lord Jesus Christ ; who shall also confirm you unto the end, *that ye be unproveable in the*

the church of Christ, the reception of which is due to the power of Divine grace operating in their souls by the Holy Spirit. Such, for instance, is the power of healing which is still given to some Christians.

Waiting for—or rather constantly and eagerly *expecting the revelation . . .* The watchword of the church is ‘ Maran atha ’—‘ The Lord is at hand ’ (xvi. 22 ; Phil. iv. 5), and this must be the safeguard against any Pharisaic spirit of self-satisfaction with our present gifts, and the stimulus to constant effort to become ready for Him. Though nineteen centuries have passed away and the Second Advent has not yet occurred, this spirit of eager expectation must never be allowed to die out, for it is true that Christ is constantly coming to every man in the events of life, and still more in death, so that there are many advents before the final one, and it is the mark of a Christian ‘ to love ’, not to dread, ‘ His appearing, (2 Tim. iv. 8). The *revelation of Jesus Christ* means more than His own appearance ; it is the unfolding of His full purpose for each of us and for all together (Gal. i. 16 ; iv. 19). In the expression there is just a hint of warning to this too self-satisfied church. And Christ on His part *will confirm you*, and will go on doing so unto the end. As you ratified our witness to Christ (v. 6) by your spiritual life, so He also will continue to ratify His gifts in you : ‘ grace for grace ’ (John i. 16 ; 2 Cor. iii. 18). *The end* is not merely the end of your life,

day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God is faithful, **9** through whom ye were called into the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

but the end of the age, as in Phil. i. 6. Christ's work is carried forward in the life of the soul both before and after death. So that you may be *unaccused in the day of our Lord Jesus*. The accuser will try to the very last to find matter of accusation against us. *Faithful is God*. (Cf. 1 Tim. i. 13; 1 Thess. v. 24.) Not our own steadfastness but the Divine faithfulness is the fundamental ground of our hope. This is finely expressed in the hymn by Principal Shairp :

Let me no more my comfort draw
From my frail hold of Thee :
In this alone rejoice with awe—
Thy mighty grasp of me.

Fellowship, or *communion*, or *society* : this was one of the earliest words by which the Christian church was known (Acts ii. 42 : ' They continued steadfastly in the teaching of the Apostles, and the *fellowship* ') and it is almost a pity that it has not continued to be the leading title, as it expresses grandly the two great purposes of the church, the union of the baptized with Christ and with one another—a union in which all share the endowments of the rest. Cf. 1 John i. 3. This fellowship was effected once for all when we were *called* by God to be Christians. The frequent repetition of the Name of Christ—nine times in the first nine verses—is like the solemn pealing of a bell calling to unity and brotherly love.

I. THE UNITY OF THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH

CHAPTERS i. 10—iv. 21

- A. THE EXISTENCE OF PARTIES, i. 10-17.
- B. THE GOSPEL NOT ESSENTIALLY A PHILOSOPHY, i. 18—ii. 5.
- C. NEVERTHELESS THE GOSPEL CONTAINS A WISDOM WHICH IS BOTH DIVINE AND TRUE, ii. 6—iii. 4.
- D. THE TRUE NATURE OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, iii. 5—iv. 5.
- E. PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS ENFORCING PRINCIPLES OF UNITY, iv. 6-21.

10 Now I beseech you, brethren, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the

A. The existence of parties : statement of the fact and its condemnation. i. 10-17

vv. 10-17. It appears that a lady named Chloe arrived at Ephesus from Corinth in the spring of A.D. 55 with a party of her relations or slaves—*they of Chloe* may mean either—and at the same time came the bearers of a letter from the Corinthian church asking certain questions: the former reported that the church itself was by no means in a healthy state,

same thing, and *that* there be no divisions among you ; but *that* ye be perfected together in the same

being split up into factions which, without any authority, called themselves by the names of different leaders—Paul, Apollos, Cephas—while a fourth party had actually assumed the name of Christ, as though He belonged to them and to no one else. If the names of Paul and Apollos alone had been mentioned, we might have thought these parties a mere matter of personal following, for Apollos like St. Paul had preached at Corinth (Acts xix. 1) ; but there is no reason to suppose that Peter had visited Corinth at this time, and the use of his Jewish name Cephas may possibly mean that it was employed as a watchword to rally those who were in favour of Jewish exclusiveness, rather than of Pauline liberty or Alexandrian culture. But the worst partisans of all were those who said they belonged to no party but only to Christ, implying that the others did not. It was these alone who continued to give trouble, as we see from 2 Cor. x-xiii.¹ The others perhaps only represented certain tendencies which must always

¹ Lightfoot considers that they are to be identified with the extreme Judaizers who gave so much trouble to the churches of Galatia, claiming the name of Christ because they had seen our Lord in the flesh (2 Cor. v. 16). ' Of the party of Cephas no distinct features are preserved ; but the passage itself implies that they differed from the extreme Judaizers, and we may therefore conjecture that they took up a middle position with regard to the Law '. *Commentary on Galatians*, p. 373.

11 mind and in the same judgement. For it hath been signified unto me concerning you, my brethren,

exist in the church, and which only do harm when they are over-emphasized and made a ground of *divisions*. The Christian religion has its mystical, its intellectual and its institutional elements, which each appeal with different force to different minds ; it is very necessary that each of these should tolerate and learn from the other two, subject to the condition of their being really united in their fundamental faith—that *all speak the same thing*. Having thus stated the facts, he proceeds to characterize them. 'It is a false degradation of Christ to make Him the Saviour only of some ; it is a false exaltation of myself to make me the saviour of any. I gave you no excuse for such partisanship, for though it was through my preaching that most of you learned the faith, I carefully avoided baptizing you myself, lest you should think that the grace of your new life proceeded from me and not from Christ.'

Now I entreat you, brothers. The word, which means literally to *call upon* a person, combines the idea of exhortation, entreaty and encouragement. The use of the word *brothers* implies that all Christians are of one family and therefore it strikes at the root of all distinctions of caste. But *brothers* ought to be of one mind in the house, and so the apostle calls upon them to unite first of all as to the statement of what they believe—he entreats them *through, by means of, the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that you all*

by them *which are of the household* of Chloe, that there are contentions among you Now this I **12**

say the same thing, which seems to mean that they should unite in publicly acknowledging that Jesus Christ alone, and not any other leader, is their Master. *And that there be not among you dissensions.* The Greek word is the one from which we get 'schism', but it is clear that he does not mean what we now call schism, otherwise he could not have addressed them as one church, but they seemed to be tending towards an actual break-up. (Cf. Acts xxiii. 7.) That this letter had a great effect in preventing such a consummation is evident from St. Clement's words: 'Every sedition and every schism was abominable to you.' *But that you be fitted together in the same mind and in the same judgement.* The Catholic Church is to be 'compacted by that which every joint supplieth' (Eph. iv. 16), that is to say, its unity is not to be enforced by authority so as to suppress the individuality of the members, but each is to bring his own contribution of thought *in the same temper*—the temper of unity—so that all shall at last unite *in one judgement*—the judgement of truth. This might seem a hopeless ideal, if the promise of the Spirit were not pledged to us to enable us to gain it. (Eph. iv. 1-7). We must not acquiesce in party divisions, but be continually trying to learn what others can teach us, and so 'labour for peace'. He now, once more using the affectionate word *brothers*, reveals the source of his information. 'Consider his prudence' says

mean, that each one of you saith, I am of Paul ; and I of Apollos ; and I of Cephas ; and I of

Chrysostom ' in not speaking of any distinct person, but of the entire family, so as not to make them hostile towards the informer ; for in this way he both protects him and fearlessly opens the accusation.' He calls the dissensions by a worse name, *quarrels* or *strifes*, such as (in Gal. v. 20) he classes among ' the works of the flesh '. If *each of you* is to have its full significance it must mean that there were none of the Corinthian Christians who had not attached themselves to one of the four parties ; and that may have been the case, with insignificant exceptions. *I am of Paul*. No doubt this was meant as an expression of personal loyalty, but it was loyalty of a kind which was extremely distasteful to the apostle, and he is careful not to show the smallest sympathy with their attitude.

I am of Apollos.¹ Cf. Acts xviii. 24-26, to which the Bezan text has the following addition : ' And there were certain Corinthians sojourning in Ephesus and when they heard him they besought him to cross over with them to their country. And when he had

¹ The name is a contraction of Apollonius (which form is actually found in one MS. of Acts xviii. 24), derived from Apollo, and is interesting, like Epaphroditus and some others, as showing that the early Christians did not object to retaining names derived from heathen gods and goddesses. Not till the middle of the third century did the fashion come in of adopting distinctively Christian names. See Harnack : *Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 422-30.

Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for **13**: you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul?

consented, the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth that they should receive the man. And when he had journeyed to Achaia he helped them much in the churches, for he powerfully confuted the Jews and that publicly, reasoning and showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.' Then follows xix. 1-7. The only other mention of Apollos is in Titus iii. 13, and these references—with those in this epistle—give us all that is known about him. It is evident from xvi. 12 that he and St. Paul were united in friendship, and that he deprecated as much as St. Paul himself did the misguided enthusiasm of the Corinthians. The differences in doctrine could not have been great, or St. Paul would not have urged him to go again to Corinth, and it is generally supposed—though there is no direct evidence for this—that they consisted rather in the manner of presentation of the gospel than in the substance of the teaching. Apollos as an Alexandrian would be thoroughly imbued with 'Wisdom' literature, and his eloquence may have been compared unfavourably with the rough speech (2 Cor. x. 10; xi. 6) of St. Paul. St. Clement (c. 47) writes: 'Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties, yet that making of parties brought less

14 I thank God that I baptized none of you, save
15 Crispus and Gaius ; lest any man should say that

sin upon you, for ye were partisans of apostles that were highly reputed, and of a man approved in their sight.' This shows that Apollos was not ranked as an apostle : it also implies that the Apollos party had died out when St. Clement wrote. St. Paul's own view of the matter is that Apollos had 'watered' where he himself had 'planted', i.e. that Apollos had strengthened and cherished the converts whom St. Paul had made, and therefore there could be no room for faction or jealousy. *And I of Cephas.* St. Paul uses the Aramaic name four times in this epistle, and four times in *Galatians* ; 'Peter', twice in *Galatians*. In the Gospels and Acts 'Peter' is the rule. There is no reason to suppose that Peter had anything to do with the founding of the Corinthian church, though Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth about A.D. 170, says that he founded it jointly with St. Paul ; but as Peter was professedly the apostle of the Circumcision (Gal. ii. 7, 8), those who favoured Jewish practices would naturally shelter themselves under his name, just as in modern times he has come—with little warrant—to be looked upon as the patron of 'institutionalism' in the church. At the same time the Corinthians could not have been ignorant of the part he had played at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv) and therefore could not claim him as a thorough-going advocate of Jewish exclusiveness. Those who stood for this last were the fourth party who said *And I of Christ*, i.e. they claimed

ye were baptized into my name. And I baptized **16** also the household of Stephanas : besides, I know

to be in some peculiar relation to Christ, probably because they had known Him after the flesh (2 Cor. v. 16). The other parties quickly disappear, but this party remained dangerous. It is referred to again in chapter ix, and in 2 Cor. x-xiii it forms the subject of a vigorous invective which shows how deeply it had infected the Corinthian, as it had previously infected the Galatian church.¹ *Has the Christ been divided?* The insertion of the article shows that there is a transition from 'Christ' as a personal name to 'the Christ' now dwelling mystically in His church. This is the interpretation of St. Chrysostom, who says: 'Ye have cut in pieces the Christ and distributed His body.' To suppose that the true Christ can be divided is to maintain an absurdity. 'Is the function of Christ, of Saviour, and Founder of the Kingdom of God divided among several individuals, so that one possesses one piece of it; another, another?' (Godet). Some, however, take the words as meaning 'Has Christ been allotted to any one party as its share, so as to exclude the others?' Though there is good authority for this use of the verb (2 Cor. x. 13) the former sense is to be preferred, since it gives a meaning to the emphatic change from 'Christ' to

¹ An excellent account of these parties is given by Bishop Robertson in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, pp. 486, 493, 495.

17 not whether I baptized any other. For Christ sent

'the Christ'. You profess to have been split into different factions. But has the Christ who dwells in you been divided? Are you not really all one? Brothers in a family may quarrel, but the bond of blood remains, and is a perpetual reminder to dwell in peace. *Was it one 'Paul' who was crucified for you, or into the name of 'Paul' were you baptized?* It is difficult to express in English the delicate nuances of meaning in this passage which are glanced at by the omission or retention of the article. Here it is omitted with *Paul* in both cases, but to attempt to translate accordingly is to over-emphasize the omission. 'Let us take one of the parties—that which you call Paul's; I do not acknowledge it as mine. If I did, I ought to have been crucified for you, and you ought to have been baptized into my name.' This is one of several passages in the New Testament which suggest that the earliest form of baptism may have been into the name of Jesus Christ.¹ *I am thankful—'to God' is omitted in the best text—that not one of you did I baptize except Crispus and Gaius.* Crispus was the ruler of the synagogue at Corinth (Acts xviii. 8); Gaius was a personal friend in whose house St. Paul was staying when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 23) and he was noted for his hospitality to all Christians. St. Paul does not mean

¹ See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 241.

me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel : not in

that he had purposely abstained from baptizing lest he should be suspected of doing so in his own name—for he could not have foreseen the divisions—but that being absorbed in the work of preaching he had left the ministerial act of baptizing to others, and he now sees that that fact was fortunate and providential, *so that none should say you were baptized into my name*, for no one could suppose that, when converts were baptized into the name of Christ (or the Holy Trinity) and that act had been performed by some other person, it could bind them in any way to St. Paul himself. Verse 16 has the appearance of an after-thought, and is a clear indication that the letter was dictated. *And I baptized also the house*—i.e. family—*of Stephanas*. For Stephanas see xvi. 15. *For Christ did not send me to baptize, but He sent me to preach the gospel*. 'It is evident that this is said in no derogation of baptism, for he did on occasion baptize, and it would be impossible that he should speak lightly of the ordinance to which he appeals (Rom. vi. 3) as the seal of our union with Christ' (Alford). So far from derogating from the dignity of the sacrament, this passage invests it with special importance, for it suggests that if he had baptized them they would have had some ground for thinking that their new life was derived from him. To leave the act of baptizing to subordinate ministers is to exalt the true Baptizer, Jesus Christ Himself (2 Cor. iv. 7).

wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made void.

The second half of verse 17 forms the transition to the next division of the subject, which is that partisanship ignores the true character of Christian preaching. The gospel 'is above all a fact, and its preaching is the simple testimony rendered to a fact.' To make it a matter of *wisdom* or eloquence is to attract attention to the messenger rather than the message. Christ did *send me to preach*, but how? *Not in wisdom of speech, lest the cross of Christ be emptied* of its essential character. Perhaps in the section which now follows St. Paul is glancing—certainly not at Apollos himself—but at those who claimed Apollos for their leader, for he had shown himself a thorough representative of Alexandrian eloquence and learning (Acts xviii. 24) and (as Renan says) 'the talent of Apollos turned all their heads.' In so doing he was no doubt following the method most natural to him, and making use of the culture which he had gained before he became a Christian. But consciously to aim at expounding the Christian religion as though it were a new philosophy would be to obscure its real simplicity, and so to exclude the poor and uncultured from its benefits. In India, missionaries are often taunted with going to the outcastes and the ignorant, but it is really a matter for the highest thankfulness that the gospel can be appreciated by such people (cf. St. Matt. xi. 25).

For the word of the cross is to them that are perishing foolishness ; but unto us which are being saved it is the power of God. For it is written, **18**
19

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise,
And the prudence of the prudent will I reject.

B. *The Gospel is not essentially a Philosophy.*

i. 18-ii. 5

That the Gospel is not primarily nor essentially a philosophy is established from the apparently irrational character of the cross (*vv.* 18-25), from the composition of the Corinthian church (*vv.* 26-31), and from the attitude which St. Paul himself had adopted among them (*ch.* ii. 1-5).

For the word of the cross—the preaching of a crucified Saviour—is not primarily an appeal to men's reasoning power—if it were, there would be room for different views of it, and therefore for parties and discussions—but to something deeper, viz. those primal instincts which are the root-ground of human nature. An Indian questioner once asked, 'How do I know that I am a man?' To such a question there is no answer, except to say, You would not be a man if you did not know it. And so to the question why self-sacrifice appeals to every human soul, the only answer is, 'It is human nature.' It is to that human nature, at its deepest and best, that the fact of the cross appeals, as soon as we realize by faith who it is that suffered there. 'I if I be lifted up will draw all men unto Me.' And yet human nature may have so corrupted itself

20 Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made

that the appeal falls dead—to *them that are perishing it is folly—while to us who are being saved, in whom the nature is yet healthy and growing towards its true development, it is God's power.* This is confirmed by Scripture, for in the prophecy of Isaiah *it has been written, I will destroy, etc.* (Isaiah xxix. 14.) When Sennacherib was threatening Judah, and the politicians were seeking to avert the danger by diplomacy, the prophet declared that the danger should indeed be averted but by an utter reversal of all human expectation. This is the enunciation of a permanent principle, which is stated still more impressively by our Lord Himself. (St. Matt. xi. 25–27 and St. Luke x. 21–23.) The mistake in human calculations is that they leave out God, and God has His own methods.¹ If the gospel made great demands

¹ 'Do not forget that the great obstacle to sanctification, the great barrier to spiritual advancement, is that one keeps one's own ideas and reasonings, one loses oneself in returns upon self . . . In what place of the Gospel are we commanded to reason, to reflect, to discuss? On the contrary, is not the command to pray given us on all its pages? . . . Give me a soul the most imperfect, the most driven by passions, storms and temptations of every kind: if that soul, whatever happens, knows how to lay down upon God its reasonings, its ideas, its troubles, its agitations—to throw them into the bosom of the paternal mercy and take refuge in prayer—that soul has great virtues; it is saved and its place is written in heaven.'—RAVIGNAN.

foolish the wisdom of the world? For seeing that **21** in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom

on human intellect, as the Vedantic philosophy does, it could not be a gospel for the poor and simple. *Where is there a wise man, where a scribe, where a disputer—of this age?* The language contains further echoes of Isaiah (xix. 11, 12 ; xxxiii. 18), but St. Paul is developing his own thought, which is that philosophers or logicians as such have no relation to God's way of salvation ; they may claim it by right of their humanity, not by the privilege of their wisdom or learning. *Did not God turn into folly the wisdom of the world?* (Cf. Rom. i. 21-3.) There could not be a better example anywhere than there is in India of God's turning into folly the wisdom of this world ; all the ancient philosophy of India, deep and subtle as it was, has issued in pitiful idolatry and childish superstition.¹

For seeing that in the wisdom of God the world did not learn to know God through its wisdom. St. Chrysostom takes *the wisdom of God* in this verse as meaning 'the wisdom apparent in those works whereby

¹ The late B. M. Malabari writes : 'The Brahmanical system must be judged by its results. It has existed for long centuries and it has made us what we are, reducing a virile race to utter impotence . . . The noblest spirits of the country wander in the regions of doubt and disbelief, sometimes doubting their own existence, sometimes claiming not only kinship but real unity with God.'—*Life of B.M.M.*, by Sirđar Jogendra Singh, p. 110.

knew not God, it was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that

it was His will to make Himself known'; so that the thought would be that of Rom. i. 19-23. But it is impossible to find a parallel for this objective use of *wisdom*, and the thought seems to be rather that of the following passage in Rom. (i. 24-28) that God 'gives up to a reprobate mind' those who fail to use rightly the intellectual powers that He has given them. Even the failures of men are part of the wise ordering of God, in order that they may learn when they have failed in their own way to come back to His. *God was pleased through the apparent folly of the proclamation of the cross to save—not the philosophers but—the believers.* There is a certain grave irony in the form of the expression. St. Paul was far from thinking that the proclamation of the cross was really *folly*—on the contrary he shows, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, that he looks upon it as the only true foundation for a philosophy of history—but it must have seemed incredibly foolish in that age, as we see in that rudely scratched figure found in Rome of an ass's head on a cross with the inscription 'Alexamenos worships his god'. 'The faculty to which God appeals in this new revelation is no longer reason, which had so badly performed its task in reference to the former one; it is faith . . . what God asks is no longer that man should investigate, but that he should give himself up with a broken conscience and a believing heart'—Godet. I say this *seeing that both Jews*

believe. Seeing that Jews ask for signs, and Greeks **22** seek after wisdom : but we preach Christ crucified, **23**

demand signs and Greeks seek for wisdom. Greeks mean all who are not Jews, so that the two classes together make up the world (v. 21). It was characteristic of the Jewish mind to seek for some extraordinary sign from heaven (St. Matt. xii. 38 ; xvi. 1, etc.) while the Greek genius demanded a closely-reasoned system of philosophy. It might, we think, be said that the Indian mind desires both. Its philosophical acumen is well known, and it has an almost equal avidity for the marvellous.¹ Hence to it also the preaching of the cross appears to be foolishness, and yet it is the true answer to the demand both for wisdom and for power. But we proclaim a Christ who has been crucified, to Jews a stumbling-block and to Gentiles a folly. In Leviticus xix. 4 it is written 'Thou shalt not put a stumbling-block before the blind' and in several places of the Old Testament this word is transferred to the moral sphere, so that it means

¹ ' Father Gregory, the Roman Catholic priest, dined with us one evening and Major G. took occasion to ask him at table what progress our religion was making among the people.' 'Progress,' said he, 'why, what progress can we ever hope to make among a people who, the moment we begin to talk to them about the miracles performed by Christ, begin to tell us of those infinitely more wonderful performed by Krishna, who lifted a mountain upon his little finger, as an umbrella, to defend his shepherdesses at Govardhan from a shower of rain.' Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, ch. liii.

unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles
24 foolishness; but unto them that are called, both
Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the

something which offends the consciences of the unenlightened; in spite of such passages as Psalm xxii and Isaiah liii, the idea of a *crucified Messiah* was such a *stumbling-block* to the main body of the Jews, a thing from which their conscience revolted, while to Gentiles it seemed simply a *folly*, something which no one who had any sense would dream of putting forward; and yet when we look at the sorrow and suffering of the world, deeper thoughts might be suggested. As one who was not a Christian believer said: 'No wonder man's religion has so much sorrow in it; no wonder that he needs a Suffering God.'¹ And so St. Paul continues—*but to the called themselves*—i.e. to those who have heard God's call and responded to it,—*both Jews and Greeks*—we proclaim a *Christ* who is *God's power and God's wisdom*; they see what other men cannot see, that the Cross of Christ is both the source of strength and the key of knowledge. *Because God's foolishness is wiser than men are and God's weakness is stronger than men are.* When a man tries to do a clever thing after careful and prudent consideration, he finds that God's direction however seemingly foolish is better; and when he tries to accomplish his ends by strenuous efforts of his own, he finds that it would have been

¹ George Eliot: *Adam Bede*, ch. xxxv.

wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God **25** is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

better to trust to God's help. Cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 45; 1 Cor. xv. 32; 2 Cor. xii. 9; xiii. 4.

The second step in the proof that the Gospel is not essentially a philosophy is derived from consideration of the Corinthian church, which consists on the whole of people who are neither learned nor powerful (i. 26-31).

This, which is very familiar to us as a reproach against the Christian church in India, is looked upon by St. Paul not only as a matter of pride but also as a proof of the true character of the gospel. There are religious movements in India at the present day which appeal only to the educated few, and we Christians must feel that this fact alone is sufficient to condemn them. 'God must love common men very much,' said Abraham Lincoln, 'because He has made so many of them.' A religion which comes from God must be able to include the poor and ignorant, the pariahs and the outcastes, without excluding the rich and powerful. 'To the poor the gospel is preached' was our Lord's strongest proof of His claims. The inscriptions badly spelt and written in the catacombs, show that the bulk of the community was illiterate. This fact must not, however, be exaggerated. St. Paul's epistles presuppose a fairly educated class of hearers, and at least in Rome the Christians were

26 For behold your calling, brethren, how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not
 27 many noble, *are called*: but God chose the foolish

able to purchase and excavate catacombs which must have entailed a very large expenditure.¹

For look at your calling, brothers. The word *calling* is not used in the New Testament in the sense of a man's profession or work in life, it always means the calling into the church, or the conditions under which he became a Christian; here, by a slight extension of meaning, it is the manner in which the church is being formed under God's call and guidance. How *that not many of you are wise according to the flesh, not many are powerful, not many are well-born.* The Epistle to the Romans, which was written from Corinth, mentions 'Erastus, the treasurer of the city' and 'Gaius, my host and of the whole church' (xvi. 23). Another exception was Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue (Acts xviii. 8), and Sosthenes (Acts xviii. 17; 1 Cor. i. 1). *According to the flesh* may qualify all these adjectives; spiritually they were wise and powerful and well-born. *But it was the foolish things of the world which God chose out to put to shame the wise people, and it was the weak things of the world which God chose out to put to shame the strong things.* We must not understand that God purposely excludes men of culture and position from the church, but only

¹ Cf. Barnes: *The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments*, p. xvii seq.

things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise ; and God chose the weak things of the world, that he might put to shame the

that culture and position have no tendency in themselves to draw men into it, rather the contrary ; and the cultured are put to shame by the fact that God's principle of choice is not that which they, in their self-esteem, would regard as the right one. *And it was the low-born things of the world and the things which have been set at naught which God chose out,¹ things that are not, to annihilate the things that are.* The expression recalls a phrase used not long since by a Hindu paper — ' Christianity raises no ripple on the surface of our society ', yet we are sure that there is in Christianity a force which in the long run will be destructive of ' the things as they are '. *That no flesh—the human element as opposed to the divine principle—may boast itself before God.* (Cf. Jerem. ix. 23, 24, which is summarized in this passage.) *But it is from Him that you, in Christ Jesus, have your being.* Men may account us Christians as non-entities because of our small importance in the world, but to be *in Christ*, to partake of Christ's own life, is the only true existence, because that life has its source in God. It may be said, of course, that all life is derived from God ; but the life of Christ is the life of God, and by sharing in that life we become ' partakers of the Divine nature '

¹ ' And ' is omitted in Nestle's text, and bracketed in that of Westcott and Hort.

28 things that are strong; and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God choose, *yea* and the things that are not, that

(2 St. Pet. i. 4). All other life is destined to pass away, but this alone is real and eternal. Consequently the position of *v.* 28 is reversed; the Christian has become one of 'the things that are', and those who claimed to be something on account of their worldly greatness are discovered to have no real existence. The life in God through Christ is the only life for men. For Christ *became wisdom for us from God, both righteousness and sanctification and full redemption, in order that* the words of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, '*He that boasteth himself, let him boast himself in the Lord.*' 'Wisdom, because He hath revealed His Father's will; justice, because He hath offered Himself a sacrifice for sin; sanctification, because He hath given us of His Spirit; redemption, because He hath appointed a day to vindicate His children out of the bands of corruption into liberty which is glorious.'—Hooker, *Serm.* ii. 2.

But the form of expression in the Greek makes it more probable that the last three nouns are in apposition with *wisdom*. Christ's presence within us imparts a *wisdom* which is not merely an intellectual endowment but a new principle of life, issuing in present forgiveness of sin, growing development of holiness, and final complete emancipation from evil and all its consequences. (Compare the last three clauses of the Lord's Prayer.) St. Paul then states here briefly the

he might bring to nought the things that are : that **29**
no flesh should glory before God. But of him are **30**
ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom

great theme which a year or two later he fully developed in the Epistle to the Romans—*righteousness* in chapters i-iv, *sanctification* in chapters v-vii. and *redemption* in chapter viii. At present his object is merely to glance at the glorious privileges of the new life, in order that the Christians of Corinth may understand how little it matters that the society around them regards them as outcastes. 'The words express the deeply religious and true thought, that the highest wisdom for men is when not merely the highest knowledge but the highest life is gained ; but highest life is gained by the believer in Christ Jesus, i.e. in the Crucified.'

The third step in the proof that the gospel is not essentially a philosophy is derived from St. Paul's own attitude when he came to Corinth (ii. 1-5). He preached the gospel to the poor, as our Lord Himself had done.

The brief account of St. Paul's preaching at Corinth in Acts xviii. 1-11 does not tell us much about his feelings at the time, but taken in connexion with this passage it forms one of those undesigned coincidences which strengthen our sense of the actuality of both. Here he says : ' I was with you in fear, and in weakness, and in much trembling ', while in Acts we are told that the Lord appeared to him in a vision and said, ' Fear not . . . for I am with thee . . . He reasoned

from God, and righteousness and sanctification, and
31 redemption: that, according as it is written, He
that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

in the synagogue every sabbath, and sought to persuade Jews and Greeks' not however 'in persuasive words of wisdom but in a demonstration of spirit and power'. Had St. Paul been inculcating a philosophy he would have gone about it in the method which was in vogue in his day. In the first century of the Christian era there was an amazing development of the application of philosophy to ethics, and it was common for philosophers to assume the part of directors of the conscience, of missionaries and theologians.¹ No doubt many of these were sincere and earnest men, like Seneca and Dion Chrysostom, but St. Paul hints at some who undertook the task from corrupt motives (1 Thess. ii. 3-6), and the records of the time amply confirm the existence of these impostors. Even the best men treated 'moral error and reform as rather a matter of the intellect than of emotional impulse; vice is the condition of a besotted mind which has lost the power of seeing things as they really are; conversion must be effected, not by appeals to the feelings, but by clarifying the mental vision. There is but little reference to

¹ Cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. Three of his chapters are headed 'The Philosophic Director', 'The Philosophic Missionary', and 'The Philosophic Theologian'.

And I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not **2** **1**
with excellency of speech or of wisdom, proclaiming
to you the mystery of God. For I determined not **2**

religion as means of reform'.¹ And their experience makes them profoundly pessimistic; they cannot believe that any widespread reform is possible. Compare this with the triumphant tone of St. Paul and his experience of real conversions (ch. vi. 9-11). The difference between him and them is that he had a message from God (1 Thess. ii. 13), and they had not.

And so I also when I first came to you, brothers, did not come announcing to you God's mystery—or testimony—with any distinction of word or wisdom. The manuscript authority for *testimony* (A.V.) and *mystery* (R.V.) is almost equal, and it is difficult to decide between the two readings.² *Testimony* however seems to accord better with the sense; to deliver a testimony is a plain and simple matter, it does not require a philosopher. *The testimony of God* may mean either the message committed to me by God, or my witness concerning God (cf. i. 6). The former is better. Having a word of God to deliver, I spoke as a plain man to plain men. *For I did not determine to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and Him as crucified.* This does not mean that at Corinth St. Paul had spoken of the cross and nothing but the cross—the epistle itself shows that he had practically taught

¹ Cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. p. 370.

² WH. adopt *mystery*, Nestle *testimony*.

to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and
3 him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and
4 in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech

the whole creed—but that the cross was the central fact on which all the rest of his teaching was based. He may have been thinking of the ill success of his preaching at Athens, where—if St. Luke's report may be taken as essentially complete—he had not mentioned the cross, but had constructed a philosophical argument culminating in the Resurrection. If so, it is a warning to preachers in India that adaptation to Indian ideas may easily be carried too far, and that to represent Christianity merely as 'the crown of Hinduism' is to miss its most essential characteristics. *And I myself in weakness and in fear and in much trembling made my appearance before you.* How many a missionary must have thanked St. Paul in his heart for this candid confession! Again and again we have been dismayed by the tremendous worldly forces which are arrayed against us, and there have been times when 'we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight' (Num. xiii. 33). At such times it is an intense encouragement to know that the great Apostle of the Gentiles had the very same feelings. True courage consists not in having no feeling of fear but in having it and going on all the same. St. Paul's discouragement was partly due to his being alone at the time (Acts xviii. 5). *And my speech and my proclamation were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in a demonstration of spirit and power.* The last

and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and

two nouns go together and are practically equal to *spiritual power*—it was that ‘power from on high’ (St. Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8) which our Lord had promised to His apostles—the effect of the Holy Spirit on their hearts and words. The same Holy Spirit who, according to the Nicene Creed, ‘spake by the prophets’ (cf. Micah iii. 8) now speaks through apostles and other holy men in the Christian church, not to charm men with eloquence but to convince them of sin, of righteousness and of judgement; in a word, to produce conversion. *In order that your faith may not be resting in men’s wisdom but in God’s power.* A faith produced by persuasive argument may easily change, but there is a serenity and permanence about Christian faith which shows that it is effected by the Holy Spirit. (Cf. St. Bernard: *Tranquillus Deus tranquillat omnia, et Quietum aspicere requiescere est*).

We may now ask whether this passage has any application to the circumstances of India. It is so true that it might seem to have been written expressly about India, though of course this part of the world was unknown to St. Paul. India has been called ‘the land of philosophers’, and it is a fact that at a time when the rest of the world was in barbarism it produced a great literature of religious philosophy which is still, from an intellectual point of view, the admiration of the world. But if we ask whether this philosophy has enabled men to *know God* (ch. i. 21)

5 of power : that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.

6 Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect :

the answer must be in the negative. Of the six systems of Indian philosophy one is frankly atheistic, and none of the others presents a personal God who can be the object of love and worship. The most popular, the Vedanta, identifies God with man and with the rest of the universe. The common opinion of Indians at the present time is that all religions are true, which amounts to saying that the truth about God is a matter of indifference. And it is important to observe that the exact result has followed which St. Paul foresaw. A religion which is based upon philosophy is a religion for intellectual aristocrats, and from the first none but Brahmans were allowed to touch the sacred books ; to this day the fifty millions of outcastes in India, though they are called Hindus, have no share in the privileges of Hinduism. St. Paul argues that a religion which is a mere philosophy could not be one for the poor and ignorant. Our Lord reverses the argument and says that a religion which offers its highest privileges to the poor has at any rate one of the marks of a Divine message (St. Matt. xi. 5).

C. Nevertheless the Gospel contains a wisdom which is both Divine and true. ii. 6-iii. 4

Had St. Paul's argument stopped at this point, he would have laid himself open to the charge of

yet a wisdom not of this world, nor of the rulers of this world, which are coming to nought: but we⁷

obscurantism. Because the gospel attracts the poor and ignorant, men are ever ready to say that it is a gospel only for fools, in spite of the fact that some of the wisest of mankind have been among its followers. A religion which is true must in fact be true in every possible relation, and contain the key to all philosophies. Christianity has often been misunderstood, and science and philosophy have often been mistaken, but genuine Christianity and complete knowledge must always be at one. 'Our Lord is a God of knowledge' (1 Sam. ii. 3. *Deus scientiarum*, Vulg.), and His revelation in Christ cannot be at variance with His revelation in nature and in the human mind; but men have to take care both to understand Christ's revelation and to avoid mistaking their own imaginations for truth. Consequently for mature Christians there is a wisdom which is deeper and wider than any merely human philosophy. We have a glimpse of what St. Paul means by this in the early chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, where he sketches out a great Christian philosophy of history. But he would say to the Corinthians that the way to grasp this wisdom is to become deeply spiritual men, whereas your factions are a proof that you are not yet spiritual but carnal.

First St. Paul explains the nature of the Divine wisdom (ii. 6-10a). *Yet a wisdom* there is which *we speak among the perfect*—i.e. the more mature

to speak God's wisdom in a mystery, *even* the *wisdom* that hath been hidden, which God foreordained **8** before the worlds unto our glory: which none of

Christians, those whose spiritual faculties have been developed by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. St. Paul does not mean that there is such a thing as 'esoteric Christianity'—there are no truths of the Christian religion which are not open to every single member of the church (Col. i. 28)—but some refuse to be 'borne on to perfection' (Heb. vi. 1) and so remain *babes in Christ* (iii. 1). Christian perfection is more a matter of love than of knowledge (Eph. iv. 13-16; Col. iii. 14). *Yet a wisdom* which is *not of this age nor of the rulers of this age who are being annihilated*. It is clear from *v. 8* that the rulers of this age are, primarily, Pilate, Herod and the Jewish priests who brought about our Lord's crucifixion (Acts xiii. 27), and secondarily the whole class of teachers—whether Greek philosophers or Hebrew Rabbis—whose views of life, based upon the transitory and superficial (*this age*), left no room for the doctrine of the cross, which is the wisdom which 'cometh down from above' (St. Jas. iii. 15). They are *being annihilated*, because all rule which is founded on false principles is destined to pass away and 'become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ' (Rev. xi. 15). The present century is witnessing the crumbling away of many such powers, and the rule of the world is passing more and more into Christian hands, but we may be sure that Christian empires will also crumble

the rulers of this world knoweth: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory: but as it is written, 9

Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,
And *which* entered not into the heart of man,
Whatsoever things God prepared for them that
love him.

away unless they are true to their Christian principles. *But we speak God's wisdom in a mystery*—a truth hidden from the natural man but made known by revelation (St. Matt. xiii. 11; Rom. xvi. 25)—*that wisdom which has hitherto been hidden away, which God foreordained before the ages for our glory.* This statement is expanded in Eph. i. 3–14, though there emphasis is laid on the fact that the supreme purpose is God's glory, rather than ours. It is of course both; God's glory involves man's because man is the only creature in the visible universe who is capable of giving Him conscious and intelligent worship, so that 'a man is the . . . glory of God' (ch. xi. 7). Thus it is that man is the measure of the universe,¹ and it

¹ Cf. Balfour: *Foundations of Belief*, ch. vi. 'The discovery of Copernicus, it has been said, is the death-blow to Christianity: in other words, the recognition by the human race of the insignificant part which they and their planet play in the cosmic drama renders the Incarnation, as it were, intrinsically incredible . . . Reflexion indeed shows that those who thus argue have manifestly permitted their thoughts about God to be controlled by a singular theory of His relations to man and to the world, based on an unbalanced consideration of the

10 But unto us God revealed *them* through the Spirit : for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the is not presumptuous to say : ' The universe exists with a view to man, and man exists with a view to glory '—though, of course, there may be wider purposes which we cannot yet perceive. *Which wisdom not one of the rulers of this age ever learnt, for if they had learnt it they would not have crucified the Lord of the glory.* The glory of a man consists in his being permeated by the Divine perfections which may shine forth partially in this life through the beauty of a Christian character (2 Cor. iii. 18) but will not be fully revealed until the future (Rom. viii. 18-21). Of this glory God is the source—' the Father of the glory ' (Eph. i. 17)—and Christ is *the Lord of the glory* because He mediates it to human nature. Thus Pilate, Herod and the Jews, and all others who by their actions crucify Christ, were unaware that they tried to destroy Him through whom alone they could hope to arrive at their true perfection. The word *glory* carries with it the idea of brightness and splendour—it is the radiant manifestation of inward character—and thus in the New Testa-

vastness of Nature . . . The Incarnation throws the whole scheme of things, as we are too easily apt to represent it to ourselves, into a different and far truer proportion. It abruptly changes the whole scale on which we might be disposed to measure the magnitudes of the universe. What we should otherwise think great, we now perceive to be relatively small. What we should otherwise think trifling, we now know to be immeasurably important. And the change is not only morally needed, but is philosophically justified.'

deep things of God. For who among men knoweth **11** the things of a man, save the spirit of the man,

ment it comes to mean the end of man—‘ that one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves.’ *But*—in contrast to their ignorance—even as it has been written,

‘ *Things which eye saw not and ear heard not, and which did not enter into heart of man, as many things as God prepared for them that love Him.*’

The construction is broken, and we must understand some word such as ‘ we know ’. *The rulers knew not*, but we know *things, etc.* The quotation is reminiscent of two passages in Isaiah (lxiv. 4 and lxxv. 17) but seems too definite to be derived from them. It occurs in nearly the same form both in the first and the so-called second Epistle of Clement of Rome, in Gnostic writings of the second century, and in two of the early liturgies. The question of its origin is still a problem (see Lightfoot’s *Clement*, vol. i, p. 389 and vol. ii, p. 106). Its rhythmical structure suggests that, like Eph. v. 14 and 1 Tim. iii. 16, it may be taken from an early Christian hymn. Observe that in these words the apostle is not speaking of the joys of heaven; he is speaking of the unimagined blessings which are bestowed upon us now as Christians. *For to us God Himself revealed them through the Spirit*—the word *God* is strongly emphasized by its position. (Cf. Eph. i. 17: ‘ The spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him ’ is the foremost of the seven gifts of the Spirit, and is bestowed not only on

which is in him? even so the things of God none
 12 knoweth, save the Spirit of God. But we received,

apostles but on all Christians, specially in Confirmation.) The words suggest how much may be done by us in using and developing a gift which was certainly not intended to lie idle.

These last words form the transition to the next step in the argument—not intellectual acumen, but spiritual experience is the means by which God's wisdom is appropriated (ii. 10b-16).

For the Spirit searches all things, yea the depths of God. The Spirit searches into the *depths* of the Divine nature—not merely God's works, but Himself 'in knowledge of whom is our eternal life' (Cf. St. John xvii. 3). St. Clement of Rome (ch. 40) has the expression: 'We having gazed into the depths of the Divine knowledge ought to do all things in order which the Master has commanded us to accomplish'; and Lightfoot in his note upon the passage points out that the phrase passed into Gnostic usage. (Cf. Rev. ii. 24). The depth of the Divine wisdom is unsearchable by man (Rom. xi. 33: cf. Judith viii. 14; Eph. iii. 8), but it is completely open to the scrutiny of the Holy Spirit, who is therefore Himself God. *For who of men ever knew the things of the man save the spirit of the man which is in him; thus also the things of God none ever learnt save the Spirit of God.* This implies the psychology of 1 Thess. v. 23: 'spirit, soul and body'. It is of course true that no man ever fully knows himself—and in this respect

not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God ; that we might know the things that are the parallel is incomplete—but a man knows his own thoughts, feelings and aims better than any one else knows them, and thus we may argue from that partial self-knowledge to the complete understanding which must exist between the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. 'What gives this passage its crucial importance is the parallel between the spirit of a man, as distinguished from the rest of his personality, and One who is called the Spirit of God ; for this directly indicates a distinction within the Godhead, affirms that a Being called the Spirit carries on some mysterious action within the Divine nature, which belongs to Himself alone' (Mylne: *The Holy Trinity*, p. 193). *But we received*—the tense looks back to a definite moment, and therefore no doubt to baptism (cf. vi. 11)—*not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is from God. The spirit of the world* is a very difficult expression ; the only words which are at all parallel are Rom. vii. 15 and 2 Tim. i. 7 but there the word 'spirit' is without the article. In a modern writer *the spirit of the world* would mean the temper or influence of the world, but 'spirit' is not used in this vague, impersonal sense by St. Paul,¹

¹ Cf. Armitage Robinson on *Ephesians*, p. 93, and Godet on 1 Cor. *loc. cit.* We copy the interesting note of the latter. 'The Divine Spirit is contrasted with another, which also has the power of making revelations of another nature, that of *the world*. Meyer calls it the diabolical spirit. Does the

13 freely given to us by God. Which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth,

and the contrast with God's Spirit, as well as the use of the article, compels us to understand a personal

expression used authorize us to go so far? Man at the time of his creation received a spirit, for he participates in the spiritual nature and power which are the essence of God (Gen. ii. 7; John iv. 24). With the Fall this endowment was not withdrawn from humanity. By its separation from God the spirit of man became profane, worldly; but it remained in man as a collective being, as a principle of knowledge and invention, enthusiasm and exaltation. This it is which Pagans call the Muse, and which is concentrated in philosophical and artistic geniuses, communicating to them marvellous insight and words of wondrous power by which they give tone to their age. And hence the apostle does not scruple himself to quote sayings of the Greek poets and to designate one of them by the name of prophet (Acts xvii. 28; Tit. i. 12). But to whatever degree of power this spirit of the world may rise, it cannot give man the knowledge of the Divine plans, nor make an apostle even of the greatest genius. With this spirit which rises, so to speak, from the heart of the Cosmos, the Apostle contrasts the Divine Spirit, *the Spirit which proceeds from God*. This form emphasizes the transcendent character of His inspiring breath. He was in God and He proceeds from Him to enter into man: (Cf. Rom. v. 5). This is something different from human inspiration, even when raised to its highest power. The article is put here to remind us of the contrast to the other spirit, the cosmical spirit: 'We are certainly neither Platos, nor Demostheneses, nor Homers; but if you would learn what are the thoughts of God towards you, listen to us. The Spirit proceeding from God Himself is He who has revealed them to us.' So St. Clement of Alexandria declares that philosophy was a gift of God to the Greeks, 'For God is the cause of all good

but which the Spirit teacheth ; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. Now the natural man 14

spirit. We understand then the *spirit of the world* and the *spirit which is* (directly) *from God* to mean two different movements of God's Spirit—the one meaning that philosophic or poetic inspiration which is given as often to non-Christians as to Christians—we cannot imagine that a Plato or a Shakespeare, a Kabir or a Tulsi Das, could have become what they were without some influence of the Holy Spirit—and the other that which is the special privilege of the Christian Church, making us sons of God and heirs of eternal life. The latter may have nothing of what we call genius or inspiration but their insight into spiritual truth is sometimes marvellous—'What sages would have died to learn now taught by village dames'. *That we may know the things which by God Himself were as a matter of grace bestowed upon us.* This teaches us the importance of meditation ; our spiritual gift remains idle unless we use it to explore those treasures of grace which are given to us in the Catholic church. *Which things we also speak, not in words taught by human wisdom but in words*

things ; but of some directly, as of the Old and New Testaments ; and of others indirectly, as philosophy. Perchance too philosophy was given to the Greeks directly, till God should call the Greeks. For this was a schoolmaster to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ, as the Law was for the Hebrews. Philosophy then was a preparation, paving the way for Him who is perfected in Christ '—Str. i. 5.

receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God : for they are foolishness unto him ; and he cannot know

taught by the *Spirit*, so *matching spiritual things with spiritual words*. 'They shall all be taught of God' was our Lord's own promise (St. John vi. 45) quoting the words of Isaiah and other prophets. Human rhetoric does not befit such a topic ; our very words must be of the Spirit's teaching. As the subject of our preaching is spiritual, and the method spiritual, so also must the recipients be spiritual. So he continues : *But a sensual man does not receive the things of the Spirit of God*. The word which both A. V. and R. V. here translate *natural* but elsewhere *sensual* (St. Jas. iii. 15 ; St. Jude xix) is difficult to express in English. It is the adjective corresponding to 'soul' and when Scripture describes a man as merely 'soulish' it implies that his higher nature, the spiritual is 'suppressed, dormant, for the time as good as extinct' (Trench : *Syn.* § 71). 'The essence of the Biblical conception of soul appears to be that in man which adapts him to this world of sense in which he for the present moves ; that which, along with the body, constitutes him a part of the visible and tangible creation,' (Milligan). 'Sensual' and 'animal' are both rather too severe in their implications ; a man may be entirely absorbed in intellectual pursuits and very far from a sensualist, and yet may have his spiritual nature undeveloped. 'Unspiritual' is perhaps the nearest equivalent, but that has the disadvantage of being a negative and not a positive term. To

them, because they are spiritually judged. But he **15** that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is

receive is not so much an act of the intellect as of the will and heart. (Cf. St. Jas. i. 21). The unspiritual man is like the ground 'by the wayside' in the Parable of the Sower, trodden by constant earthly activities and interests till it is too hard to receive a divine inspiration. Such is the result of neglecting prayer and habitual intercourse with God. Every man has a spirit just as he has a mind, but as the mind may be blunted by want of education so the spirit may be and often is atrophied by refusal to dwell on the spiritual aspects of life. *And he cannot learn them because only in a spiritual manner are they investigated.* We must welcome spiritual truth first and afterwards learn to understand it (St. John iii. 3). 'There are some things which we do not believe unless we understand them; and others which we do not understand unless we believe them' says St. Augustine (on Ps. 119). *But the spiritual man investigates all things—or every man—but himself is investigated by none.* We must understand by *none* no one who is not spiritual, for elsewhere (xiv. 29) he declares that the prophecy of one speaking in the spirit may be interpreted by others. It is mainly a question of degree. *A spiritual man* is one who has entirely yielded himself to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and there are those who have so evidently done so that—as in the case of St. Paul himself—no ordinary Christian would venture to criticise what they say. And yet the ordinary

16 judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.

Christian may be in some sense a *spiritual man* without venturing to claim for himself a similar freedom from the criticism of his fellow-Christians. The present epistle is a good example of the way in which the spiritual man investigates all things, holds them up in the light of the Spirit's teaching, and pronounces clear, firm judgments upon them. For '*who ever learnt the Lord's mind, that he should instruct Him?*' For gives the reason for verse 14, not for verse 15, which is parenthetical. The words are from Isaiah xl. 13 and are quoted again (with a slight difference) in Rom. xi. 34. Isaiah remonstrating with the Jews of his day who had fallen into idolatry declares the unapproachable majesty of God, and the impossibility of man's knowing anything about Him except what He chooses to reveal. *But we have the Christ's mind*—to us Christians the knowledge of God is no longer impossible, provided we seek it in the right way. Since Christ is in us that capacity of knowing God which was His is also ours. 'Neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him' (St. Matt. xi. 27). St. Paul himself claims that Christ not only thinks but speaks in him (2 Cor. xiii. 3).

It now becomes evident why St. Paul has entered on this long digression (which began at i. 18). Their divisions are holding them back from Christian

And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as **3** **1**
unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in

progress. Party spirit is a proof of low spiritual attainment (Ch. iii. 1-4).

And I also, brothers, was not able to speak to you as to spiritual men but only as to men of flesh, as to infants in Christ. Three terms are used in contrast to the spiritual—*natural* or *sensual* men (ii. 14), *men of flesh* here, and *men addicted to the flesh* (v. 3). By the first he means non-Christians—men in whom the spiritual nature has not been quickened by the Spirit of God; by the second he means elementary Christians, men in whom the spiritual nature is yet undeveloped; and by the third he means men whose spiritual development has been checked and who consequently are still addicted to the works of the flesh (Gal. v. 19) when they ought to have left them behind. The word in this verse is much less severe than that in v.3. It means those in whom the bones as it were of Christian principles are not yet formed (Gal. iv. 19) and there is just a hint that this childish state has persisted somewhat too long (cf. Heb. v. 12-14 where the simile of spiritual infancy is developed.) The word *brothers* also serves to soften the blame, and so also the words *in Christ*. The fellowship of the Holy Ghost, and the life in Christ, are still yours, though it has not grown as much as might have been expected. *I gave you milk to drink, not food to eat, for you had not yet power.* Milk is a natural symbol for elementary truths: in this case he means the simple

2 Christ. I fed you with milk, not with meat ; for ye were not yet able *to bear it* : nay, not even now

preaching of the cross, as contrasted with such profounder teaching as we find in *Ephesians* and *Colossians*. *Yea, and even now still you have not power, for ye are still fleshly*. Here at last, after it has been carefully prepared for, comes the stern word of rebuke. To be *addicted to the flesh* is unworthy of Christians ; however right it may be for a child to be childish it is not right for a man to be so. But observe that 'the flesh' does not mean only what we generally mean by it—quarrelsomeness and jealousy are just as much works of the flesh as uncleanness and drunkenness, for they are equally contradictory to life in the Spirit (Gal. v. 26). *For where there is amongst you envy and strife, are you not fleshly and do you not walk*—are you not practically behaving—*according to man*, i. e. on a merely human level uninformed by the Spirit of God ? *For whenever any one says 'I am of Paul' and a second 'I am of Apollos' are you not mere men*—i. e. only human and not 'spiritual' ? The Greek language has two words for 'man', one which is generally used in a higher sense to suggest the better qualities of human nature (cf. ch. xvi. 13 'Quit you like men') and one which, though it is often used neutrally or generically, is always the word chosen when it is desired to suggest the weakness and instability of human nature. Hebrew and Latin have similarly two words, and it is a drawback in English that they generally have to be

are ye able; for ye are yet carnal: for whereas there **3** is among you jealousy and strife, are ye not carnal,

translated by the one word 'man'. 'According to man' is a favourite expression with St. Paul (ch. ix. 8; xv. 32; Rom. iii. 5; Gal. i. 11; iii. 15) and it always means following the ordinary motives or practices of human nature in contrast to the Christian motives or practices. 'Unless above himself he can erect himself, how poor a thing is man.' Not to be a Christian is, in St. Paul's view, not to be a man in the true sense of the word. In 2 Cor. xi. 17 the phrase is further explained: 'I am not speaking according to the Lord'—but giving way to my human impulses. To be merely a *man* in this sense is to come down from that high level of spiritualized human nature which is our privilege in Christ.

We may here ask—and it is an important question for missionaries—What is S. Paul's estimate of heathen philosophy? Does he look upon it as a preparation for the Gospel? Or does he look upon it as a hindrance? Or does he simply ignore it? Each of these three views may find some support from his writings. We have seen—if our interpretation of ii. 12 is right—that he would regard philosophy as a gift of God, though not one of His highest gifts. And in his address at Athens he bases what he has to say on a quotation from a philosopher-poet (Acts xvii. 28), while in quoting Epimenides (Tit. i. 12) he speaks of him as 'a prophet of your own', which does not necessarily mean that St. Paul himself regarded him as

4 and walk after the manner of men? For when one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of

in any sense a prophet. This is all, and when we remember how largely St. Paul's own education at Tarsus must have partaken of Greek culture it does not seem sufficient to establish such a large conclusion as that he would have agreed with Clement in regarding philosophy as a schoolmaster to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ. On the other hand he says distinctly (i. 21) that the world through its wisdom did not find out God, and he falls back on the simple preaching of the cross. No doubt he was suffering at the time from reaction owing to the failure—so far as concerned immediate results—of his philosophical speech at Athens, but there is no indication in his later writings that he ever receded from this position. He did not regard philosophy as a hindrance, but he did not believe that it could render any substantial help to anyone in his search for Divine truth, and on the whole his practice is to ignore it. Consequently those writers who look upon Christianity as the complement not the contradiction of Hinduism, and consider that the best equipment for a missionary is a thorough familiarity with Hindu philosophy, can hardly find much encouragement from St. Paul. The question continued to be of interest in the church. We have seen how it was answered by Clement, and he became the founder of a school whose traditions were carried up to their highest point by Origen, so that for a century or two in Alexandria the transition from

Apollos ; are ye not men ? What then is Apollos ? **5**
and what is Paul ? Ministers through whom ye

Greek to Christian philosophy became an easy one—Synesius, for instance, tells us that he made it without any sense of moral disruption. Tertullian took a strongly opposite line : he regards philosophy as allied with heresy rather than with the Catholic Church, and he thought there was a danger of watering down the Christian religion to suit the philosophers. ‘What has Athens to do with Jerusalem . . . Let them beware who have put forward a Stoic and Platonic and dialectic Christianity. We need no curiosity when we have Jesus Christ, no inquiry when we have the Gospel.’¹ The same line, though with less violence, was taken by Jerome and Augustine, and through them came to be characteristic of the Western Church : and though it may seem to savour of obscurantism we should remember that while Alexandrian Christianity made a very poor stand against the Mohammedan invasion, the strongly dogmatic theology of the West was winning conquests all through the Middle Ages, and is still winning them.

D. The True Nature of the Christian Ministry.

iii. 5–iv. 5

St. Paul now brings forward another argument in favour of unity in the church. To call yourselves the followers of Paul or Apollos is to exalt the servant

¹ *De Prescr.*, ch. 7.

6 believed; and each as the Lord gave to him. I
planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the in-
7 crease. So then neither is he that planteth any-
thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth

into the place of the Master. 'One is your Master, even Christ.' It is the sign of an unspiritual mind not to see the King Himself behind His ambassador. God is the only author of your spiritual life, and to put the human husbandman in His place is to make a tragic mistake. It is remarkable that St. Paul so completely realizes our Lord's Deity that he does not seem even to see that the same reasoning might be used by an unbeliever with reference to Him. If Christ were a merely human being, to follow Him would be to fall into exactly the same error as that for which St. Paul is here blaming the Corinthians, but the apostle's argument passes insensibly from God (*v.* 7) to Christ (*v.* 11).

The section falls into three divisions: firstly, the true relation between the apostles, the Corinthian Church, and God (*iii.* 5-17); secondly, the danger of that pride and partisanship which looks upon the Church, God's temple, as belonging to men (*iii.* 18-23); and thirdly, the true view of the ministry as dependent on God but not dependent on men (*iv.* 1-5).

The true relation between the apostles, the Corinthian Church, and God (*iii.* 5-17). *Therefore* I say, *what* is Apollos, and *what* is Paul? (The verb is emphatic, and means, 'What is their essential character?'). *Servants, through whom*—not in whom—

the increase. Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one: but each shall receive his own reward according to his own labour. For we are God's fellow-workers: ye are God's husbandry, God's building.

ye believed, and as their master gave to each of them, such they are. A servant, as servant, is nothing more than his master appoints him to be. The word master or lord, though no doubt God or Christ is intended, is here used in strict relation to the word servant. The use of Apollos' name in this connexion should be regarded as a sign of the complete confidence which existed between him and St. Paul. I planted the seed, Apollos watered it, but God kept making it grow: man's work is momentary, God's is constant: so that neither the planter nor the waterer is anything—is of any importance—but the maker to grow, God—is everything. We have a similar ellipsis in vii. 19; Gal. vi. 15 (cf. v. 6: 'availeth anything'). But the planter and the waterer are one thing—i. e. one implement in the hands of God, capable of performing two separate processes, not however so as to destroy their own individuality and responsibility—but each will get his own pay according to his own toil. The word toil always indicates something more than mere labour—labour to the point of weariness. (Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 27.) God rewards the effort not the result. For God's fellow-workers are we. This may mean either labourers together with God (A. V.) or joint-labourers with each other belonging to God. The context favours

10 According to the grace of God which was given unto me, as a wise master-builder I laid a founda-

the latter ; but the other idea is not absent from the N. T. (Acts xiv. 27).¹ *God's tilth, God's building are ye.* The rare Greek word may well be represented by the rare English word *tilth* which means *tilled ground, a field under cultivation*,² while the second word means *a house in building*—so that both represent something in process of accomplishment, what our Catechism calls ' a state of salvation ' . Cf. Acts ii. 47 (R. V.) Thus the true relation between God, the apostles, and the Corinthian Church is that God is the master and owner of all ; the apostles are His servants, jointly working for Him, so that anything like jealousy or self-seeking is out of place ; the Corinthians are the field which they are tilling, the house which they are building, for Him. St. Paul now follows up the last figure, and expands the metaphor of the building of the house. It was *according to the grace of the same God which was given to me*—i. e., the grace of apostleship—that I, *as any skilled architect* would, *laid a foundation, and another continues building on it.* The *other* is not necessarily Apollos ; anyone who takes part in the building must do it in conformity with the beginning which has already been made. The whole of Christian life must be a

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 1 is again doubtful, and the true reading of 1 Thess. iii. 2 is probably ' God's minister ' (R. V.) not ' God's fellow-worker ' (R. V. margin).

² A. V. margin : ' tillage ' .

tion; and another buildeth thereon. But let each man take heed how he buildeth thereon. For **11**

continual building up ('edifying') both of ourselves and others. *But let each man look how he builds on it—i. e. with what materials. For other foundation can no man lay beside that—or him—which has been laid, who is Jesus Christ.* It is implied that, whatever differences there may have been among the Corinthian teachers, there was none in their belief about Christ, and this is one among many passages in this early epistle which show that of His Divine and human nature there was not at this time any doubt in the Church. That all Christian doctrine, and all development of Christian character, is built upon the fact of the Incarnation, has been proved in every age. In Eph. ii. 20 the Church is said to be 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone', and in Rev. xxi. 14 'the wall of the city had twelve foundations and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the lamb'—the word *foundation* being in these places used in a secondary sense. Now comes a solemn warning addressed to the teachers themselves. *But if any one build upon the foundation gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, reed—for thatching—the work of each one will become manifest; for the day will make it clear because it—i. e. the day—is revealed with fire, and the work of each one of what kind it is, the fire will prove it.* There is a reminiscence of Malachi iii and iv. 'The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his *temple* . . . but who may

other foundation can no man lay than that which
12 is laid, which is Jesus Christ. But if any man

abide *the day* of his coming . . . and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as *gold and silver* . . .

. For behold *the day* cometh, it *burneth as a furnace*; and all the proud and all that work wickedness, shall be *stubble*; and *the day* that cometh *shall burn them up.*' Throughout the O. T. 'the day of the Lord' is constantly spoken of as a time of coming judgement, but in St. Paul's two earliest epistles it is identified with the day of our Lord's return, to which the early Christians looked forward eagerly, expecting it immediately (1 Thess. iv. 13-v. 1; 2 Thess. i. 7; ii. 1-12). Though the gospels were not yet written, this must have been based upon some remembrance of our Lord's teaching—compare especially 1 Thess. v. 2 with St. Matt. xxiv. 43. In 2 Thess. i. 7 St. Paul looks forward to 'the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in flaming fire' and this shows that the present tense *is revealed* is used for the future, as is often the case when a thing is regarded as both near and certain (cf. St. Matt. xxvi. 2 and Winer's *Grammar*, p. 331), and it is so translated in the Vulgate. We must regard the fire as symbolical of the holiness of God (Isaiah xxxiii. 14; Deut. iv. 24 and Heb. xii. 29) which gathers up all that is holy into itself and burns up all that is evil. It is quite possible also that the day of our Lord's second Advent, like the day of Pentecost, will be accompanied with visible fire. It is not

buildeth on the foundation gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay, stubble ; each man's work shall **13** be made manifest : for the day shall declare it,

uncommon in India to see magnificent buildings made of costly marble, and (like the Taj Mahal at Agra) inlaid with precious stones, with domes overlaid with gold ; and yet there is often a part of the building hastily put together with *cutcha* materials, such as matting and thatch. Should the building catch fire the latter would be quickly consumed, while the former would remain. Such, says St. Paul, will be the nature of the day of judgement. Christian teachers may be earnest, zealous and industrious, but if their doctrine is false the results of their work will not stand the test of God's judgement.¹ Looking forward to that judgement, St. Paul now declares that the work

¹ At the Council of Florence (A.D. 1438) this passage was quoted by the Latin Fathers as proving the doctrine of a purgatorial fire, and most Roman Catholic commentators have followed them. See Cornelius a Lapide *in loc.* Estius however says :—' It does not appear that this can be maintained, both because the reference is to the day of the universal judgement, not of the particular, while purgatory belongs to the latter ; and also because the fire of purgatory does not test the work of each man, but only punishes the evil deeds of the good.' The passage in fact so clearly refers to *the day* of our Lord's return, that it is irrelevant to drag in any consideration of a time previous to that. Estius however goes on to say that from the fire of the last day we may infer the existence of the fire of purgatory, which is therefore ' well and solidly proved from this passage of St. Paul ' !

because it is revealed in fire; and the fire itself shall prove each man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work shall abide which he built thereon,

of Christian ministers may have three possible results. First, it may be sound and permanent, and therefore rewarded. *If the work of any one shall abide, which he built on the one foundation of Christ, he will receive wages.* The *wages* are something over and above his personal salvation. (Cf. Dan. xii. 3; St. Matt. xxv. 21; St. Luke xix. 17.) Secondly, it may be fruitless, because though his intention has been good he has been mistaken. *If the work of any man shall be burnt up he will be mulcted, but he himself will be saved yet only thus saved as through fire.* He will lose the *wages* he might otherwise have gained. We cannot look upon the *fire* as other than metaphorical, as in St. Jude 23, though there is no doubt an allusion to the fire of v. 13. To be *saved as it were through fire* means narrowly to escape destruction. (Cf. Malachi iii. 2, 3; iv. 1.) Thirdly, it may be actually destructive of the particular church; this alternative is introduced by a solemn reminder of the Church's true character. *Know you not that you are God's sanctuary*¹—the most sacred

¹ 'The temple of God' (A. V.) is better than 'a temple of God' (R. V.) Lightfoot says:—'God's temple, not a temple of God. The apostle is speaking of the community, not of the individual Christian . . . The metaphor is not from the many temples of the heathen, but from the one temple of Jerusalem.' Similarly in Eph. ii. 21 Dr. Armitage Robinson has shown that 'all the building' (A. V.) is a better trans-

he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall **15** be burned, he shall suffer loss : but he himself shall be saved ; yet so as through fire.

part of the temple—and so *the Spirit of God dwells in you*—like the Shechinah in the Most Holy Place. That which was before spoken of as *God's building* (v. 9) is now revealed as a building for God Himself to dwell in, the Holy of Holies in which His presence is enshrined. (Ezek. xxxvii. 27, 28.) *If any man destroys the sanctuary of God, God will destroy him ; for the sanctuary of God is holy, and such holy sanctuary are you.* Teaching which leads to immorality, such as that which is alluded to in ch. vi. 12, 13, will bring severe punishment upon the teacher.

Then follows a short section (iii. 18–23) containing a grave warning against a merely human estimate of the pastoral office, so preparing for the statement of what the ministers of Christ really are in iv. 1–5. *Let no man deceive himself.* Self-deception is only too easy, but it has its moral root in pride and partisanship which annexes some particular teacher for its own. It

lution than 'each several building' (R.V.). There is in fact no hint in the New Testament of there being more than one temple, one sanctuary of God, 'the sanctuary of His body' (St. John ii. 21). 'In any particular group of Christians the whole Church is manifested ; the Church is the Body of Christ and individual believers are severally members of it ; but Christ is not divided, and therefore the whole Body is present where some of the members are assembled'—Lacey : *Unity and Schism*, p. 29.

16 Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and
17 *that* the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any
man destroyeth the temple of God, him shall God

is evident that there was a party at Corinth who looked upon Christianity mainly as an intellectual movement whereas it is in fact the communication of a new life, (St. John. iii. 3-8) which transforms all our previous estimate of values. That the Corinthian members of this party sought to invest their opinions with the authority of Apollos' name is extremely probable, but that Apollos himself countenanced this use of it is in the last degree unlikely, for St. Paul assumes that Apollos' estimate of these parties is the same as his own, and Apollos' refusal to go to Corinth at this crisis (xvi. 12) shows a delicate anxiety to give no occasion for the perverse desire to set him at the head of a party. Similarly at an earlier time there was a party which used the name of James but was by him repudiated (Acts xv. 24), and we may be sure that St. Peter had nothing to do with the party at Corinth which claimed his leadership. *If any man thinks that he is wise among you in this transitory age, let him become a fool that he may become really wise.* The intellectual conceit which tries to represent Christianity as a superior philosophy will never accept the cross, which is the reversal of all human expectations, propounding as it does the apparently foolish doctrine of triumph through voluntary suffering, which when once embraced is seen to be the key to all true wisdom. *For the wisdom of this world is folly with God; for it has been*

destroy ; for the temple of God is holy, which *temple* ye are.

Let no man deceive himself. If any man think- 18
eth that he is wise among you in this world, let

written ' *He who catcheth the wise in their own cleverness.*' Like the Bengali word 'chaláki', *cleverness* shades off into *craftiness*. It is used in a good sense in Prov. i. 4 and a few other places of the Old Testament. The quotation, which St. Paul translates direct from the Hebrew without reference to the Septuagint, is the only one in New Testament from the Book of Job (v. 13), and it is remarkable that the words are those of Eliphaz, who is himself an instance of their truth. *And again,*
' *The Lord knows the reasonings of the wise, that they are vain.*'

This is from Psalm xciv. 11, but there the words, both in the Hebrew and Greek, are *the reasonings of men*. The slight change is in accordance with the idea of the psalm. *Consequently let no man glory in men*—as would be the case with you, if you looked upon Apollos, or any other teacher, as though he were the founder of a new school of philosophy and as such entitled to your allegiance. Almost unconsciously St. Paul seems to remove our Lord out of this class of mere human teachers. (Cf. i. 31.) He now bursts out into one of those splendid generalizations which lift the whole matter to the level of a great principle, and make the claim of partisanship seem merely futile. *For all things belong to you, whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas or world or life or death or things at hand or*

19 him become a fool, that he may become wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, He that taketh the wise in

things future, all belong to you, but you belong to Christ, and Christ to God. The passage which is most like this in form is Rom. viii. 31-39, but its meaning is best seen from that other fine saying of St. Paul—‘We know that all things work together for good to them that love God’ (Rom. viii. 28). *All things are yours* on condition that *you are Christ's*; for just as Christ in surrendering Himself to God found that the *world*—as represented by Pilate and Herod—became subservient to Him, that both *life* on earth and *death* on the cross ministered to His purpose, that both *present* events and *future* history all had to acknowledge His reign (St. Matt. xxviii. 18), so the man who commits himself to Christ and becomes His finds that every human teacher falls into his place as contributing to this knowledge of Christ without being able to claim him as his own disciple; that the *world*¹

¹ ‘He promises to his Corinthian converts the world as well as the Church; not only, I venture to think, the world regarded as the scene of human corruption and therefore of human probation and victory, but the world, the Cosmos, the divine order of the created universe, with all its intricate harmonies and all its manifold glories. In the language of St. Paul and St. John, Christ is not only the Head of the Church, the spiritual creation, but He is also the Centre of the Universe, the material creation. This He is as the Eternal Word of God, by whom all things came into being, in whom they are sustained, through whom they are governed. In

their craftiness : and again, The Lord knoweth the 20
reasonings of the wise, that they are vain. Where- 21
fore let no one glory in men. For all things are

whether as a scene of discipline or as the expression of God's glory is for him to use as his own ; that *death* no less than *life* is the instrument of his progress ; that neither *things present* nor *things future* can hinder, but rather they must contribute to his ultimate perfection. 'To the watchwords of the Corinthian parties his reply seems to be this. You divide where you ought to combine. You take a part where you should claim the whole. You make yourselves the slaves of one, when you should be the master of all. You are not Paul's, but Paul and Cephas and Apollos *all are yours*. Nay rather gather up and piece together all the component elements of God's message that are offered to you, that you may have a more complete

our modern theology we almost wholly lose sight of this aspect of Christ's Person ; and the loss to ourselves is inestimable. Science and religion in the Apostle's teaching have their meeting-point in Christ. There is no antagonism between them ; they are the twofold expression of the same divine energy. And therefore science not less than theology is the inheritance of the Christian. It is yours to roam through the boundless realms of space with the astronomer. and to plunge into the countless ages of the past with the geologist : yours to enter into the vast laboratory of nature and to analyze her subtle processes and record her magnificent results. It will be no intrusion into an alien sphere. It is a right which you can claim as Christians. It is yours, because you are Christ's.'—
From a Sermon by Dr. Lightfoot, formerly Bishop of Durham.

22 yours ; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things **23** to come ; all are yours ; and ye are Christ's ; and Christ is God's.

mirror of the truth. So you will get fulness instead of fragmentariness, and harmony instead of disorder.' (Lightfoot). Compare the words of the father to the elder son in the parable of the Prodigal Son : ' Son thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine '—all things are ours on condition that we are ever with our Father, in love and trust. (See also 2 Cor. vi. 10 ; Rom. iv. 13 ; Rev. xxi. 7).

The remaining section (ch. iv. 1-5) deals with the true position of Christian teachers—their dependence on Christ, their independence of men. They are Christ's servants, and the main requirement of a servant is faithfulness to the master who employs him. It is for the master himself to judge of this ; no one else can be in a position to do so.

Thus let a man consider us—as Christ's attendants. The word here is not the common word for ' ministers ' and by St. Paul is used only in this place. It is more frequent in St. Luke (6 times) who gives the title to St. Paul himself (Acts xxvi. 16) and to St. Mark when he went—apparently in the capacity of dragoman—with the two apostles (Acts xiii. 5). It ' contains the idea of actual and personal attendance upon a superior,' which is no doubt the reason why it is used here. *And house-stewards of God's mysteries.* This recalls St. Luke xii. 42. St. Paul is still thinking of Christians

Let a man so account of us, as of ministers of **4** **1**
Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.
Here, moreover, it is required in stewards, that a **2**

as the house or temple of God, and He who dwells in the house has His administrators to dispense His gifts to all His children. *Mysteries* are not only the sacraments but all the gifts of grace. Priests, according to the 'Ordering of Priests' in the Book of Common Prayer, are to be 'stewards of the Lord; to teach and to premonish and to provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for His children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever'. The laity have also their stewardship (1 Pet. iv. 10). *Furthermore, here on earth it is demanded in the stewards of earthly houses that a person should be found faithful.* As so often (Gal. iii. 15, etc.) St. Paul illustrates his meaning from the analogy of human affairs; when a master entrusts the management of his house to a steward, his prime demand is fidelity—nothing can compensate for the absence of this. The unjust steward is condemned (St. Luke xvi) because he had wasted his master's goods. Yet the Master alone is the judge of this fidelity. *But for me it amounts to very little that I—i. e. my stewardship—should be investigated by you or by a human day of judgement.* The *investigation* was a preliminary trial, such as that which St. Paul underwent before Agrippa and Festus (Acts xxv. 26); it had not the authority of a judicial sentence, and all human judgements can only

3 man be found faithful. But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own self.

be such hasty, incomplete enquiries. Nevertheless St. Paul says elsewhere that they are not entirely to be despised. The candidate for office in the church must be irreproachable (Titus i. 7—not merely 'blameless'), and even in the eyes of those outside the church he must have a good character (1 Tim. iii. 7). Human judgement is not the ultimate test, yet it may be a great hindrance to a man's work if he fails to 'take thought for things honourable in the sight of all men' (Rom. xii. 17). The word *day* is curiously used, and there seems to be no exact parallel to it; he had spoken above of *the day* (iii. 13) meaning the Lord's day of judgement, and now he speaks in contrast to it of *man's day*, which A. V. and R. V. rightly explain by *judgement*—though that is almost too bold as a translation. It may have been a colloquial term, but nothing similar has yet been found in the papyri. *Nay, I do not even investigate myself.* One's own conscience is a better guide than external criticism, but that too is not infallible, it is only too easy to deceive ourselves. (Cf. Psalms xix. 12.) *For I am conscious of nothing*—i. e. no fault; (cf. Acts xxiii. 1.) But Lightfoot thinks the sentence ought to be understood as a supposition. 'Though I were not conscious of any sin, yet am I not' Similarly in Rom. vi. 17 he says 'GOD be thanked that ye were the servants of sin' which R. V. renders 'thanks

For I know nothing against myself ; yet am I not **4**
hereby justified : but he that judgeth me is the
Lord. Wherefore judge nothing before the time, **5**

be to God that whereas ye were servants of sin, ye became . . . '. This certainly avoids the appearance of a claim to freedom from sin which is so different from the Apostle's ordinary tone about himself. But he is speaking here not about his general character but about his fidelity to his stewardship, and in this he might well claim to have been whole-hearted. (Cf. 2 Cor. i. 12.) *Nevertheless not therein*—in that fact—*have I been justified*—i.e., declared 'not guilty'. The language is still that of the law courts, but it has no reference to St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. *But he who investigates me is my Master*—i. e., the only one who has the power and the right to do so. He is still speaking of the present, preliminary investigation, not of the final judgement which comes in the next verse. 'Because I submit my work daily and hourly to my own Master, I am not amenable to any other criticism, even my own.' (Cf. Gal. vi. 17.) St. Paul seems to have made a practice of daily self-examination ; (See Acts xxiv. 16.) *Consequently do not before the proper time continue to judge* ; give up your habit of pronouncing censure. Not satisfied with *investigating* the conduct of their teachers, they had become their judges on the very incomplete evidence of partial knowledge. A man's work cannot be judged until it is complete, any more than an architect's design when it is only half built. *Until the*

until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest

Master—or *Lord*. for here he definitely identifies the master with Christ—*shall have come, who both will shed light upon the hidden things of the darkness, and will make manifest the designs of the hearts*. St. Paul often uses *darkness* for wickedness (Rom. xiii. 12, etc.) but here the *darkness* is not so much moral as psychological—that region of the soul which consciousness does not illumine, containing things good as well as bad; it is now often called the ‘subliminal consciousness’. Christ in the day of judgement will manifest us not only to others but also to ourselves. (St. Matt. xxv. 40, 45). Moreover no judgement can be true which does not take account of motives—*the designs of the hearts*—and these no human being can know. To impute a motive is the very essence of censoriousness. *And then*—in that day *the due praise shall come to each one—from God*. This is one of many passages which show that there is such a thing as human merit. (Cf. iii. 14 and Rev. iii. 4.) The scholastic teaching about the ‘Treasury of the Church’, which consisted of the merits of the saints which were more than sufficient for their own salvation, and from which others might be supplied, led to such great abuses that the word ‘merit’ became suspected. Yet merit must exist in some sense wherever there is free-will. The solution of the difficulty is found in St. Augustine’s words: ‘God crowns in us His own gifts’. All good in us is the gift of God, and it is for

the counsels of the hearts; and then shall each man have his praise from God.

Now these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself and Apollos for your sakes;

Christ's merits alone that we are saved. But the gifts of grace are increased when they are properly used, and we receive 'grace for grace'. The true doctrine is well expressed in the Collect for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity.

E. *Certain personal considerations, enforcing the above principles of unity.* iv. 6-21.

The passage falls into two sections: (1) A sarcastic contrast between the self-complacency of the Corinthians and the labours and persecutions of apostles such as Apollos and himself (vv. 6-13); and (2) an affectionate appeal to them, as from a father in Christ, to respect his apostolic authority (vv. 14-21).

(1) *Now these things*—namely, all that he has written from chapter iii. 4—*I transferred by a figure of speech to myself and Apollos on your account*; that is, there were other leaders who had lent themselves to the factious spirit of the Corinthians as Paul and Apollos had not, but he is not willing to name them; he would rather exhibit the true principles by using the names of the latter. The word he employs means to change the outward appearance of a thing while the thing itself remains the same. (Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 131-5; Phil. iii. 21.) *So that in us*—by taking us as instances—*you may learn* the principle 'Not beyond what has been written'.

that in us ye might learn not *to go* beyond the things which are written; that no one of you be **7** puffed up for the one against the other. For who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? but if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received

This sounds as though it may have been a proverbial expression in use among the Jews—'never go beyond Scripture'—but no instance of such an expression has been found; in this case it would mean that the passages of the Old Testament quoted in i. 19, 31 and iii. 19, 20, warn us of the danger of applying human wisdom in spiritual things, and so exalting our teacher above another on the ground of eloquence, philosophy, etc. But this seems rather far-fetched, and Dr. Parry suggests that the expression may have been borrowed from secular usage, since it is found in the papyri for the 'terms of an agreement'. So that the meaning would be—no teacher should go beyond the terms of his commission, by setting up to be a party-leader. This gives an excellent sense, but it requires further support, in view of the fact that 'it has been written', like our word 'Scripture', always in the New Testament, refers to the sacred writings. *That ye be not puffed up, one on behalf of the one against the other*; by crying up your own self-chosen leaders you betray your own conceit. *For who distinguishes thee?* What claim hast *thou* to be a person of distinction? *But—* even supposing you have any distinction—*what hast thou which thou didst not receive? But if thou didst*

it? Already are ye filled, already ye are become rich, ye have reigned without us: yea and I would that ye did reign, that we also might reign with you. For, I think, God hath set forth us the apostles last of all, as men doomed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to

receive, why dost thou boast as if thou didst not receive? This verse is quoted again and again in St. Augustine's treatises against Pelagius, and its teaching is expanded in Article x—'Of Free Will'—of the Church of England. *Already you have been satisfied! Already got rich! Apart from us you became kings!* Your hearts' desires are already satisfied, your eternal wealth secured, your reign with Christ an accomplished fact—though ours is not! The words remind us of I Tim. iii. 6,—these novices, being puffed up with pride, are in danger of falling into the condemnation of the devil. The veteran apostle, with twenty years of Christian life and service behind him, would not count himself yet to have attained (Phil. iii. 12) what these converts of a year or two are already claiming. The prospect of the church being inoculated with 'the leaven of the Pharisees' stings him into bitter sarcasm; the mark of a true Christian is not to be satisfied (St. Matt. v. 6). *Well! I would that ye had become kings, that we also might be kings with you.* For their triumph, supposing it to be genuine, would be his also. It is of course in a sense true that Christians already reign with Christ (Rev. i. 6; v. 10, etc.)—indeed, the apostle has

10 angels, and to men. We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ ; we are weak, but ye are strong ; ye have glory, but we have dishonour.

11 Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have

already said so in different words (iii. 22)—but that reign is potential rather than actual, until it has been realised by perseverance and suffering. (2 Tim. ii. 12 ; Acts xiv. 22 ; Phil. iii. 10). With us apostles it is far otherwise ; *for I suppose God exhibited us the apostles last of all, as doomed to death, because we are become a spectacle to the universe, both angels and men.* The meaning is either that they are apparently the last and lowest of all men, or that their exhibition is as it were the grand climax of the game ; the former seems to be better. As the Roman gladiators came upon the scene they stood before the Emperor and cried ' Hail, imperial Cæsar ! Those about to die salute thee.' *We, fools on account of Christ, but you—such sensible men in Christ !* The saints, like their Master, have always been called fools (St. John x. 20 ; Acts xxvi. 24) ; the Corinthians seem to have claimed that as Christians they were wisely and prudently making the best use of both worlds. *We feeble, but you—such strong men !* The words may refer either to physical or moral weakness and strength ; in the former case they would glance at the ill-health which we see from many indications in the epistles to have beset St. Paul throughout his life. But more probably there is a hint of their depreciation of the apostle as a

no certain dwelling place; and we toil, working **12** with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we intreat: **13** we are made as the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things, even until now.

poor feeble creature, unable to accomplish anything great or notable. (Cf. 2 Cor. x. 10.) 'You so glorious, but we dishonoured!' Already respectability is becoming the bane of true Christianity. *Up to the present hour we are both hungry and thirsty, and are naked; and we are beaten and are homeless, and we toil hard, working with our own hands.* We do not find Christianity such an easy life as you do; for us it has always meant actual want, poverty and persecution and wearisome labour to obtain the mere necessities of life. (Cf. St. Matt. viii. 20.) *We are reviled, and we bless; we are persecuted, and we endure it; we are slandered, and we entreat*—i.e. we pray them to be more fair and charitable. Cf. St. Ignatius: *Eph.* 10: 'And pray ye also without ceasing for the rest of mankind (for there is in them a hope of repentance) that they may find God. Therefore permit them to take lessons at least from your works. Against their outbursts of wrath be ye meek; against their proud words be ye humble; against their railings set ye your prayers; against their errors, be ye steadfast in the faith; against their fierceness be ye gentle. And be not jealous to imitate them by requital. Let us show ourselves their brothers by our forbearance; but let us be jealous to be imitators of the Lord, vying

14 I write not these things to shame you, but to
 15 admonish you as my beloved children. For though
 ye should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet
have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I

with each other who shall suffer the greater wrong, who shall be defrauded, who shall be set at naught; that no herb of the devil be found in you; but in all purity and temperance abide ye in Christ Jesus, with your flesh and with your spirit.' A noble picture of what should be the conduct of Christians living amid a more or less hostile heathen population! Like the Indian middle classes, the Greeks of St. Paul's time had a contempt for manual labour, but this did not prevent him from *working with his hands*. *We are become the sweepings of the world, the scum¹ of all things—until now.* The last words are very emphatic; as much as to say, Do not think I am speaking of anything exceptional in the life of an apostle; it is always so. Shortly after the words were written, his life was put into the greatest danger by the riot at Ephesus, (Acts xix. 23-41; 1 Cor. xv. 32.)

(2) Affectionate appeal to them, as from a father in Christ, to respect his apostolic authority (iv. 14-21). The preceding passage of terrible irony has been

¹ See the interesting note on this word in Lightfoot's *Ignatius* (*Eph.* 8) showing that it meant those utterly worthless characters who were bribed to allow themselves to be offered in sacrifice to avert the wrath of the gods. Ignatius uses it in this sense, as almost equivalent to 'scapegoat', and possibly there may be some hint of that meaning here.

begat you through the gospel. I beseech you **16** therefore, be ye imitators of me. For this cause **17** have I sent unto you Timothy, who is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, who shall put you

needed in order to shake the complacency of the Corinthian Christians, but it would have been far from St. Paul's nature to leave that as his last word to them on this subject, and his exhortation to unity now reaches its climax in a pathetic and personal appeal, which also forms the transition to the next subject. If nothing else that I have said to you has weight, yet respect my wishes as your most loving father-in-Christ and the instrument of your conversion, and receive Timothy with respect as my emissary. From 2 Corinthians it seems probable that even this tender appeal failed for the time and Timothy was rejected and perhaps insulted. It was not till a second emissary was sent, namely Titus, that the Corinthians were restored to unity and obedience.

Not as putting you to shame do I write these things, but as my children beloved I admonish you. The Good Samaritan pours both oil and wine—both the soothing and the astringent—into the wounds of humanity. (Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 8-16; Eph. vi. 4); rebuke must be tempered with encouragement. *Beloved children* is the expression of great affection, which the Apostle does not use elsewhere except to Timothy (2 Tim. i. 2 and in verse 17). *For though you may have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet you have not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus through the gospel I begat you*—became

in remembrance of my ways which be in Christ,
18 even as I teach everywhere in every church. Now
some are puffed up, as though I were not coming

your father. 'Granting to the others the great pains they had taken for the Corinthians—for that is implied in the word *tutor*—he claims for himself the supremacy in love' (Chrysostom). *Therefore I entreat you, become imitators of me.* St. Chrysostom remarks on the astonishing boldness of this demand; it could only have been made by one whose conscience was absolutely clear (Acts xxiii. 1), and of course he has in his mind the condition which is expressed in xi. 1. A father has a right to demand that his children should be like him, so long as his example is a good one. *For this reason*—in order that you may learn how to imitate me—*I sent unto you Timothy, who is a child of mine beloved and faithful in the Lord, who will remind you of my ways which are in Christ, just as everywhere in every church I teach.* We already begin to get the Catholic note of unity—a practice is Catholic which is observed *everywhere and by all.* It appears from Acts xix. 22 that Timothy had already started; otherwise *I sent* might be the epistolary sense—*I send* with this letter. *Who is my child beloved and faithful in the Lord*—the union between St. Paul and Timothy was peculiarly close and affectionate, as we may judge from the tears of the latter (2 Tim. i. 4) when at a later date he was parted from the apostle—*who will remind you of my ways which are in Christ*—i.e. the methods by which I promote the Christian life—*even as everywhere in every*

to you. But I will come to you shortly, if the **19** Lord will; and I will know, not the word of them which are puffed up, but the power. For the **20**

church I teach. It is commonly said that we want unity without uniformity, but St. Paul looks upon uniformity as an important means of securing unity. *Now as if I were not coming to you some of you were inflated with pride; the pride was apparently due to the Corinthian leaders having assumed, in the absence of St. Paul, an authority which did not belong to them. And I will learn, if the Lord will, not the word of those who are thus inflated but the power, for not in word is the kingdom of God but in power.* The expression *kingdom of God*, so frequent in the gospels, is not very often used by St. Paul. By it he means the present blessings of the Gospel dispensation, in which we are made kings and priests. These blessings are entirely due to the presence of the Holy Spirit who is the source of all spiritual *power* (St. Luke xxiv. 49). He does not necessarily endow Christians with gifts of eloquence, but He strengthens their character and enables them to have a strong influence on those around them. *What do you wish? Shall I come to you with a rod, or with love and a spirit of meekness?* We must take care not to understand spirit in the modern sense of a disposition or temper; *meekness* is one of the fruits of the Holy Spirit (Gal. v. 23), and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of discipline (cf. Wisdom. i. 5; xii. 2) as well as of love and gentleness, and St. Paul knows that when he comes to Corinth he will be guided

kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.
21 What will ye? shall I come unto you with a rod,
or in love and a spirit of meekness?

as to which of the two is most needed by the state of the church.

By thus leading up to and asserting his apostolic authority St. Paul prepares the way for the rebukes, directions and encouragements which follow.

'All the while, it seems, they were boasting of their privilege as 'spiritual', as 'free', as 'wise in Christ'. St. Paul fully admits their privilege. Ideally they were the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelt in them, communicating a wisdom which the natural or carnal man could not receive. They had the mind of Christ, in virtue of which they might search all things, even the deep things of God. In the risen Lord, whose was the earth and the fulness thereof, all things were lawful unto them. All things were theirs, whether the world or life or death or things present or things to come. Yet the very assertion of the privilege, as the Corinthians asserted it, belied it. They made it a ground of conceit, of selfishness, even of sensual licence, and in so doing showed that it was not actually theirs. In the exaltation of their new deliverance they were losing the moral result which gave that deliverance its specific value.' (T. H. Green : *The Witness of God.*)

II. THE CENSURE OF CERTAIN NOTORIOUS SINS IN THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH

CHAPTERS V. AND VI.

- A. THE TOLERATION OF INCEST. v. 1-8.
- B. EXPLANATION OF A PREVIOUS DIRECTION. v. 9-13.
- C. LITIGATION BEFORE UNBELIEVERS. vi. 1-11.
- D. CAUTION AGAINST SENSUALITY. vi. 12-20.

It is actually reported that there is fornication **5** : among you, and such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles, that one *of you* hath his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and did not rather **2**

A. *The Toleration of Incest.* v. 1-8.

The temper of conceit and selfishness which has led to parties and factions has also been prolific in other sins, and in particular to the toleration of a gross case of impurity which would have been censured even in heathen society. It ought to have been met by instant excommunication.

Fornication is actually alleged to exist among you, and fornication of such a kind as is not found even among the nations, that a man should have his father's wife. The word *have* in the present tense implies that it was not

mourn, that he that had done this deed might be
3 taken away from among you. For I verily, being
absent in body but present in spirit, have already,
as though I were present, judged him that hath so

a mere momentary relation, but a scandal still continued. The woman appears not to have been a Christian, as censure is directed entirely to the man (*v.* 13). Cicero is quoted (*Pro. Clu.* v. 14) as calling this an unheard of outrage among the Romans. It seems to carry with it the principle on which the Canonical Table of prohibited marriages (usually printed at the end of the Prayer Book) is based—namely that relationships created by marriage are on the same footing as those of blood. Still there was felt to be a particular enormity about this particular connexion, and it is several times prohibited in the Old Testament (*Deut.* xxii. 30 ; xxvii. 20 ; *Lev.* xviii. 8 ; xx. 11 ; *Amos* ii. 7 ; *Ezek.* xxii. 11). Most probably the man's father, the woman's husband, was dead, as he is not mentioned in connexion with the matter, for in 2 Cor. vii. 12 a different case is dealt with. It does not appear whether the man had gone through some form of marriage with his step-mother or not ; it is the fact of the connexion which St. Paul looks upon as *fornication*. *And yet you have been inflated with pride—the word you is emphatic.* ‘ You, Christians though you call yourselves ’—*and did not rather make a mourning*—as for the dead—*that so he might be taken out of the midst of you—the man that did this deed.* If you had felt and shown true grief and horror for the guilt which has

wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, 4
ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the
power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto 5
Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit

thus come upon the whole church, excommunication would have followed as a matter of course. *For I on my part—the pronoun is again emphatic—though absent in my body yet present in my spirit, have already as actually present judged the man who has thus perpetrated this thing—when you have been gathered together in the name of our Lord Jesus and my spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.* The words are somewhat involved, but it is clear what he means: there should be a solemn assembly of the church invoking her Lord's presence and claiming the apostle's authority which carries with it our Lord's own spiritual power (cf. John xx. 21–23), and the offender must be formally cast out of the church and so put back under that dominion of Satan (Acts xxvi. 18; Col. i. 13) from which he was delivered by baptism—with the result that Satan might inflict disease or even death upon him (cf. Job i and ii; 1 Tim. i. 20) and that he might thus be led to repentance and so saved in the day of judgement. *Not good* is the subject of *your boasting*. It is an ignoble thing to be boasting of spiritual privileges when one ought to be mourning for complicity in gross sins. *Know ye not that a little leaven keeps leavening the whole mass?* The offender himself may

6 may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Your glorying is not good. Know ye not that a little **7** leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are

be the *leaven* and the church the *mass*; but more probably the *leaven* is the sinful principle and the holiness of the church is that which is gradually transformed by it. (Cf. Heb. xii. 15). Leaven is a living organism with a power of growth of its own, like the tares in the parable, and sin is of the same character, therefore we should resist it in its beginnings. *Clean away*—at once—*the old leaven*—the sin which belongs to your unconverted state—*that you may be a new mass*—a church with its young vigorous life unsullied—*just as you are*—in your normal state as Christians—*without leaven*. Every Christian church is by grace as it were an unleavened loaf. Cf. St. Ign: *Rom.* 4, 'I am God's wheat and I am ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be found pure bread (of Christ).' *For our paschal lamb also was sacrificed, even Christ; consequently let us keep perpetual feast neither with old leaven*—by going back to Judaism—*nor with leaven of malice and wickedness*—by falling back into sin—*but with unleavened loaves of sincerity and truth*. 'It is festival therefore the whole time in which we live . . . how can it be less than thy duty to keep the feast all thy life'—Chrys. The whole Christian life is here presented under the aspect of a joyful festival of redeemed souls, and no doubt there is an implicit reference to the Eucharist as the continual sustenance of that joy

unleavened. For our passover also hath been sacrificed, *even* Christ : wherefore let us keep the ⁸ feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven

because it is a foretaste of 'the marriage supper of the Lamb.'¹ 'It has also been suggested with great

¹ 'The Passover whatever its origin came to be a great national institution of the Israelites : it was a solemn annual memorial of a great national deliverance, and of the birth of national independence : the Paschal lamb was a symbol of *unity*, the unity of the family, of the nation, and of God with His people ; while details corresponded to incidents of the Exodus, as told by tradition, the rite as a whole reminded men annually of the covenant-relation subsisting between Jehovah and Israel, and kept alive their sense of the continuance of His favour towards them. And so the Paschal Lamb becomes a type of Christ, and the Paschal meal of the Christian Eucharist. Christ was the true Paschal Lamb (1 Cor. v. 7) who gathered into Himself, and realized in a higher, more spiritual sense, the associations of redemption and deliverance—no longer however from the bondage of Egypt but from the thralldom of sin—of which the Passover for so many centuries had been the expression. And in the Eucharistic feast not only is the sense of unity between Christians forcibly expressed (1 Cor. x. 17), but in it the faithful believer partakes of the Body and Blood of the true Paschal Lamb, he enters anew into vital union with God, he appropriates to himself the atoning efficacy of Christ's blood, shed for him and for all mankind, and he nourishes his spiritual life with divine grace and strength.'—Driver : *Exodus* (Cam. Bible), p. 412.

'Christians are in some way to make the person of Christ their own. They do this, the feast is kept for ever by the Christian society, in the life of charity. The conditions on our part, as individuals, of joining in the feast are sincerity and truth. These are the unleavened bread without which we

of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

9 I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no com-
10 pany with fornicators; not altogether with the

probability', says Lightfoot, 'that we have here a hint of the season of the year when the epistle was written'—viz. at the approach of Easter.

'The word translated *sincerity* is to be understood, I think, of perfect openness towards God; that clearness of the soul in which nothing interferes with the divine sunlight.'—T. T. Green. Cf. Newman's poem on St. Philip Neri:—

Thy soul became as purest glass,
Through which the Brightness Increate
In undimmed majesty might pass,
Transparent and illuminate.'

Lightfoot (on Phil. i. 10) suggests a different derivation, but the meaning is nearly the same—'pure', 'unsullied'. The two words *sincerity and truth* express correspondence between the inward and the outward in our own lives, and correspondence with the Divine reality. The first by itself is not enough.

B. *Explanation of a Previous Direction.* v. 9-13.

When in my former epistle I told you to break with notorious sinners, of course I meant only those who are members of the Christian church. It is not our

may not feed upon the Lamb, but with which we may.'—T. H. Green: *The Witness of God*.

fornicators of this world, or with the covetous and extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye needs go out of the world: but now I write unto **11** you not to keep company, if any man that is named a

business to judge the heathen and we should have to cut ourselves off from their society altogether if we were to take account of their moral character. In these words St. Paul obviously alludes to some former letter which he had written to Corinth. That letter is now lost, but it is a plausible conjecture that 2 Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1, which is evidently out of place where it stands, may be a fragment of it. That passage however certainly suggests that St. Paul would have Christians cut themselves off from the surrounding heathen society. Missionaries generally find that some rules which are necessary in the first beginnings of a church may be relaxed as that church grows to strength and maturity.

I wrote to you in my letter not to mix with fornicators. The verb implies avoidance of social intercourse (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 14), not necessarily excommunication as in v. 5. The words in 2 Cor. vi. 14—‘Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers’—are probably to be understood as a prohibition of marriage between a Christian and a non-Christian (Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 39). I did *not* mean *absolutely* that you should not mix *with the fornicators of this world or with the covetous and rapacious, or with idolaters, since you would need in that case to go out of the world.* We know too well that heathen society is permeated by lust, avarice and idolatry, and we must

brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with
 12 such a one no, not to eat. For what have I to do with judging them that are without? Do not ye

either cut ourselves off from it altogether, or extend to it a certain toleration as to men who know no better; I do not now advise the former course. *But really I wrote unto you that if any man called a brother—i.e. a nominal Christian—be a fornicator, or a covetous man, or an idolater, or a calumniator, or a drunkard, or a rapacious man, not to mix with him; not even to eat with such a one.* You should have nothing to do with him and should not either invite him to your house or accept his invitations. The only kind of caste among Christians should be that which is based on moral character. Of course we must remember that our Lord made a point of eating with publicans and sinners—those whom Jewish society excluded on these very grounds—but then He did so not with a view to social enjoyment but to effect their reformation.¹ *For what does it concern me to judge*

¹ The question as to what should be the grounds of exclusion from Christian society is not an easy one to decide. Here St. Paul bases it on certain habitual offences—unclean living, heathen practices, foul language ('gáli'), and drunkenness. These are clear, but what amount of covetousness ought to incur the penalty? Certainly it would seem that the money-lender who exacts high interest should be one of the excluded. In 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14 a disorderly life and disobedience to church authority are further grounds, and St. John (Eph. ii. 10) extends them to doctrinal error about the Incarnation.

judge them that are within, whereas them that are **13**
without God judgeth? Put away the wicked man
from among yourselves.

Dare any of you, having a matter against his **6 1**
neighbour, go to law before the unrighteous, and
not before the saints? Or know ye not that the **2**
saints shall judge the world? and if the world is

*those who are without? Do not you yourselves judge
those within the Christian church, while God alone
judges those without it? So says the Old Testament:
'Take away the wicked man from among yourselves'—
not from others. The words occur several times in
Deuteronomy (xvii. 7; xix. 19; xxi. 21; xxii. 21, 24)
but in these cases the removal is by death.*

C. *Litigation before Unbelievers.* vi. 1-11.

Litigation before heathen judges must be checked.
Not only do you fail in your duty of judging notorious
evil livers among Christians, but you have recourse to
heathen law courts on the most trifling matters. You
should establish arbitration committees among your-
selves; but if the worst comes to the worst, and you
cannot obtain justice, remember that it is better to

St. Paul however adds: 'Count him not as an enemy,' but
admonish him as a brother'—so that it is clear that the exclu-
sion is not looked upon as permanent, and that it should be
accompanied with kindly and gentle counsel. And the danger
of Pharisaism should ever be present to the mind of those who
enforce the exclusion (Gal. vi. 1, 2).

judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the
3 smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge
angels? how much more, things that pertain to
4 this life? If then ye have to judge things pertain-

suffer wrong than to do it. Those who deliberately injure their neighbour risk their own salvation.

Is there any one of you who ventures, when he has a case against his fellow, to get judged before the unjust and not before the saints? To call the heathen tribunals unjust seems inconsistent with what he says elsewhere (Rom. xiii. 1-6) about their being the ministers of God for good. But the word unjust is borrowed from Jewish phraseology and means scarcely more than 'Gentile', just as 'a just man' is a faithful Israelite (Luke i. 6; cf. Gal. ii. 15). It seems to be used for the sake of the rhetorical point: 'You call the heathen judges unjust, and yet you venture to seek for justice at their hands.' Or do you not know that the saints will judge the world? In the book of Wisdom (iii. 8) it is written: 'They [the souls of the righteous] shall judge the nations and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever' and in Daniel (vii. 22). 'And judgement was given to the saints of the Most High.' The Corinthians already claimed to reign with Christ (iv. 8), and the prerogative of judging is involved in that of reigning. (Cf. Matt. xix. 28; Rev. xx. 4.) And if in you the world is judged, are you unworthy of occupying the smallest tribunals? In you is not exactly the same thing as 'by you'. Christ is the judge, and He

ing to this life, do ye set them to judge who are of no account in the church? I say *this* to move you **5** to shame. Is it so, that there cannot be *found* among you one wise man, who shall be able to

is also the standard of judgement (' He hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness *in* the man whom he hath ordained '—Acts xviii. 31), and by Christ's side are all those who have shown to what height it is possible for human nature, incorporated in Him, to rise, so that they also become a standard of judgement for the rest of mankind. Even now the Christian standard is one by which heathen morality is tried and found wanting. The Greeks, of whom the Corinthian church was mainly composed, were a litigious race, and the matters on which they appealed to the courts were often of small moment, such as payment of debts, charges of personal abuse, etc. Such things ought to be easily settled among Christians; something like the Indian system of ' panchayets ' is what St. Paul suggests. *Do you not know that we shall even judge angels?* He does not say ' the angels ' which would have implied the whole class, and probably only evil angels are meant (Jude 6). There is no hint elsewhere of the holy angels being brought into future judgment, nor can we believe that it will be so. *Not to speak of matters of this life*—the trivial concerns of earthly existence (Luke xxi. 34). *If therefore you really must have tribunals for dealing with matters of this life, set them to judge who are of no account in the church*—i. e., your

6 decide between his brethren, but brother goeth to
7 law with brother, and that before unbelievers? Nay,
 already it is altogether a defect in you, that ye
 have lawsuits one with another. Why not rather

meanest members are good enough to deal with mere matters of rupees and pice, and trivial quarrels. This, which is the rendering of A. V., but is put in the margin by R. V., is supported by Lightfoot and many other high authorities, and gives a better sense than R. V. text which makes the sentence a question. 'Those possessed of high spiritual gifts are better employed on higher matters than on settling petty wrongs among you, and thus serving tables.' *I say this to put you to shame*—for making so much of disputes about trivial things. *Is it so that there exists not among you a single wise man, who shall be able to decide between his brother and the opponent, but brother with brother gets judged—or goes to law, as A.V. and R.V.—and this before unbelievers.*

At a later period this question of litigation before the heathen was dealt with by the church, very much on the lines of this chapter. (See *Apost. Const.* ii. 44–56.) 'It is a noble encomium for a Christian to have no contest with any one; but if one should arise through any plot or temptation let him diligently try to get it settled even though he should suffer some injury, and let him not come before a heathen tribunal . . . Let not the heathen know of your differences one with another, and do not receive unbelievers as witnesses against Christians nor go to law before them . . .

take wrong? Why not rather be defrauded? Nay, 8 but ye yourselves do wrong, and defraud, and that *your* brethren. Or know ye not that the unrighteous 9 shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not

Choose rather to suffer injury and be diligent for peace not only with one another but also with the unbelievers; for though you suffer in worldly matters, in the things of God you will not be the losers, inasmuch as you live religiously and after the command of Christ. But if brethren go against one another, which God forbid, you the rulers ought to understand that they are not acting as brethren but as enemies . . . Let your tribunals be held on the second day of the week (Monday) in order that if any resistance be made to your sentence you will have till Saturday to set it right and bring about peace in time for the Lord's Day.' Further directions follow for the conduct of the cases, showing that the church by this time had established a very careful system of arbitration.

But further this whole proceeding indicates that you are slipping away from the true principles of Christian fellowship and so falling short of what Christian life ought to be and paving the way for more serious sins. *Already therefore really there exists a failing among you in the fact that you have judgements among yourselves.* The litigious spirit in itself betokens a loss of Christian tone, a declension from the high temper of brotherly love. *Wherefore do you not rather let yourselves be injured? Wherefore do you not rather let yourselves be deprived? Nay, ye yourselves injure and*

deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves
10 with men, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the

deprive, and you do this to brothers. The question had already been asked by Plato: 'Would you then rather injure or be injured?' Socrates replies:—'I would prefer neither to injure nor be injured, but if I must have one I would choose to be injured' (*Gorgias*). Or is it that you do not know that injurious men will not inherit God's kingdom? Charity is the fundamental law of Christian life, and charity 'seeketh not her own.' Wilfully to injure others is the exact opposite of charity, and so gives rise to all the terrible sins which he is now about to mention. *Be not deceived; neither fornicators nor adulterers, nor effeminate persons, nor sodomites nor thieves nor covetous men, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor rapacious men, will inherit God's kingdom.* The sins indicated cover the second table of the Ten Commandments, and the passage shows that in spite of what St. Paul says elsewhere about Christians not being under law but under grace, he in no way looks upon the moral law as abrogated. The principle of obedience to law is superseded by the guidance of the Spirit, but those for whom the guidance of the Spirit has ceased to be a reality must fall back on obedience to law (Cf. 1 Tim. i. 8-11). *And these things some of you were.* Nothing could give a more vivid impression of the moral transformation effected by Christianity than this startling statement. It could be

kingdom of God. And such were some of you : but **11**
ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye

paralleled by the experience of many an Indian missionary. In an address of welcome to the Bishop of Dornakal the speakers said that out of a Christian community of 1,500 persons there was not one man who had not been before his conversion a drunkard and a thief. The reproach so often made against Christianity that it deals with the lowest and basest elements of society is really its proudest boast. *But you washed away your sins* (cf. Acts xxii. 16), *but you were sanctified*—i.e. consecrated to God by His grace—*but you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God*. The tense of these three verbs in the Greek indicates a definite moment, not a gradual process—and in accordance with the general teaching of St. Paul we may be sure that he refers to their baptism, the sacrament by which he had himself washed away his sins. The word *sanctified* is not to be taken in the technical theological sense, but is used as in ch. vii. 14 of the first dedication of the life to God by the gift of the Holy Spirit. *Justified*—similarly connected with baptism in Rom. vi. 7 (R.V.)—as the result of incorporation into Christ. Thus the effects of baptism are cleansing from past sin, consecration to God by the Spirit, and newness of life in Christ. This verse is an enlargement of the more usual expression 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus' and gives ground for supposing that the formula of St. Matt. xxviii. 19

were justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.

12 All things are lawful for me ; but not all things are expedient. All things are lawful for me ; but I

was already in use, since all Three Persons of the Holy Trinity are mentioned.

D. *Caution against Sensuality.* vi. 12-20.

The true basis of the Christian horror of impurity ; the present glory of our bodies as members of Christ and temples of the Holy Ghost ; and their future destiny to resurrection.

It would appear from this passage and from ch. x 23 that the words ' all things are lawful ' had become a sort of party cry of the extreme advocates of Christian liberty, people who pressed St. Paul's plea to a point beyond what he would have sanctioned. It is true that ' all things are lawful ' when it is a question of meats and drinks, though even then there are limits which may be imposed by charity to our neighbours. But it is not true that among things ' lawful ' is fornication. There is a complete difference between the cases. The stomach was made for food ; the body was not made for fornication but for Christ.

It is evident that the case of incest did not stand alone in Corinth. The low tone on the subject of sexual morality which generally prevailed in heathendom was aggravated by the presence of the Temple of

will not be brought under the power of any. Meats **13** for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall bring to nought both it and them. But the

Venus which almost exalted immorality into a religious act. We often find in Greek writers offerings made to the goddess for a successful intrigue, and the poet Pindar openly praises a Corinthian citizen for giving a hundred slave-girls to the Temple. Even the Christians ' had not realized how comprehensively all details and relations of life were dominated by the union with Christ effected in baptism. They knew that they had entered upon a new life in the spirit; they concluded that this life was sharply distinguished from the old life of the flesh, but they interpreted this distinction as merely negative, as though the new life was simply an experience on a different plane, leaving the old life a matter of indifference, instead of interpreting it as a condition which transformed, remade, and used for new purposes the whole of man's nature. It had not occurred to them, or at least to all of them, that the natural relations of sex, or the ordinary dealings of man with man in civil and economic society, came under the new influence. Consequently they tolerated conduct, in these respects, which to us seems utterly irreconcilable with Christian principles. But in fact the connexion of morality and religion, the moralising of religion and the spiritualising of morality, was to the pre-Christian world very largely a new and strange idea. What to us seems obvious is in fact one of the most hard-won

body is not for fornication, but for the Lord ; and
 14 the Lord for the body : and God both raised the

triumphs of the gospel ; if indeed it can be said yet to have been won '—Parry.

Dean Church has pointed out that Christianity is the only power which has ever succeeded in bridling the sins of the flesh.¹ In India we know that while a very exacting standard of purity is imposed on women, almost every kind of indulgence is permitted to men.

In order to understand this passage it is necessary to try to grasp what it is that St. Paul means by *the body*. He does not mean our actual flesh and blood. 'Flesh and blood,' he says, 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God' (xv. 50), but the kingdom of God is just what the body can and will inherit. By the body he means that which at any time now or hereafter is the expression of the spirit within us ; we might almost translate it in modern terms as our manifested personality.²

¹ *The Gifts of Civilization*, iv.

² Sir Oliver Lodge writes :—

'The term "body" should be explained and emphasized as connoting anything which is able to manifest feelings, emotions and thoughts, and at the same time to operate efficiently on its environment. The temporary character of the present human body should be freely admitted although it usefully and truthfully displays the incarnate part of us during the brief episode of terrestrial life, and when it has served its turn it is left behind, its particles being discarded and dispersed. Hereafter, we are taught, an equally '—(? a far more)—' efficient vehicle of manifestation, similarly appropriate to our new

Lord, and will raise up us through his power. Know ye not that your bodies are members of 15

With these preliminary considerations we must now try to interpret this difficult passage. '*All things are in my power.*' So you say, and so say I, but I do not say it without limitations. The first limitation is that of benefit to myself and others. *But not all things are spiritually profitable.* Christian freedom must be such as to promote Christian character. The meaning of this limitation is fully explained in Romans xiv. '*All things are in my power*'—*but never will I be brought by anything under its power.* Liberty by its very excess becomes slavery, when for instance I indulge the lower part of my nature to such an extent that I am no longer able to control it. (Cf. Rom. vi. 12-23.) *The foods which we eat are for the belly and the belly is for the foods; but God will annihilate both it and them*—and therefore what we eat has no religious significance

environment, will not be lacking: this at present unknown and hypothetical entity is spoken of as "a spiritual body" and represents the serious idea underlying crude popular notions about resurrection'—Sir Oliver Lodge: *Substance of Faith Allied with Science*, p. 106; and *Man and the Universe*, p. 293. 'Since our identity and personality in no way depend upon identity of material particles, and since our present body has been "composed" by our characteristic element or soul, it is legitimate to suppose that some other "body" can equally well hereafter be composed by the same agency; in other words, that the spirit will retain the power of constructing for itself a suitable vehicle of manifestation, which is the essential meaning of the term "body"'—*Man and the Universe*, p. 282.

Christ? shall I then take away the members of Christ, and make them members of a harlot? God

since all such things perish in the using. (Cf. St. Mark vii. 19; Col. ii. 20-22.) No Christian will trouble his conscience about the kind of food he eats; he may be a vegetarian or a water-drinker on grounds of health, but he will not make it a matter of religious obligation and condemn those who do otherwise. May we then go on to say: 'The body is for fornication and fornication is for the body?' Certainly not. The assimilation of food is a mere physical process which does not affect the character, but the act of fornication is more than a physical process, it involves the *body*—the personality; but *the body is not for fornication but for the Lord and the Lord is for the body*. The *body* is not merely the present transitory organization, but it is the essential form of our personality and is destined not for destruction like the material particles but for resurrection with Christ; therefore it is *for* Christ, and Christ is *for* it because His Incarnation took place in order that our bodies as well as our souls might have eternal life through His indwelling (Rom. viii. 23). Already we see bodies being to some extent fashioned by the soul within them; most people show their characters, good or evil, in their faces as they grow older. The resurrection will complete that transformation, and each one's body will then be a perfect manifestation as well as a perfect instrument of his spirit (Phil. iii. 21). It is necessary then to preserve our bodies in purity in order that we may 'obtain a better resurrec-

forbid. Or know ye not that he that is joined to **16**
a harlot is one body? for, The twain, saith he, shall

tion' (Heb. xi. 35)—a risen body unstained by any trace of sensuality (Phil. iii. 11). *But God both raised the Lord and will fully raise us*—in body as well as soul—*through His power*. Consequently the analogy you attempt to draw is an utterly false one; the *body* which is destined for resurrection is a different thing from the *belly* which is destined for destruction. It is remarkable that St. Paul here associates himself with those who will die and rise again; elsewhere he expresses his confidence that he will be among those who are alive at Christ's coming (1 Thess. iv. 15). In neither case was it a matter of faith, but only of feeling and opinion.

Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Even now Christ who since His Resurrection has become 'a life-giving spirit' (xv. 45) takes possession of our bodies as well as of our souls, and begins to fit them for their risen life. 'Our sinful bodies are made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood.' When we receive the Holy Communion it is to 'preserve our body and soul unto everlasting life'. *Shall I then take away the Christ's members from Him and make them members of a harlot?* Never! In marriage there is no such *taking away* our members from Christ because marriage takes place 'in the Lord' (vii. 39) and is 'an honourable estate instituted of God in the time of man's innocency.' But fornication

17 become one flesh. But he that is joined unto the
18 Lord is one spirit. Flee fornication. Every sin

being a mere indulgence of the passions with no moral end to serve is a sin which separates from Christ. *Or do you not know that he who cleaves to the harlot is one body with her? For it says, The two shall be made into one flesh.* The words are from the Greek version of Gen. ii. 24, and it is not clear whether they were spoken by Adam or by God. Hence perhaps the vague, *It says. But he who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit* with Him. It is startling to find the words which form the Scriptural foundation for holy matrimony applied to a relationship which is both ephemeral and sinful. We must however remember those other words of St. Paul, that marriage is 'a great mystery'; that is, that its full implications and consequences can only be understood by divine revelation, and from this we learn that the intercourse between man and woman goes beyond the transitory connexion and constitutes an enduring personal union—as may be seen from the fact that children inherit the characteristics, not only physical but spiritual, of both parents. Thus fornication wastes in self-indulgence not only bodily vitality but that personal character which is the richest endowment of human life, and which in marriage might be built up into all the varied gifts and graces of a Christian family.¹ The Christian family is the germ of the kingdom of

¹ Dean Church calls purity 'that most mysterious of the virtues, as its opposite is the most mysterious of the sins.'

that a man doeth is without the body; but he that commiteth fornication sinneth against his own

God, because each member of it *cleaves* not only to the rest but to Christ Himself and becomes *one spirit with Him*, but fornication is the negation of all this. *Flee fornication*. Other sins may be fought against, but the best defence against this is by flight, that is, by habitually avoiding all opportunities of temptation—the talk, the books, the company, which might lead us into sin. *Every act of sin which a man may commit is outside his body, but the fornicator sins against his own body*. This difficult statement is partly to be explained by observing the tenses of the Greek verbs; the first refers to a momentary act, but the latter to acts continually repeated (*He who habitually commits fornication habitually sins . . .*). Compare 1 John iii. 9 'Whosoever is born of God doth not (habitually) commit sin' with ii. 1 'If any man sin'—i.e., commit an individual sin. But the distinction between fornication and other sins of the flesh, such as drunkenness, gluttony and sloth, goes deeper. 'No sin so completely undermines the character and whole life in the body; it is not merely the misuse of a particular appetite, but a falsifying of the relations in which man stands to others and to God, a misdirection and contamination of the whole personality, a degrading of love into lust.' Or is it that *you do not know that your body is the sanctuary of the in-you-dwelling Holy Spirit which you have from God, and that you are not your own property, for you were bought at a price?*

19 body. Or know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have

How can the Spirit which is holy dwell in a temple which is defiled? How can you use God's property for purposes which are hateful to Him? All souls are God's by right of creation (Ezek. xviii. 4), but the bodies as well as the souls of Christians have received a new consecration since they were redeemed by Christ. *Glorify*—glorify, I say—that God in your body. The particle rendered 'therefore' in A.V. and R.V. is really a means of strongly emphasizing the preceding word. 'Begin at once to use your body as a means of setting forth God's glory'. The continence of Christians amidst the prevailing immorality of heathen life was one of the things which made the deepest impression on the minds of their contemporaries. See I Peter ii. 11, 12. The command to *glorify God in our bodies* is of much wider application than the prohibition of sensuality. It gives us the true principle of Christian asceticism which is not, like the asceticism of Hindus, an end in itself or a means of gaining power over the gods, but a method of self-discipline whereby the body is kept in obedience to the voice of the Holy Spirit within us. It also teaches us that there is a Christian æstheticism, and we may use all beauty in the service of God. It forbids not only fornication but bodily indulgence of all kinds—gluttony, drunkenness, the taking of deleterious drugs (opium, ganja, cocaine), and sluggish laziness. We are to keep our bodies in temperance,

from God? and ye are not your own; for ye were **20**

soberness, and chastity, in order that they may be at all times ready to do God service. The idea of atrophying one of our limbs by holding it for years in the same position is abhorrent to the Christian mind, because with that limb we could no longer *glorify God*. For the same reason suicide is prohibited, for it is the destruction of the instrument by which we may continue to *glorify God*. The tendency of the body is to attempt to gain supremacy over the soul, and for that reason we must 'bring it into slavery' (ix. 27), but a wise master will want his slave to be as efficient as possible for the work he has to do, and therefore asceticism should not be carried to the point of injury to the health or destruction of any of the bodily functions.

Luther at one time in his life held the complete independence of body and soul, 'There are two men in man; the inner man (the soul) and the outer man (the body): there is no relation between them. As the works proceed from the outer man, they cannot affect the soul. Let the body frequent profane places; let it eat, drink; let it omit to pray, let it omit to do all that the hypocrites do; the soul will suffer from none of these things'—*Liberty of a Christian Man* (1520).¹ This is bad psychology and

¹ So also writes Sankaracharya in his famous commentary: 'It is true that obligation exists for him only who views the soul as something different from the body; but fundamentally all obligation is an erroneous imagination existing in the case of him only who does not see that the self is no more connected

bought with a price: glorify God therefore in your body.

worse religion and is just the notion which St. Paul is here combating.

‘ The three essential ideas of the passage are therefore :—

1. That the use of Christian liberty as respects the body is naturally restricted by the danger of using that liberty so as to alienate it and destroy ourselves.

2. That fornication involves the Christian in a degrading physical solidarity, incompatible with the believer’s spiritual solidarity with Christ.

3. That it renders the body unfit for its Christian dignity as a temple of God, and so for its glorious destination ’. (Godet)

with a body than the ether is with jars and the like’—II 3. 48 (quoted by Cave : *Redemption : Hindu and Christian*, p. 90).

III. THE ANSWERS TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF THE CORINTHIANS

CHAPTERS vii-xiv

- A. MARRIAGE, WIDOWHOOD AND CELIBACY.
vii.
- B. IDOL FEASTS AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.
viii-xi.
- C. SPIRITUAL GIFTS. xii-xiv.

Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote : It **7** is good for a man not to touch a woman. But, **2** because of fornications, let each man have his own

The epistle now changes its character, and the next eight chapters appear to be St. Paul's answers to questions which had been sent to him by the Corinthians.

A. *Marriage, Widowhood and Celibacy.* vii.

It would greatly conduce to the understanding of this chapter if we could have had before us the letter of the Corinthians containing their questions. Since no trace of it remains we can only infer the questions from the answers : they appear to have been these—
(1) Should married Christians continue to live together?
(2) Should unmarried Christians marry ? (3) Is divorce

wife, and let each woman have her own husband.
3 Let the husband render unto the wife her due : and
4 likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife

permissible ? (4) What if a Christian man or woman be married to a non-Christian partner ? (5) What are we to do with our daughters ? (6) Are second marriages permissible ?

THE FIRST QUESTION

Should Married Christians continue to live together ?

(*vv.* 1-7)

To us the question seems a strange one, but we must remember that the first Christians lived in expectation of our Lord's immediate return, and if St. Paul had already told the Corinthians that they that have wives should be as they that have none (*v.* 29), it is not surprising that some of his hearers interpreted his words as meaning that they should no longer cohabit with their wives. He seems to say that though this would be *a fine thing* to do, he does not advise it because of the temptations it would bring on the other partner. The apostle himself had not a wife and he realizes the freedom from worldly anxiety which such a state bestows.

Now concerning the things which ye wrote it is a fine thing for a man not to touch a woman. It has sometimes been maintained that a life of chastity is injurious to the health, but that is not the verdict of true science. 'The theory that health requires immorality has been

hath not power over her own body, but the husband :
and likewise also the husband hath not power over
his own body, but the wife. Defraud ye not one 5

denounced not by one expert here and there, but by such a body as the International Conference on Syphilis in 1902, and the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases'—*Athenæum*, June, 1917. *But owing to the prevalent fornications let each man continue to have his own wife, and let each woman continue to have her own husband.*¹ Thus polygamy is ruled out for Christians; that monogamy was to be the rule is implied elsewhere, but only here expressly stated, the fact being that polygamy was unknown to Roman Law and therefore the question did not arise in the case of converts. *To the wife let the husband pay her debt and likewise also the wife to the husband*—and to no one else. The same debt cannot be due to more than one person. As against the strong tendency now so common to condone adulterous practices in men while visiting them severely in the case of women, these words put the sexes on a relation of perfect equality. *The wife over her own body has not the control but the husband has, and likewise also the husband over his own body has not the control but the wife has.* Consequently it is

¹ The verb in the present tense does not so naturally imply to get a wife as to keep the wife one already has. The question whether Christians should marry is dealt with in *v.* 8. When 'have' is used in the sense of 'get', St. Paul generally employs a different tense (Rom. i. 13; Phil. ii. 27). It is implied that the marriage took place before the parties to it became Christians.

the other, except it be by consent for a season, that ye may give yourselves unto prayer, and may be together again, that Satan tempt you not because

necessary that each partner, 'forsaking all other, keep only' to the one partner 'so long as they both shall live' (Marriage Service). *Do not deprive one another, unless it should perhaps be by mutual agreement for a season in order that you may get leisure for your prayer and may be again together, so that Satan may not tempt you on account of your incontinence.* The prophet Joel had proclaimed the same principle; at a time of national mourning, he says, 'Let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber and the bride out of her closet,' but such periods of abstinence must not be prolonged lest either *the devil tempt you* or your own flesh lead you into sin (with others). *But this*—namely, that you should continue in the married state—*I say by way of concession, not by way of commandment.* This no doubt refers to v. 2, the intervening verses being parenthetical; I do not give you a command to go on living with your wives, I give you a simple counsel founded on the knowledge of your weakness. *But I wish all men to be as I wish myself also to be*—namely without a wife, in the present circumstances of the Church. See ch. ix. 5. *Still each man has a gift-of-grace of his own from God, one in this manner, the other in that.* This certainly implies that the power of living a life of chastity is a vocation requiring special grace from God. (Cf. St. Matt. xix. 10, 11.) Does it imply that marriage also requires a special vocation? Probably not, in

of your incontinency. But this I say by way of 6 permission, not of commandment. Yet I would 7 that all men were even as I myself. Howbeit each

view of *v.* 2. Marriage is the rule, celibacy the exception.

This passage—and indeed the whole chapter—is a remarkable illustration of St. Paul's use of the Holy Spirit's gift of counsel. He has a tender regard for weak human nature, especially in view of the fact that many of the Corinthians had only recently escaped from the unspeakable licence of heathenism (*vi.* 9-11), but he draws quite firmly the lines beyond which indulgence must not go. His own preference is for a celibate life, in order that he may devote himself without distraction (*v.* 32) to God's service in the gospel, but he is far from saying that this must be the rule for everybody. It requires a special grace. On this chapter, and on our Lord's words in St. Matt. xix, has been based the ideal of Christian monasticism, which has played an important part in the history of the Church and may have an even more important part to play in India. It has also been pointed out that this ascetic ideal is of great importance for the world at large. 'In the face of the immense suggestive power of wealth, of ambition, and of every kind of sensuous temptation, humanity cannot dispense with the counter-acting suggestion of a life which has made itself absolutely independent of these things.'¹ It is true

¹ Foerster: *Marriage and the Sex-Problem*, ch. ix, 'The Indispensability of the Ascetic Ideal.'

man hath his own gift from God, one after this manner, and another after that.

8 But I say to the unmarried and to widows, It is

that the tendency of the early Fathers was to exalt celibacy unduly, and depreciate marriage.¹ In modern times the pendulum has swung too much the other way, and the traditions of India may point it out as the privilege of her Church to revive the examples of primitive asceticism and to reconstruct under modern conditions those great monastic orders to which the Catholic Church both in East and West has owed so much of its power.

THE SECOND QUESTION

Should Unmarried Christians Marry? (vv. 8, 9.)

Whether the unmarried convert should marry after he becomes a Christian is ruled by the same considera-

¹ Clement of Alexandria is a remarkable exception. Cf. *Strom.* vii, §. 70. 'True manhood is shown not in the choice of a celibate life; on the contrary the prize in the contest of men is won by him who has trained himself by the discharge of the duties both of husband and father and by the supervision of a household, regardless of pleasure and pain,—by him, I say, who, in the midst of his solicitude for his family, shows himself inseparable from the love of God and rises superior to every temptation which assails him through children and wife and servants and possessions. On the other hand, he who has no family is in most respects untried. In any case, as he takes thought only for himself, he is inferior to one who falls short of him as regards his own salvation, but who has the advantage in the conduct of life, inasmuch as he actually preserves a faint image of the true Providence.'

good for them if they abide even as I. But if they⁹ have not continency, let them marry: for it is

tion as the first question. It would be a *fine thing* not to do so (cf. Luke xii. 35), so as to live in eager expectation of our Lord's coming. But 'all men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given.' Therefore marriage is permissible.

Now I say to the single men—i.e. to those who have no wife whether because they have not married or because their wife is dead—and *to the widows*—i.e., those women whose husbands are dead, the case of those who are not yet married being treated afterwards (*vv.* 25-38)—*it is a fine thing for them if they abide permanently as I also do.* The idea of permanence is expressed by the tense of the verb in Greek. There is no good reason for thinking that St. Paul ever married, so that he is here recommending celibacy as the ideal, no doubt in view of the considerations urged in *vv.* 29-31. *But if they have not self-control let them marry, for it is better to marry than to be continually on fire with lust.* So the Church teaches that one of the purposes of matrimony—though not the first or most important—is 'for a remedy against sin and to avoid fornication; that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.'

St. Paul at this time, as we see from ch. xv. 51, still expected to be among those who would be alive at our Lord's return. By the time he wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians he was not so sure (2 Cor. 1, 9)

10 better to marry than to burn. But unto the

and in Phil. i. 21 he distinctly faces the possibility of death. Consequently in Ephes. v. 22-33 he puts before the Church a much higher view of matrimony than can be gathered from this epistle, and in later life he was more disposed to recommend marriage. (Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 3, v. 14.)

THE THIRD QUESTION

Is divorce permissible for Christians? (vv. 10, 11)

St. Paul's answer is emphatically 'No', if by divorce is meant breach of the marriage bond with liberty to re-marry. In saying this he claims to be simply repeating a command of his Master, and this ought to settle the question as to our Lord's real teaching on the subject, which has been obscured by the insertion of the words 'except for fornication' in St. Matt. xix. 9 though St. Mark, the earliest gospel, probably gives the genuine utterance (St. Mark x. 11, 12; cf. St. Luke xvi. 18). In the less strict sense of the word 'divorce'—i.e., separation between husband and wife without re-marriage—St. Paul allows its possibility. In the case of a convert to Christianity, whose non-Christian partner refuses to join him or her, the marriage may be dissolved. It must be remembered that all the people to whom St. Paul is now writing were converts, and nearly all of them converts from heathenism, not from Judaism, who had been accustomed to the most unlimited freedom in the matter of divorce. So far as Roman Law was concerned,

married I give charge, *yea* not I, but the Lord, husband and wife had but to agree that they would be husband and wife no longer, and they might go their several ways without fear and without reproach free to contract fresh marriages as they would.¹ In place of this licence St. Paul puts before them the strictness of the Christian law. He divides them into three classes—(1) Those who have no wife at the present time; (2) Those who are in the state of matrimony, either because they have married since they became Christians or because they have retained their heathen partners; (3) Those whose heathen partners have refused to join them since they became Christians. Again he has exactly the same rule for husband and wife.

But to those who have married—from what follows it is evident that he means both those who have married since they became Christians and those who, having married before, have perpetuated their marriage by living together after one or both has been converted—*I command, not I but the Lord, that wife from husband be not separated.* Though the gospels were not yet written, the words of our Lord in St. Mark x. 2-12 must have been well known in the Church, and must have been understood as laying down the law of absolute prohibition against divorce.² So they

¹ Watkins: *Holy Matrimony*, p. 348.

² It is sometimes said that our Lord did not intend in these words to legislate for the Church, but St. Paul distinctly treats them as having that character.

- 11 That the wife depart not from her husband (but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband); and that the husband

continued to be understood in the best and purest ages for the Church, and in the West this attitude has been always maintained, but the Eastern Church, which has been much more subject to corrupting secular inferences, began to admit the possibility of divorce from the fourth century onwards. 'Speaking generally it may be said of the period under review (Constantine to Justinian) that it shows the Western churches maintaining the entire indissolubility of the marriage tie except by death, while the churches of the East, under the pressure of the secular law and of the conventional morality of the Eastern Christians, utter an uncertain sound'—Watkins. *But if she BE separated, let her remain unmarried or let her be reconciled to her husband.* This is what is called in law *divortium a mensa et thoro* (divorce from bed and board), i.e. separation without liberty of re-marriage. There are no doubt cases when a woman cannot avoid this, but our Lord warns us (St. Matt. v. 32) that even this degree of separation is not to be resorted to except for grave reasons, since, especially in the unprotected state of females in the East, the deserted partner can hardly escape falling into deeper sin. *And He commands a husband not to put away a wife.* To do so would be practically to 'make her an adulteress' unless she has become one already.

leave not his wife. But to the rest say I, not the Lord: If any brother hath an unbelieving wife, and she is content to dwell with him, let him not

THE FOURTH QUESTION

What if a Christian man or woman be married to a non-Christian partner? (vv. 12-16).

But to the rest say I, not the Lord. The rest are those Christians who, having married before their conversion, have now a heathen partner living. The next words imply that in answering the first three questions St. Paul has given Christ's own teaching; in the case of *the rest* there is no definite direction of Christ, so he is thrown back upon his own judgement, which was no doubt inspired by the Holy Ghost (v. 40). The marriage of Christians differs from that of non-Christians because the latter is not necessarily intended to be permanent, nor is it always monogamous—in any case it has not had the sacramental blessing which our Lord expresses by saying 'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.' Moreover it is essential to true marriage that there should have been intelligent and deliberate consent to it on the part of each of the persons concerned, and this condition is frequently absent in the marriage of non-Christians. Nevertheless a marriage which has been carried out in accordance with the laws of the society to which the persons belong is valid, but it cannot be regarded as having that quality of indissolubility which ideally belongs to the relationship. If it is continued after

13 leave her. And the woman which hath an unbelieving husband, and he is content to dwell with
14 her, let her not leave her husband. For the un-

one or both of the parties has become Christian, then it *ipso facto* becomes a Christian marriage and is indissoluble except by death. It is advisable that such marriages should receive the blessing of the Church, but whether they do so or not they henceforth have the character of true Christian marriage: *if any brother—i.e. any Christian—has a wife who is not a believer, and this wife consents to live with him, let him not put her away; and any wife who has a husband who is not a believer, and this husband consents to live with her, let her not put away her husband. For the husband, the unbeliever, has been sanctified in the Christian wife, and the wife, the unbeliever, has been sanctified in the brother—i.e. in the Christian husband.* Sanctification means primarily consecration to God, such as is conferred in baptism. (Ch. i. 2.) Since husband and wife are 'one flesh' the unbaptized partner must to some extent share in the consecration, and so must their children. It could not be otherwise, *since in that case your children are impure, but in reality they are holy.* St. Paul takes it for granted that the children of Christian parents are looked upon as Christians. The bearing of this on the question of infant baptism is only indirect. Some would say that if the children are already *holy*, they may well wait for baptism until they are personally converted; others—and this has been the general view of the

believing husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the brother: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy.

Church—that if they are already in some sense consecrated to God, it shows that they are even now fit for that fuller consecration which is given in baptism.¹

¹ The words of the learned Dr. Döllinger give a balanced view of this much-debated question. 'As the Apostle said, children are already holy, if their fathers or mothers are Christians; that is, they are already distinguished from the mass of heathens and Jews by the mere fact, which in itself proclaims God's will, of having a Christian parent. They are already destined for sanctification and capable of it; from their earliest age the Christian profession and life of their family has a sanctifying effect on them; they grow up under the religious influence of a father's or mother's prayers and example; they have a right to Christian fellowship, for they are becoming Christians. The Lord confessed a peculiar predilection for children; He proposed them as patterns to the adult, whom He exhorted above all to become again as little children, that they might enter into His Kingdom, to be child-like in their openness and docility, in their feeling of helplessness and confident leaning on the stronger, in putting away all self-righteousness and pride of knowledge. If on earth He laid His hand upon children and blessed them, He did not mean them to be excluded from that act which He ordained as the first and chiefest fountain of blessing in His Church. But so far as we know He left no command about it; it was one of those many things His Church was to learn in her gradual development through the Paraclete whom He had given, and before the historian decides how the apostles acted in this matter he must take into consideration their entire silence about it, the absence of any command or counsel on the subject in their epistles where so much is said of the family life and

15 Yet if the unbelieving departeth, let him depart :
 the brother or the sister is not under bondage in
 16 such *cases* : but God hath called us in peace. For

This verse enunciates the important principle that good is stronger than evil ; a pessimist would say that the Christian would be dragged down by the heathen partner, but the apostle says the Christian partner is much more likely to drag the other up, and this should be a great encouragement to those Christians who have heathen partners to pray for and expect their conversion. *But if the unbelieving partner separate himself let him do so; the brother or the sister has not become a slave in such cases.* If the heathen partner demands a divorce the Christian partner may accept it, and the word "*has not become a slave,*"—i.e. has not lost his or her freedom of action—has been generally understood as allowing liberty of re-marriage. (Cf. Watkins : *Holy Matrimony*, pp. 441-446.) Such is also the law in India ; it permits the marriage to be dissolved if the non-Christian partner makes a declaration before a magistrate that he or she does not wish to continue the relation ; and the Christian partner is then free to marry again.¹ *But it is in peace that God has called*

relative duties of Christians, and the varying practice of the period immediately following. Still there always remains the weighty testimony of Origen, the most learned of ancient theologians : " The Church received from the Apostles the duty of baptizing children " (Comm. on Rom. v. 9) '*—First Age of the Church*, Book iii. chap. 2.

¹ See appendix iii.

how knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or how knowest thou, O husband, whether thou shalt save thy wife? Only, as the Lord hath distributed to each man, as God hath called each, so let him walk. And so ordain I in

you (or us)—to be Christians, and therefore you would be right in avoiding the strife which would follow from attempting to retain an unwilling partner. You will have no peace if you refuse a separation when it is demanded on grounds of religion. *For what knowest thou, O wife, as to whether thou wilt save thy husband? Or what knowest thou, O husband, as to whether thou wilt save thy wife?* St. Paul has said above that good is stronger than evil, and therefore the hope of the non-Christian partner's conversion is strong when they remain together willingly. But this is not the case if they remain unwillingly; the hope of conversion would then be too small to justify the breach of harmony which would result from their living together. The expression 'who knows whether' or 'what knowest thou whether'—leaves the issue entirely doubtful (Cf. 2 Sam. xii. 22.)

Here follows a digression concerning the general principle which should govern the case of converts to Christianity; they should not seek to make any change in their outward circumstances (17-24).

Divorce then from a non-Christian partner may be permitted except that—for a general rule—as to each man the Lord has allotted, as God has called each one into the Church, so let him go on walking. The Master in the

18 all the churches. Was any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Hath any been called in uncircumcision? let him

parable gives 'to every man his work' (St. Mark xii. 24)—that is, Christ has a special work for every man to do in this world and has given him the capacities for doing it, and it is while we are doing that work and by using its opportunities that God calls us to become Christians. This in itself raises the presumption that we should not depart from it. If for instance a man is an agricultural labourer when he becomes a Christian, a labourer he should remain; if he is a tradesman he should remain a tradesman. That is the general rule, though of course it is open to exceptions. *And thus in all the churches I ordain.* It is evident from 2 Thess. iii. 6-13 that there was a tendency among converts to give up their regular occupations and 'walk disorderly' and even to think they ought to be supported by the Christian community without working at all. To this St. Paul was strongly opposed; nowhere would he permit Christianity to be a revolutionary principle, subversive of society. *In a state of circumcision was any one called—to be a Christian—let him not make himself uncircumcised. In a state of uncircumcision has any one been called, let him not get himself circumcised.* In the first Book of Maccabees (i. 15) there is mention of some Jews who literally did away with their circumcision in order to conform themselves to Greek customs, but the apostle takes circumcision and uncircumcision as symbolical

not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and **19** uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let each man abide in **20**

respectively of the whole Jewish and Gentile way of life. There was no need for a Jewish convert to adopt Greek practices or for a Greek to adopt Jewish ones; and in the same way there is no need for a Hindu or Mohammedan convert to adopt European practices, or to give up any Indian customs which are not inconsistent with Christianity.¹ *Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing, but keeping of God's precepts is everything.* Three times does St. Paul use the first part of this formula, and in each case with a different ending.

'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision; but faith working by love'—Gal. v. 6.

'Neither is circumcision anything nor uncircumcision; but a new creature'—Gal. vi. 15.

¹ The *Epistle to Diognetus*—a writing of the second century—has the following. 'Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind either in locality or in speech or in customs. For they dwell not somewhere in cities of their own neither do they use some different language nor practise an extraordinary kind of life. . . . But while they dwell in cities of Greeks and barbarians as the lot of each is cast, and follow the native customs in dress and food and the other arrangements of life, yet the constitution of their own citizenship which they set forth is marvellous and confessedly contradicts expectation. . . . Their existence is on earth but their citizenship is in heaven'—(Lightfoot's translation).

21 that calling wherein he was called. ^{cf. b₁} Wast thou called being a bondservant? care not for it: but **22** if thou canst become free, use *it* rather. For he

‘Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God’—1 Cor. vii. 19.

St. Paul illustrated his complete indifference in the matter by circumcising Timothy and refusing to circumcise Titus; in neither case did he attribute any value to the rite but he opposed those who wanted to treat either circumcision or uncircumcision as necessary. The whole question was thrashed out in the early days of the Church (cf. Acts xv) and ended in a complete triumph for Christian liberty. In the Bezan text of Acts xv. 2 the words are inserted: ‘For Paul said that they should so abide even as they had believed, vehemently insisting.’ *Each man in the calling wherein he was called in this let him abide.* *Calling* is never used in the New Testament in the modern sense of occupation or profession but always means a man’s call of God to be a Christian, his conversion. *To abide in his conversion* means to abide in the circumstances in which he was converted. *As a slave wast thou called, care not for thy slavery; but still if thou art able to become free, make all the more use of thy freedom in God’s service.* Since the object of the verb *use* is not expressed it has been sometimes thought—even by expositors of great weight, such as Chrysostom, Dollinger and Liddon—that St. Paul is here exhorting Christians not to accept their freedom

that was called in the Lord, being a bondservant, is the Lord's freedman : likewise he that was called,

in cases where it is offered them.¹ Against this there are three strong reasons : (1) The tense of the verb *use* implies not that they go on doing something which they were doing before, but that they should begin afresh ; (2) When we consider the status of slavery in ancient times—how utterly the slaves were the chattels of their masters and especially in the case of female slaves might be compelled on pain of death to do acts which were utterly immoral—we cannot for a moment suppose that St. Paul would have recommended anyone to continue in that state if he were able to escape from it ; (3) St. Paul in his letter to Philemon, though he does not directly ask for the manumission of Onesimus, gives a strong hint that he would like it. See Lightfoot's notes on Philem. xvi. 21. Slaves must indeed 'do service to the Lord' (Eph. v. 5-8 ; Col. iii. 22-25) and not think their condition makes such service impossible ; but if they were set free they could *use* their freedom in Christ's service *much more* than they had used their slavery. *For the slave that in the Lord was called is the Lord's freed man.* The slave

¹ Harnack with his usual dogmatism says : 'The only possible sense is that the apostle counsels slaves not even to avail themselves of the chance of freedom ; any alteration of their position would direct their minds to the things of earth.' *Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i, p. 207). But Lightfoot gives very good reasons for the opposite interpretation, (*Colossians (and Philemon)*, p. 322).

23 being free, is Christ's bondservant. Ye were bought with a price; become not bondservants of men.

who had been set free by his master still lived in a state of dependence on that master, the only difference being that his service had now far more of a voluntary character—such voluntary obedience must even slaves render to Christ. *Likewise the free man when called is Christ's slave.* The title *slaves of Christ* is one which is proudly claimed by apostles (SS. Paul, Peter, James, Jude) in their epistles. 'The spiritual freedom of the Christian slave has its counterpart in the spiritual slavery of the Christian freeman'. *For a price you were bought*—i.e. all of you, whether slaves or free. The language is borrowed from the formula of manumission. When a slave was to be set free his price had to be deposited in a temple and then he became (nominally) the slave of the god of that temple. That is exactly what has happened with regard to ourselves and Christ—Christ has paid the price for us and though He has set us free we yet remain voluntarily His slaves.

Do not become slaves of men—i.e. since you are called Christ's slaves take care to remain emancipated from all other service. (Cf. Gal. vi. 19.) Here perhaps St. Paul is going back in thought to the earlier chapters and is alluding to the partisanship by which the Corinthians had enslaved themselves to different leaders. *Each one in that state in which he was called, brothers, in that let him remain—with God.* Once more he states emphatically the general principle, but

Brethren, let each man, wherein he was called, **24** therein abide with God.

by adding the words *with God* he indicates the new spirit which will inform all their actions. 'Resume your old occupations but do them now in constant remembrance of God's presence with you.' Cf. George Herbert: *The Elixir*.

' All may of Thee partake :
Nothing can be so mean
Which with this tincture *For Thy sake*
Will not grow bright and clean.
A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine :
Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws
Makes that and the action fine.'

The application of St. Paul's principle to India is rendered difficult by the attitude of Hindus and Muslims, who generally make it difficult for Christian converts to continue their old occupations. Nevertheless the principle is a sound one, and should be observed whenever possible. The evil of Christians becoming denationalized is serious when it leads the non-Christians to suppose that they have some unworthy reason for their change. Still the rule is very far from being an absolute one. Christianity often brings out unexpected capacities in those who embrace it and St. Paul would by no means wish these to be suppressed. The fact that he, with Barnabas, appointed elders in every church (Acts xiv. 23) shows that he must have kept a keen look-out for the

Now concerning virgins I have no commandment
 25 of the Lord : but I give my judgement, as one that
 26 hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I

men who were worthy of the office. That a man occupies a certain position in life raises a presumption, but no more than a presumption, that it is the position for which he is fitted. Zacchæus the publican remained a publican, but Matthew the publican was called to be an apostle. Godet says on this section :—' Is there not room for surprise that a Christian society can exist which while regarding St. Paul as an apostle of the Lord and an organ of the Divine Spirit has adopted the method of immediately snatching away new converts from the duties of their natural position to launch them upon the world as agents in a work of evangelization? Is not this the antipodes of the principle stated by the apostle?' No doubt it is, but even the apostle did not apply the principle with absolute rigidity.

THE FIFTH QUESTION

What are we to do with our Daughters? (vv. 25-38.)

The whole of this section is dominated by the idea which was universally current in the ancient world and is still current throughout the East, that the right of disposal of a girl in marriage belongs entirely to her father. St. Paul does not say whether this was right or wrong ; he simply accepts it as a fact of the society for which he was writing, just as he accepts slavery.

think therefore that this is good by reason of the present distress, *namely*, that it is good for a man to be as he is. Art thou bound unto a wife? seek **27** not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But and if thou marry, thou hast **28** not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not

He did not consider it his duty to attack such institutions, though he lays down principles which, as he very well knew, would gradually undermine them. Their overthrow was to come from within, not from without, that is from the gradual realization in Christian society that every one who has reached years of discretion has his or her own separate responsibility before God, and to his own Master he must stand or fall (Rom. xiv. 4). Yet there are still many Christian countries in which marriageable daughters have not reached this degree of emancipation and their marriages are arranged for them by their relatives.

But concerning the virgins I have not any command of the Lord—i.e. there is nothing in our present gospels which indicate how Christ would have us deal with this question nor had anything been handed down by tradition; some have held that the Greek word for *virgins* includes boys, but the whole passage shows that the apostle had only girls in his mind, and boys are included in the 'unmarried' of v. 8—but *I give an opinion as one who is trustworthy—made so by the Lord's mercy*. What follows then is an inspired opinion (v. 40) but not delivered with apostolic authority;

sinned. Yet such shall have tribulation in the
29 flesh: and I would spare you. But this I say,
brethren, the time is shortened, that henceforth
both those that have wives may be as though they
30 had none; and those that weep, as though they
wept not; and those that rejoice, as though they

still less is it a direct command of Christ. *Therefore I consider that this is a fine thing because of the present necessity.* I consider that it is a fine thing for a man to be so—as he was before. The *present necessity* is explained by vv. 29–31. We need not be surprised at an inspired apostle thinking that our Lord's return would be immediate when Christ Himself tells us that the actual date was unknown even to Him while on earth (St. Mark. xiii. 32; cf. Acts i. 7). *Hast thou been bound to a wife? Seek not release. Hast thou been released from a wife? Seek not a wife.* The second alternative, according to the usage of the Greek, would include both bachelors and widowers. *But if thou dost marry thou hast not sinned; and if the virgin marry she has not sinned.* Marriage is not a matter of right and wrong, it is only a matter for prudent consideration. *But such persons—viz., those who marry—will have tribulation in the flesh—the worldly anxieties of a family man are greater than those of a bachelor—and I for my part would spare you this tribulation if I could. Now this I declare, brothers; the opportunity has been contracted so that for the future both they that have wives may be as if they had them not, and*

rejoiced not ; and those that buy, as though they possessed not ; and those that use the world, as not **31** abusing it : for the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would have you to be free from **32** cares. He that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord :

the mourners as if they were not mourners, and they who rejoice as if they were not rejoicing, and they who buy as if they were not in permanent possession, and they who use the world as if they were not using it to the full : for the show of this world is passing away. St. Paul does not say that the actual time to elapse before our Lord's appearing is short, but that the *opportunity* of service which life supplies has been purposely *abridged* by God, and this is true whether it refers to our Lord's return or to our own death. There is no interminable series of re-births before us ; God has made our present life, short as it is, our one opportunity, in order that we may grasp it before it is gone. Christians are to be just like other men in the outward circumstances of their lives ; they are to marry and give in marriage, to weep and to rejoice, to buy and to sell, to make use of the world and all its gifts like others, but they are to do all these things in a different spirit from others. Marriage must never become an uxorious selfishness ; mourning must be restrained and filled with hope (1 Thess. iv. 13) ; joy must have its root in faith (Phil. i.25) ; trade must be carried on without covetousness in the recognition that money is a trust and not a

33 but he that is married is careful for the things of
34 the world, how he may please his wife. And there is a difference also between the wife and the virgin. She that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit : but she that is married is careful for the

possession ; finally our enjoyment of all the gifts of this world must be tempered by the remembrance that ' we have here no continuing city but we seek one to come.' The word *fashion* (in A.V. and R.V.) does not mean the prevailing custom, but the outward appearance of a thing as distinguished from its inward reality. The world itself abides, but all its external conditions are continually changing ; therefore the Christian must live in detachment from them.¹

¹ This passage is one of a few which give colour to the contention that the morality inculcated by our Lord and His apostles was not intended to be practised by Christians in all ages, but was only an ' interim system of ethics ' in view of an immediately impending catastrophe of the world. That this view is not justified in its completeness, may be judged from our Lord's words, ' Ye therefore shall be perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect.' (St. Matt. v. 48). Christian morality is eternal morality because it is based upon the character of God Himself. And here in this chapter all the principles are firmly outlined with no hint of their having only a temporary application : marriage is not a question of right and wrong, divorce for Christians is impossible, second marriages are permitted (if inadvisable) if the first marriage has been dissolved by death. It is only in the application of these principles that the consideration of our Lord's speedy return comes in. Notice also how

things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I say for your own profit ; not **35** that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is seemly, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction. But if any man thinketh **36** that he behaveth himself unseemly toward his

But I wish you to be free from anxiety ; the unmarried man's anxiety is for the things of the Lord how he may please the Lord ; but he that is married has thenceforth anxiety for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and so he is divided in mind. The punctuation is that of the best Greek editions (W.H. and Nestle) and is recognized in the margin of R.V. St. Paul does not imply that the anxiety of the married man to please his wife is sinful, otherwise marriage would be a morally defective state. 'It is a sacred obligation, a

distinctly St. Paul allows Christians to engage in worldly business and share the common life of men. To Hindu thought there is always something sinful in being involved in the 'samsara' and the only perfect saint is the one who lives in complete detachment from all worldly affairs. But Christians can practise detachment of the spirit while remaining completely human in their interests—

'Plying their daily tasks with busier feet

Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.'

For all of us whether by our Lord's coming or by our own death *the opportunity has been abbreviated*. At the most it is some seventy or eighty years. There is no series of rebirths. We must make the most of the time allowed us for it will not return. And we must still look forward to and love our Lord's appearing (2 Tim. iv. 8).

virgin daughter, if she be past the flower of her age, and if need so requireth, let him do what he will; he sinneth not; let them marry. But he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power as touching his own will, and hath determined this in his own heart, to keep his own

duty at once of delicacy and justice which the husband contracted by marriage' (Godet). *And the woman who is unmarried and the virgin has anxiety about the things of the Lord in order that she may be holy both in her body and in her spirit; but she who is married henceforth has anxiety for the things of the world how she may please her husband.* This does not mean that married life cannot also be consecrated to God, but the unmarried state, in its freedom from worldly cares, has a greater opportunity of winning this consecration by devoting both the physical and spiritual powers entirely to God's service. *But this I say for your own profit—i.e., to further your own true interests, not as though either state were better in itself—not that I may put on you a noose—i.e., a binding obligation—but with a view to seemliness and undistracted good attendance on Lord.* All this is by way of advice not compulsion; I would have you like Mary rather than Martha, choosing the good part (St. Luke x. 38-42) *not distracted* with too much service. St. Luke uses the same rare word. *But if any one considers that he is behaving in an unseemly way to his virgin daughter—by not giving her in marriage—if she be past her prime and if then it*

virgin *daughter*, shall do well. So then both he **38** that giveth his own virgin *daughter* in marriage doeth well; and he that giveth her not in marriage

ought to take place—i.e., if there are other good grounds for the marriage—*let him do that which he wishes to do*—i.e., get her married: *he is committing no sin; let them, i.e., his daughter and her chosen bridegroom, marry. But he who stands in his heart firm*—in his conviction that celibacy is preferable to marriage for his daughter—*if he has no necessity but has full authority in regard of his own will*—i.e., if there is no pressure of external circumstances to determine his choice—*and has judged it good in his own heart to keep his own virgin daughter for Christ's service, will do well. So then both he that gives in marriage his own virgin daughter does well; and he that does not give her in marriage will do better.* To *keep* implies a purpose for which one is kept (1 John. v. 18)—in this case for Christ.

Though celibacy and marriage are not opposed as if the one were good and the other bad, yet the apostle distinctly gives to celibacy the higher place. This is a great reversal of the Hindu notion that it is absolutely essential for all girls to marry; not to be married, so far from being a disgrace, is a high honour, if the unmarried girls are kept for the service of Christ. A principle is thus stated which in no long time led to the establishment of Religious Communities or Sisterhoods whose members took vows of celibacy and devoted themselves to the praise of God and to good works. This according to St. Paul is the best solution

39 shall do better. A wife is bound for so long time as her husband liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is free to be married to whom she will; only of the continually recurring difficulty, What are we to do with our girls?

THE SIXTH QUESTION

May Widows Marry Again? (vv. 39-40).

A wife is bound for so long time as her husband is alive but if the husband have fallen asleep she is free to be married to whom she wishes. In these words second marriages, for women as well as men, are distinctly sanctioned. (Cf. Rom. vii. 1-3.) *Only in the Lord.* The precise significance of this phrase is very difficult to fix. It is generally understood to mean that a Christian widow—and the same would of course apply to virgins—must, if she marries, marry a Christian. Bishop Lightfoot however says:—‘The expression *only in the Lord* is generally interpreted to imply that she must marry a Christian husband if she marry at all. But the expression cannot be so pressed. It will only signify that she must remember that she is a member of Christ’s body, and not forget her Christian duties and responsibilities when she takes such a step. Marriage with a Christian only does not seem to be contained in the words, though that might be the consequence of the attempt to fulfil those duties.’ Theodoret however takes the words as distinctly forbidding marriage with a heathen, and with this agrees 2 Cor. vi. 14-16. The church has always been

in the Lord. But she is happier if she abide as **40** she is, after my judgement : and I think that I also have the spirit of God.

extremely reluctant to allow marriages between a Christian and a non-Christian ; in theory it goes so far as to regard them as *ipso facto* null and void, but this is largely discounted by the system of dispensations. The conversion of the Kingdom of Kent and so indirectly of a large part of England was partly due to such a marriage, for the heathen King Ethelbert married the Christian princess Bertha on the express condition that the latter should be free to worship as a Christian, and she brought with her a bishop from her own country. Another instance of such a marriage was that of St. Augustine's mother Monica, but her husband Patricius was—nominally at least—a catechumen and marriage with catechumens has generally been allowed. Both Ethelbert and Patricius were ultimately baptized. We may say therefore that *in the Lord* involves, at the very least, that the Christian partner must have complete security for maintaining Christian worship and a Christian mode of life, and this would be so difficult in ordinary cases with a heathen partner that it practically amounts to the prohibition of such marriages. *But more blessed is she if she abide so*—i.e. unmarried—*according to my opinion, and I also*—as well as you—*think that I have God's Spirit*. Some ten years later than this St. Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles ; by that time he had seen more of the evils which might arise even in Christian

8 **1** Now concerning things sacrificed to idols: We know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge **2** puffeth up, but love edifieth. If any man thinketh

society from having a number of young widows, and he now advises them to marry again unless they are old enough and sufficiently religious to devote themselves to a life of prayer and good works (1 Tim. v. 11-15). Already in his time the widows seem to have been formed into a community for those objects and to have been supported by the church. The last words mean not that St. Paul was uncertain of his own inspiration, but that he did not look upon it, in a matter like this, as over-ruling all other opinions.

B. Idol Feasts and Christian Worship. viii-xi.

The next question asked by the Corinthians is what should be the attitude of Christians towards their heathen neighbours? Should they take part with them in feasts which are held in idol temples or in connexion with idol worship? Should they even eat any meat which has been offered to an idol? In India the question arises most often in connexion with weddings. Should Christians take part in the wedding feasts of Hindus which are always associated with the worship of some heathen deity? Or should they eat meat bought from a Hindu shop which has in most cases been offered to an idol? The picture suggested by the epistle is one of much closer and more friendly intercourse than generally exists in India; but then it

that he knoweth anything, he knoweth not yet as he ought to know ; but if any man loveth God, the same is known of him. Concerning therefore the

must be remembered that Greek and Roman heathenism was free from the caste system and from the intolerance which it produces. To the heathen it did not matter much if a man became a Christian. The persecutions of Christians were in most cases started by Jews ; or if by the heathen they were started on some side-issue such as the pecuniary loss which might befall (Acts xvi. 19 ; xix. 25) or the danger of a tumult. There were in fact any number of foreign religions at this time in vogue in the Roman Empire and Christianity might easily pass for one among them ; so that ordinarily Christians and heathens could live together in a considerable degree of amity and frequent each other's social entertainments. Thus it became a practical question, How far was this to go ? There was a party among the Christians which was inclined to say, It may go as far as you like ; for after all idols are nothing and even if the feast be held in the temple of the idol it does not matter. These regarded themselves as ' the strong '—the people of robust conscience. On the other hand there were those who could not shake off the associations of their heathen life, and had an uncanny feeling that there was something real about the idol—some demoniac influence—which would not permit them either to join in the feasts or even to eat food which had been offered to the idol. You may call these people ' weak '

eating of things sacrificed to idols, we know that no idol is *anything* in the world, and that there is no
 5 God but one. For though there be that are called

if you like, says St. Paul, but you ought to respect their scruples.

It is not quite easy to see the main divisions of the subject, but the following seems the best ¹ arrangement. St. Paul treats the difficulty by applying three principles.

(1) The principle of charity (viii)—illustrated from his own case (ix. 1-23).

(2) The principle of vigilant self-discipline (ix. 24-x. 13).

(3) The principle of loyalty (x. 14-22).

Finally (4) he sums up the argument (x. 23-xi. 1.) and reinforces it.

(5) As an appendix to this section he deals with two matters connected with Christian worship (xi. 2-34).

(1) The Principle of Charity : (ch. viii.) *Now concerning the meats sacrificed to idols, we know that 'we all have knowledge.'* The last words seem to be a quotation from the Corinthians' letter. They had based their plea for liberty in this matter on the superior knowledge possessed by Christians of the nonentity of idols. *That knowledge puffs up, but love builds up.* Knowledge which is mere knowledge has no tendency to make a man better. Herein lies the

¹ Chiefly from Parry's *Commentary*.

gods, whether in heaven or on earth ; as there are gods many, and lords many ; yet to us there is one **6** God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we

condemnation of much of the teaching of the Upanishads which makes, the 'Jnana Marga'—the way of knowledge—the way to God. India itself soon found out the insufficiency of this teaching and the 'bhakti' cults are the result—cults, however, which introduced dangers of their own.¹ It is true that Christ says : ' This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God and him whom thou dost send, even Jesus Christ.' But this is a knowledge which includes love, not a mere intellectualism. The second century saw a great outburst of this Gnosticism—the claim of intellectual persons to reach God by knowledge, to the exclusion of the poor and simple. (Cf. St. Luke x. 21.) *If any man suppose that he has come to know anything thoroughly, he does not yet know as he ought to know*—i.e. the conceit of knowledge is an absolute hindrance to real knowledge. (Cf. Tennyson's ' Flower in the Crannied Wall.')

But if any man loves God, he has become known by Him. Does this mean ' God has thus become known by this man '—i.e. by the way of love ; or ' This man has thus become known by God.' The latter is more probable, for elsewhere St. Paul teaches that the true knowledge of God can only come from His knowing us (Gal. iv. 9). Just as St. John says : ' We love Him because He

¹ The whole subject is well treated in Macnicol's *Indian Theism*.

unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him.
7 Howbeit in all men there is not that know-

first loved us', so St. Paul would say 'We know Him because He first knew us'—and he begins to *know* us, in this sense, when we love Him. *Therefore*; the first three verses have laid down the true principles of this discussion—i.e., we must not expect to get at the truth by treating the matter in a hard intellectual way; as loving Christians we must try to understand and sympathize with each other's difficulties. *Concerning the eating of the meat sacrificed to idols we know that there is no idol in the world, and that there is no God but one.* There is in the world no form truly representing God, and therefore those forms which are supposed to do so are not what they profess to be: elsewhere he says (Col. i. 15) that Christ is 'the image of the invisible God.' Isaiah (lxvi. 3) calls an idol a 'nothing'. In a further sense idols are 'nothing' because the gods whom they represent do not exist. *For indeed supposing there exist beings who are called gods whether in heaven or on earth, as indeed there do exist gods many and lords many*; this is a difficult verse, for in it St. Paul seems to grant what he has just denied, that the gods of the heathen have some existence. The meaning seems to be: 'we do not deny the existence of all supernatural powers, for we know that there are angels, good and bad, and some people take them for their gods and lords, and so we might grant for the sake of argument the bare existence of the so-called

ledge: but some, being used until now to the idol, eat as *of* a thing sacrificed to an idol; and their conscience being weak is defiled. But meat **8** will not commend us to God: neither, if we eat not,

gods of the heathen; even so they would be no gods to us.' *Still for us Christians there is one God, the Father from whom are all things, and we are for Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we are through Him.* Whatever spiritual beings may exist, the only God whom Christians can recognize and worship is God the Father, who is the origin and end of our being, revealed in God the Son who is the Mediator of creation and of the Church. Having thus contrasted the one God and Lord of Christians with the meaningless idols of the heathen, and shown that we are in no sort of relation to polytheism, even supposing there were in it some elements of truth, the apostle does not pause to draw the obvious inference—that to eat meats offered to gods who are no gods is in itself a matter of indifference—but goes on to show that this principle is not to be recklessly applied. Since there are differences among Christians in the manner in which they apprehend the principle, love will suggest certain differences in practice.¹ *Still not*

¹ 'And here the apostle brings out a most important principle which was to guide Christians of all ages in such cases of conscientious practical differences. He says that in such matters none must judge others, or impute sin to them, for no Christian is Lord over others but all are God's servants. Each must act according to the measure of his knowledge, as he

are we the worse ; nor, if we eat, are we the better.

9 But take heed lest by any means this liberty of
10 yours become a stumbling-block to the weak. For
if a man see thee which hast knowledge sitting at

in all Christians is the complete knowledge. The delicate differences suggested by the presence or absence of the Greek article can scarcely be reproduced in other languages ; in *v.* 1 he had admitted that all have some knowledge, now he says that not all have *the knowledge*—i.e., the full knowledge required to guide them over the practical difficulties which arise. *But some by their habituation until now*—lasting on into their Christian life—*to the idol eat meat as an idol sacrifice*—i.e. they eat it as really being what it professes to be—and so *their conscience being weak is stained.* Food itself cannot pollute the conscience (St. Mark. vii. 18, 19 ; St. Luke. xi. 41), but pollution comes from the feelings with which the food is eaten. *But mere food will not present us to God*—i.e. nothing that we eat places us in any kind of moral relation to Him ;

deems it right and pleasing to God. His conscience is a law for him, even if it should err in the practical application of a truth of faith, and binds him to abstain from an act he holds to be forbidden. Others are bound to honour this tenderness of conscience, even at the cost of their own rights and sacrifice of their liberty. Hence St. Paul desires 'the strong' to abstain from flesh and wine at common meals, lest the scrupulous brethren be led to follow their example, and so injure their own conscience. He says that he himself became weak to them that were weak, that he might win the weak'—Döllinger, *First Age*, Book iii, ch. 3.

meat in an idol's temple, will not his conscience, if he is weak, be emboldened to eat things sacrificed to idols? For through thy knowledge he that is weak **11** perisheth, the brother for whose sake Christ died.

of course the Holy Communion stands on a different footing, but even of that it is true that it does not, as food, present us to God. *Neither, if we do not eat, are we lacking in any moral or spiritual quality, nor, if we eat, do we abound in any such quality.* The kind of food we eat has no influence on our inner life—a truth which it seems very difficult for the people of India to learn. *Look well however, lest this authority of yours—to eat or not to eat,—become an obstacle to the weak. For if anyone see thee, the possessor of knowledge, reclining at table in an idol temple, will not his conscience, weak as he is, be built up—the same word as in v. 1, but in this case the building up is for evil not for good—so as to eat the meats sacrificed to idols?* He will be fortified by your example to do that which he thinks wrong, and which therefore is wrong to him (Cf. Rom. xiv. 23.) A grievous result! *for that weak one is perishing in thy knowledge—that which ought to be a means of grace becomes to him a means of destruction—the brother on account of whom Christ died.* (Cf. Rom. xiv. 15.) *But by thus habitually sinning against your brothers, and wounding their conscience while it is weak, it is against Christ that you sin.* ‘Well did he remember the reproach, “Saul, Saul why persecutest thou me?”’ says Dr. Kay. *Wherefore if what is eaten cause offence to my brother, I will by no means eat any*

12 And thus, sinning against the brethren, and wounding their conscience when it is weak, ye sin
13 against Christ. Wherefore, if meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore, that I make not my brother to stumble.

flesh for evermore, in order that I may not to my brother cause offence. In this last verse he puts the matter on the most general ground—not only will I refrain from meats offered to idols, but I will refrain from every kind of food which might prove a snare to my brother and cause him to sin.

The whole passage should be compared with Romans xiv, where the same principle is applied to the question of eating animal food—a matter which has much more interest for the Indian mind than that of meat offered to idols. Many converts from Hinduism have been all their lives strict vegetarians, and almost all look upon the eating of beef with horror; converts from Mohammedanism have an equal horror of the flesh of the pig. The fully-instructed Christian of course knows that these are matters of pure indifference, but he will respect the scruples of his weaker brethren, and as long as he is with them will refrain from eating such kinds of food as they would abominate. Some would go further, and say we ought to respect the scruples not of Christians only, but of Hindus and Mohammedans in this matter. St. Paul has not dealt with this question, and it is by no means certain what his advice would be. On the one hand it may be urged that there is nothing which raises so much

Am I not free? am I not an apostle? have I not seen Jesus our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord? If to others I am not an apostle, yet at least I am to you: for the seal of

prejudice against Christians in India as the fact that Christians eat pork and beef; on the other hand to renounce our own custom in these matters would seem to be an admission that Hindus and Mohammedans are right, and to be contrary to the Christian principle that there is nothing common or unclean in God's creation. Tenderness for the weak conscience of a fellow-Christian does not necessarily involve tenderness for the perverted conscience of a non-Christian. Perhaps the most necessary thing for a Hindu to learn is that the question of what he eats and drinks is not a question of religion at all (Rom. xiv. 17) and is very far from being the all-important matter which he thinks it is.

Illustration of the principle from St. Paul's own case (ix. 1-23). The principle just enunciated—namely that we should sometimes refrain from claiming our full right in charitable consideration for those who have conscientious scruples—is one so new in the world and so important in the Christian Church, that St. Paul proceeds to illustrate it at some length by his own practice, first as regards his right as an Apostle (*vv.* 1-18) and secondly as regards his right as an ordinary Christian (*vv.* 19-23). There is scarcely anything in Jewish or heathen literature which shows that this principle had hitherto been

3 mine apostleship are ye in the Lord. My defence
 4 to them that examine me is this. Have we no
 5 right to eat and to drink? Have we no right to lead
 about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of
 the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and

recognized, but perhaps the beautiful little incident recorded in 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17 comes nearest to it. From Phil. ii. 5-11, we see that it lies very near to the heart of Christianity. Our Lord thought not His equality with God a thing to be jealously grasped, and I as an Apostle do not claim the full rights of my apostleship, since I ask no support either for myself or for a wife. Though St. Paul uses this merely as an illustration, he takes the opportunity of refuting that party among the Corinthians who cast doubt upon his apostolic authority. (See 2 Cor. xii. 11-13.) 'The reticence with which he deals with this personal matter, and the quite secondary position to which he relegates it, give a capital instance of his readiness to subordinate personal matters to the interests of others and the promotion of the Gospel.' (Parry).

Am I not free—i.e. to eat whatever food I like, but I never do so in any case where I should offend the weak (v. 22)? *Am I not an apostle*—and therefore entitled to be supported by the Church? *Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?* (Ch. xv. 8.) To have seen the risen Jesus who is now *our Lord*, and so to be a witness of His resurrection (Acts i. 22) was a necessary condition of apostleship. St. Paul had seen Him just as truly as the other Apostles (Acts ix. 17, 27). *Are*

Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas, have we not a right to forbear working? What soldier ever serveth at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Do I speak

not you in the Lord my apostolic work? The very fact that you are Christians is a proof of my apostleship. *If to others I am not an Apostle*—i.e. if there are some who say, Paul is no apostle of ours—*still to you at least I am one, for the seal of my apostleship are you in the Lord*—i.e. in the fact of your being Christians.¹ A seal was used in ancient as in modern times for attesting the authenticity of documents. The authenticity of St. Paul's apostleship is attested by the very existence of the Corinthian Church. *This is my defence to those who investigate me*, i.e. my claim to apostleship. These words belong to what precedes, not (as in A. V.) to what follows.

He now passes to another part of the subject—his apostolic right to maintenance by the Church. We know very little about the finances of the early Church, but it is clear that St. Peter and the other apostles who had given up their trade of fishermen must have found some other means of support. No doubt this was supplied by the churches among whom they

¹ A beautiful application of this verse is made by the Venerable Bede in speaking of Pope Gregory the Great. 'Though he be not an apostle to others, yet he is to us [of the Saxon Church] for the seal of his apostleship are we in the Lord.'—*H.E.*, ii., i.

these things after the manner of men? or saith not
 9 the law also the same? For it is written in the law
 of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he
 treadeth out the corn. Is it for the oxen that God

laboured, but of the details of collection and administration we have no information. *Have we no authority to eat and to drink*—i.e. at the Church's expense? Who are meant here by *we*? Probably St. Paul means himself and those companions who went with him—at Corinth these had been Silas and Timothy (Acts xviii. 5). In his first journey they had been Barnabas and—for part of the time—John Mark, and perhaps others. All would require food, clothing, and travelling expenses, to supply which St. Paul was accustomed to work at his trade of tent-making for a good part of every day (Acts xx. 34) instead of calling upon the Christians of the place to supply them, as he had a right to do. But sometimes he received voluntary contributions from distant churches (Phil. iv. 16). *Have we no authority to lead about*—on our missionary journeys, with an implied title to support by the Church—a *sister*—i.e. a Christian woman—as *wife, as also the rest of the apostles do and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas*. *The rest of the apostles* cannot mean 'all the rest,' for we know that St. John at least was not married. For the Lord's brothers see Appendix I¹

¹ Judas (Jude) is known to have been married, since his grandchildren are mentioned as living in the reign of Domitian; of the other three we have no information.

careth, or saith he it altogether for our sake? Yea, **10**
for our sake it was written: because he that ploweth
ought to plow in hope, and he that thresheth, *to*
thresh in hope of partaking. If we sowed unto you **11**
spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap

That Cephas (Peter) was married we know from St. Mark i. 30; of him Clement of Alexandria tells the following story:—‘We are told that blessed Peter, when he beheld his wife on her way to execution, rejoiced on account of her call and her homeward journey, and addressed her by name with words of exhortation and good cheer, bidding her “remember the Lord.” Such was the marriage of those blessed ones and such their perfect control over their feelings even in the dearest relations of life.’

Or is it I alone and Barnabas who have not authority to refrain from working—at our trades? St. Paul's trade was that of tent-making (Acts xviii. 3); St. Barnabas had property of his own (Acts iv. 37) but that would not prevent him from being taught a trade in his youth, as was the practice among the Jews. *Whoever serves as soldier on his own rations? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat of its fruit? Or who shepherds a flock, and of the milk of the flock does not eat?* Here we have three aspects of apostolic work—to make war on the evil in the world, to plant communities of believers, and to give them constant pastoral care; in each capacity they have a claim to have their earthly wants supplied by others. The army, the vine or vineyard, and the flock are all frequent

- 12 your carnal things? If others partake of *this* right over you, do not we yet more? Nevertheless we did not use this right; but we bear all things, that we may cause no hindrance to the gospel of Christ.
- 13 Know ye not that they which minister about sacred

symbols of the Church. *Is it in a merely human spirit that I speak these things, or does not the Law also say these things?* The latter, of course—for in the Law of Moses it is written, ‘Thou shalt not muzzle an ox while threshing’ (Deut. xxv. 4.) *Is it for the oxen that God cares*—in giving this precept. That God does care for oxen is asserted in Psalm civ. 14 and many other places of Scripture (cf. St. Matt. vi. 26, x. 29; St. Luke xii. 24, etc.), but in laying down the principle of mercy towards animals the Law points to its higher application towards men. If it is a duty to care for the beasts, how much more ought we to care for our fellow men: the former even sinks into insignificance by comparison. *Or is it on our account, surely, that he says it?* Yes, for it was written on our account—the whole of Scripture was written by men for men—implying that the plowman ought to plow in hope and the thresher ought to thresh in hope of partaking. Therefore the spiritual plowman, the missionary, ought to look forward to being supported by his converts, and when the time of harvest comes he ought to enjoy that support. By *threshing* perhaps St. Paul hints at that separation of the grain from the chaff (St. Matt. iii. 12) which is the result of every revelation of God’s will. *If we for you sowed the spiritual things, is it a*

things eat *of* the things of the temple, *and* they which wait upon the altar have their portion with the altar? Even so did the Lord ordain that they **14** which proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel.

great matter if we of you shall reap the carnal things? So in India there is a strong tradition that the Guru should be maintained by the gifts of his disciples. *If others have a share in the authority over you—the right of being maintained by you—have not we still more?* i.e. the right of an apostle and founder of their Church must be greater than of those teachers who now claim and receive support from you. In 2 Cor. xi. 20 he hints that some of these teachers 'devoured' the Corinthians by their excessive demands. In the 'Teaching of the Apostles' the prophet who asks for money, or orders a feast 'in the spirit' for himself to partake of, must be pronounced a false prophet. And there are many other indications in the early age, that men were to be found, whether deceivers or self-deceived, who used their spiritual gifts as a way of gain. Yet the Christians in their simplicity and charity often yielded to these claims—much more therefore ought they to support the true apostle who planted their Church (ch. iii. 6). *Still we did not use this authority—which rightly belongs to us—but we bear all things—or we are in all respects forbearing* (1 Thess. iii. 1, 5)—*that we may not put any hindrance in the way of the gospel of Christ.* Had his opponents been able to suggest that he preached the gospel for

15 But I have used none of these things: and I write not these things that it may be so done in my case: for *it were* good for me rather to die, than that any **16** man should make my glorying void. For if I

gain it would have been a serious hindrance to the gospel: rather than that, he endures the hard labour of working for his own living (Acts xx. 34), so showing himself an example of forbearance and consideration for others. *Do you not know that those engaged in the sacred rites eat the things from the sacred place*—i.e. the temple; he is probably thinking of the Jewish temple, but the same would be the case with the heathen temples with which the Corinthians were more familiar. (Cf. Num. xviii. 8-19; Deut. xviii. 1-8.) *Those who constantly attend on the altar, with the altar have their portion*—of the sacrifices. The altar consumes one part of the sacrifice by fire, the priest consumes another part by eating it; in either way it is devoured, so the altar and the priest may be said to share it between them. *Thus also the Lord appointed for those who announce the gospel that from the gospel they should live.* The reference is probably to Christ's words: 'the labourer is worthy of his hire' (Matt. x. 10; Luke x. 7). Though not yet written in the gospels the words were no doubt well remembered in the Church. Having thus abundantly proved his point, that he is entitled to maintenance by the Church, St. Paul now goes on to declare that he has no intention of claiming that

preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of ; for necessity is laid upon me ; for woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel. For if I do this of mine **17** own will, I have a reward : but if not of mine own

maintenance in the future, any more than he has claimed it in the past. *But I for my part have not used any one of these rights ; yet I have not written these things in order that so it may be done in my case—* i.e. that in future I may claim the support to which I am entitled—*for it is good for me to die rather than—no one shall make void my boast—* of preaching the gospel without payment. St. Paul suddenly changes the form of his sentence because he feels he is on delicate ground, but the meaning is the same as in A.V. *For if I preach the gospel, that is not for me a matter of boasting ; for necessity lies upon me—* owing to the singular nature of my call and the strict command of Christ. (Cf. Acts xxvi. 18.) *For it is woe to me if I do not go on preaching it.* Just as a slave must give his best service to his master, but can claim no pay for it. St. Paul delighted to call himself the ‘ slave of Jesus Christ.’ (Rom. i. 1, etc.) ‘ The proclamation of truth is a paramount obligation on all to whom it is given’ —Westcott. *For if I voluntarily make this my business, I have a reward ; but if involuntarily, I am entrusted with a stewardship.* The steward of the household was generally a slave, and as such could claim no reward ; and this, says St. Paul, is my case. And yet I have a reward. *What then is the reward which I*

18 will, I have a stewardship intrusted to me. What then is my reward? That, when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel without charge, so as not to use to the full my right in the

have? It is that while preaching the gospel I may make the gospel without charge, so as not to use to the full my authority in the gospel. My reward is in the work itself. 'The consciousness of preaching freely a free gospel is my payment for declining to be paid—a felicitous and characteristic paradox'—Edwards.

'There is perhaps no passage' says Godet 'in the apostle's letters where there are more admirably revealed at once the nobility, delicacy, profound humility, dignity, and legitimate pride of his Christian character. Serving Christ cannot give him joy except in so far as he has the consciousness of doing so in a condition of freedom. And this condition he must gain by imposing on himself a mode of following the apostleship more laborious to himself, but more favourable to the propagation of the gospel, than that used by the other apostles on whom the office of preacher was not imposed. But for this very reason we also understand how personal and exceptional this renunciation was which the apostle practised, and that it would be unjust to set it up as a model for the ordinary preachers of the gospel. Finally, let us call to mind that we have not here to do with an arbitrary renunciation imposed by Paul on himself with a view of inflicting meritorious and in any sense expiatory

gospel. For though I was free from all *men*, I **19** brought myself under bondage to all, that I might gain the more. And to the Jews I became as a Jew, **20** that I might gain Jews ; to them that are under the

suffering. Paul had discerned how useful and even indispensable to the honour of the gospel this mode of acting was, especially in Greece. It was the one way of distinguishing the preaching of salvation from the venal eloquence and wisdom on which the rhetoricians lived.' Similarly in India, though it would be wrong to impose a rule of poverty on all ministers, the preaching of the gospel seldom has its full effect when the preachers are known to receive a salary for their labours, and the voluntary choice of poverty on their part always gains an immense respect for their message.

Now this principle extends to my whole ministry (*vv.* 19–23). *For being free from all men*—i.e. being by no means bound to follow the observances of any other person's religion—*to all men I enslaved myself so that I might gain the more*—more, that is, than I could have gained in any other way. *And so I became to the Jews as a Jew, so that I might gain Jews.* For instance, he circumcised Timothy 'because of the Jews that were in that part' (Acts xvi. 3), and on a later occasion than this letter he entered into the Temple at Jerusalem and went through the ceremonies of purification from a vow (Acts xxi. 20–26) with the express purpose of allaying the Jewish prejudices against

law, as under the law, not being myself under the law,
21 that I might gain them that are under the law; to
them that are without law, as without law, not being
without law to God, but under law to Christ, that

him. We must not suppose that in this St. Paul acted hypocritically, but he did a thing which he himself regarded as indifferent—neither right nor wrong—in order to satisfy the scruples of others. *To those who are still under law*—i.e. those Christians who still feel bound to observe some precepts of the Jewish Law—I became *as under law, though* knowing that *I am not under law myself, so that I might gain those who are under law.* His purification at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 20) was undertaken not to satisfy Jews, but Jewish Christians, who still regarded the Temple and its rites as lawful, if not necessary, for themselves. *To those without law*—i.e. the Gentiles—I became *as one without law—though I do not look upon myself as outside God's law, but inside Christ's—so that I may gain those without law.* The heathen are *without law* in the sense that they have not any revealed law like that of Moses, but are left to the law of their consciences (Rom. ii. 14, 15) often very imperfectly apprehended. St. Paul says he deals with them on that basis, not appealing to any revelation, but taking the best that he can find in their own ideas and literature, as when he quotes from one of their own poets (Acts xvii. 28) or from 'a prophet of their own' (Tit. i. 12). At the same time he is conscious that his own position is

I might gain them that are without law. To the **22**
weak I became weak, that I might gain the weak :
I am become all things to all men, that I may by
all means save some. And I do all things for the **23**
gospel's sake, that I may be a joint partaker thereof.

very different, for through the presence of the Spirit of Christ he has God's law written in his heart (Jer. xxxi. 33). This verse is an encouragement to Indian missionaries to study the best Indian works of poetry and philosophy—and Arabic works for those who deal with Mohammedans—in order to appeal to them on the ground of what they already appreciate and understand. *I became to the weak, weak, so that I might gain the weak*—as he has explained in the last chapter (esp. viii. 13). *To all men I am become all things so that by all means I might save some*—a very important principle in missionary work, but one which has to be applied with discretion. In China for instance European missionaries find it advisable to adopt Chinese dress, whereas in India to adopt Indian dress would not increase their influence. Still it is necessary to approach as nearly as possible to the position of those amongst whom we work, even as our Lord 'for our sakes became poor.' *But I do all things on account of the gospel in order that I with others may become a communicant in it*—a fellow partaker in its blessings. No Christian desires to be saved for himself alone ; he desires to be saved with and for others.

24 Know ye not that they which run in a race run all,
but one receiveth the prize? Even so run, that ye
25 may attain. And every man that striveth in the
games is temperate in all things. Now they *do it*

(2) The Principle of Vigilant Self-Discipline (ix. 24-x. 13). The question of meats offered to idols must also be looked at from another point of view. Is not the Christian bound to exercise a watchful discipline over his body? The bodily passions are only too ready to usurp the command, and if we let them run away with us the soul itself is ruined. It was from neglect of this truth that many of the Israelites perished in the wilderness, and their history remains for our warning.

Do you not know that they that run in the stadium—all run, but only one takes the prize? St. Paul had perhaps witnessed, and had certainly heard much about the Isthmian games, held in alternate years at Corinth. The Greeks looked upon the contests as high religious observances, and celebrated them in their noblest poetry. Eight of the famous odes of Pindar are written for victories in the Isthmian contests. The festival began with a solemn sacrifice to Poseidon, god of the sea, and statues of the successful combatants adorned his temple. *In this way—like the prize-winner—run, that you may take the prize for your own.* Be determined to win; run as though there could be only one winner, though of course that is not the case in the Christian contest. *But remember that everyone who contends in the games practises self-control—they*

to receive a corruptible crown ; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, as not uncertainly ; so **26** fight I, as not beating the air : but I buffet my body **27** and bring it into bondage : lest by any means, after

indeed that they may take a fading garland, but we to take one that never fades. The prize in the Isthmian games was a crown of parsley ; in the other games it was made of wild olive or of bay leaves, but no doubt the transitoriness of all kinds of earthly glory is here implied. (Cf. 1 Peter v. 4.) The training for the Greek games was long and laborious, extending to nearly a year in most cases. *For my part therefore I am so running as not to run uncertainly—i.e., I know my goal and make straight for it—I so box as not merely beating air; but on the contrary I continually bruise my body and make a slave of it, lest by any means having been herald of victory to others I should myself become disqualified.* The office of the herald at the Games was to proclaim the names of the winners. On the other hand no competitor could succeed if he was found to have contravened any of the rules. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 5 (R.V.)

Do not suppose it is impossible for us Christians to lose our inheritance ; it was just what happened to the Israelites, *for I do not wish you to be ignorant, my brothers, that our fathers were all under the cloud and all went through the sea, and all into Moses received baptism in the cloud and in the sea.* 'The sacraments of the Jews are types of ours, and their punishments examples for us' is part of the heading of this chapter

that I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected.

10 For I would not, brethren, have you ignorant, how that our fathers were all under the cloud, and **2** all passed through the sea ; and were all baptized

in A.V. The argument is similar to that in Heb. iv. 1, 2 ; there however the inference is that faith is the correlation of privilege, here that strict self-discipline is the safeguard of faith. Mason (*Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*, pp. 40-42) takes the cloud as symbolical of Confirmation ; the sea, of baptism.¹ *Baptism into Moses* is tacitly compared with Baptism into Christ (Gal. iii. 27) ; the former committed them to Moses as the captain of their earthly salvation ; the latter in a far higher sense commits us to Christ. But in neither is salvation complete unless we ' continue in the same till our life's end ' (Catechism). *And all ate the same food, a spiritual food ; and all*

¹ ' The cloud (mentioned first because it led them to the Red Sea as well as through it and after it) was no momentary shower. It was a constant presence. It guided, it overshadowed, it enlightened, it protected, it commanded. It was the symbol of the indwelling of the God of the Covenant among His people. As such then it represents . . . the gift of the Holy Ghost whose preventing grace leads us to baptism and makes our baptism efficacious ; but who remains with us and in us as an endowment quite distinct from that which the baptismal laver conveys.' (Cf. ch. xii. 13 ; Gal. iv. 5, 6 ; Titus iii. 4 ; Acts ii. 38, x. 47 ; Rev. 1. 6.) In all these places the gift of the Spirit appears as a separate gift ; additional to that of Baptism though closely connected with it.

unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea ; and did **3**
all eat the same spiritual meat ; and did all drink **4**
the same spiritual drink : for they drank of a
spiritual rock that followed them : and the rock was
Christ. Howbeit with most of them God was not **5**

drank the same drink, a spiritual drink, for they continually drank from a spiritual accompanying rock, and the rock was the Christ. A startling statement, and one which sheds an important light on the nature of St. Paul's faith in Christ. It shows that he regarded Him (i) as pre-existent, and (ii) as the source of grace and blessing even in Old Testament times ; He was the Rock on which the whole Church, Jewish as well as Christian, was built. So we may be sure that St. Paul would regard Christ as the giver of grace to the heathen, even though they may not know Him. There was a Jewish legend to the effect that the water followed the Israelites throughout their journeyings,¹ but St. Paul says it was the

¹ This was based upon a curious mistranslation of Numbers xxi. 18f, 'and from the wilderness to Mattanah, and from Mattanah to Nahaliel, and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.' Now Mattanah means *a gift*, Nahaliel means *rivers of God*, and Bamoth means *high places*, and since the subject is not expressed the Jewish interpreters took the passage as meaning 'Thence was given to them the well, and from the time it was given to them it descended with them to the rivers, and from the rivers to the high places.' See Thackeray : *Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* ; and Driver (*Expositor* 1889). St. Paul, however, does not say that the well followed them, but the Rock. 'The particular expression

well pleased: for they were overthrown in the
6 wilderness. Now these things were our examples,
to the intent we should not lust after evil things,
7 as they also lusted. Neither be ye idolaters, as

spiritual rock which followed them—viz., Christ. That which was symbolised by the manna—called *spiritual* because it was ‘bread from heaven’—and the water—called *spiritual* because it was miraculously given—suggests the Holy Eucharist, the common privilege of all Christians, but alas! failing in many cases to produce its normal result in a holy life. *But still not in the greater number of them was God well pleased.* Strictly speaking there has only been One of whom God could say ‘In him I am well pleased’ (St. Matt. iii. 17), but many saints have in their degree pleased Him by their lives of faith (Heb. xi. 5); this could not be said of the great majority of the Israelites, just as it cannot be said of great numbers—perhaps a majority—in the Christian church, in spite of our wonderful means of grace. For ‘*they were overthrown in the wilderness.*’ A quotation from the Greek version of Num. xiv. 16. ‘He hath overthrown (Heb. slain) them in the wilderness.’ (Cf. Heb. iii. 17.) The verb calls attention to the fact that God cut short their lives; they did not die a natural death. *Now these things*

chosen by the apostle may have been suggested to him by the legend current among the Jews, but it is evident that he has given it an entirely different application and that he uses it not in a literal sense but figuratively.’—Driver.

were some of them ; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play. Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty

were made examples for us, so that we should not be desirers of bad things—things not good for us—as they also desired. The whole series of events, the sins and their punishment were made *examples for us*—examples of warning. *Neither become idolaters*—the verb in the present implies that they might gradually slide into idolatry by attending idol feasts—*just as some of them did.* ‘*The people of Israel sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play*’ (Ex. xxxii. 6, 19). What began as a mere feast, ended in an orgy of idolatrous dancing before the Golden Calf. Dancing was well understood to be an act of worship (2 Sam. vi. 14 ; Ps. cxlix. 3, cl. 4). The Musalmans have adopted it in the case of their dancing dervishes, and at the Cathedral at Seville in Spain there is a solemn dance of boys on special occasions before the high altar. A natural and beautiful expression of gladness and praise was thus, in the case of the Israelites, turned to the service of idolatry. If a Christian joined in idol feasts, his next step might very well be to join in idol dances. The dangers of the nautch in India are well known, and it is a thing which no Christian should countenance ; the mere merry-making of young people together, where there is no question of worship, is quite a different thing. *Neither let us commit fornication just as some of them did, and so there fell in*

9 thousand. Neither let us tempt the Lord, as some of them tempted, and perished by the serpents. 10 Neither murmur ye, as some of them murmured, 11 and perished by the destroyer. Now these things

one day twenty-three thousand of them. Num. xxv. 9. The number there given is 24,000, but no doubt St. Paul is quoting from memory, and the exact number was of no importance. The connexion between idolatry and fornication is not accidental. 'For the devising of idols was the beginning of fornication, and the invention of them the corruption of life.' (Wisdom xiv. 12.) We know how closely they are connected in India. *Nor let us sorely tempt the Lord, just as some of them tempted Him and by the serpents were destroyed.* (Num. xxi. 4-9.) The temptation of the Lord consisted in their despising the spiritual blessings of their redemption and longing for the creature comforts of Egypt, and so challenging God's power to give them back what they had lost. So a Christian convert might look back upon the comfort and affection of his old home, and doubt whether he had made a good exchange in sacrificing it for Christ. The reading *tempt the Lord* (R. V.) has much more authority than *tempt Christ* (A. V.), but it is possible that Christ is meant even by the former reading (cf. verse 4). In Christ's own case the temptation consisted in being called upon to throw Himself down from the Temple and so test God's will and power to save Him, instead of being calmly trustful that God would intervene at His own

happened unto them by way of example ; and they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages are come. Wherefore let him **12** that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.

time (St. Matt. iv. 5, 7). ' This according to the Biblical view is one of the greatest sins man can commit. It means to put God to the proof, to try whether He will manifest His goodness, power and wisdom by extricating us from self-created difficulties or temptations, or by pardoning a sin for which we have beforehand discounted His grace ' (Godet). (Cf. Psalm lxxviii. 18-31.) *Nor murmur ye, even as some of them murmured, and they were destroyed by the destroyer.* (Num. xvi. 41-50.) The children of Israel were continually murmuring against Moses and Aaron, but only in this case was the plague sent as a punishment—' and they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred.' *The destroyer* means no doubt the destroying angel, mentioned in Exodus xii. 23 ; 1 Chron. xxi. 12, 15, though not in this connexion. (Cf. Wisdom xviii. 25 ; Acts xii. 23.) The warning for us is against continually grumbling at the legitimate authorities in the church, a sin which went so far in a later generation that some of their clergy were actually dismissed by the Corinthians, and they incurred a rebuke from St. Clement of Rome. ' It will be no light sin for us if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the Bishop's office unblameably and holily.'—*Now these things were continually happening to them, by way of example for us, and*

13 There hath no temptation taken you but such as man can bear: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation make also the way of escape, that ye may be able to endure it.

they were written for admonition of us on whom the ends of the ages have arrived. This strange sentence appears to mean that the aims and tendencies of all the ages which went before found their full end and conclusion in the age of Christ. (Cf. Heb. ix. 26 'the consummation of the ages' R. V. m.) *Consequently he who supposes—rightly or wrongly—that he stands—i.e. that he is persevering in a state of grace—let him keep looking lest he fall,* just as St. Paul himself (in ix. 27) had contemplated the possibility of his own falling away; this is the exact contrary of that presumptuous assurance which is sometimes indicated as a Christian virtue. *Temptation has not taken you save a human one—i.e. such as is natural to man.* The A. V. is here better than the R. V., which anticipates the end of the verse. Cf. Eccclus. ii. 1: 'My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation.' *But God is faithful—His promise of grace will not fail—who will not allow you in any case to be tempted beyond what you are able to bear; but He will make with the temptation also the way out of it, so that you may be able to endure.*

Thus temptations are the normal condition of the Christian's life and he must meet them by vigilant self-discipline and watchfulness; over-confidence in

Wherefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry. **14**
I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say. **15**
The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a **16**

oneself, and want of confidence in God, are our besetting dangers. The five sins against which we are warned in this passage are (1) Self-indulgence, leading to (2) occasions of sin, such as idol feasts, from which we may easily slip into idolatry; and from that to (3) fornication, so common in Corinth in connexion with the worship of Venus, and always a lurking danger for those who share the low tone and manners of the heathen; then (4) a desire to be like the heathen in throwing off all moral restraint; and finally (5) refusal to submit to the discipline of the church by which these faults might be corrected—‘hardness of heart and contempt of Thy word and commandment’. Notice the transition from the first person to the second in the case of the second and fifth temptations. St. Paul can imagine himself carried away by sudden temptation, either fleshly or spiritual, but not as acquiescing in deliberate disloyalty either to Christ or to His church.

(3) The Principle of Loyalty to Christ in the Holy Eucharist (x. 14–22). A crowning reason for not joining in the idol feasts is that, as communicants, they would be disloyal to Christ. In the Holy Communion we are partakers of Christ’s Body and His Blood. Some such communion with the God who is worshipped is implied in all sacrifices—whether with the true God as in the case of Israel, or

communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body **17** of Christ? seeing that we, who are many, are one

with evil spirits, as in the case of the heathen. It is true, as we have said, that an idol is nothing; but those who sacrifice to idols put themselves in the power of evil spirits; and we who desire to live in communion with our Lord must shrink from incurring this danger.

Wherefore—as a result of all that we have said—*my beloved, flee from the idolatry*. Even if partaking of an idol feast is not a sin in itself it may easily become an occasion of sin—the sin of idolatry—and therefore we **must flee from it**. Like fornication (vi. 18ff) it is one of the temptations which can only be met by running away from it. *As speaking to sensible men I say this; be ye yourselves the judges of what I assert*. I appeal to your common sense; you ought to have no difficulty in forming an immediate judgement. *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not fellowship in the blood of the Christ?* He assumes that this is a well-known fact to Christians. *The bread which we break, is it not fellowship in the body of the Christ?* It is the blessing and breaking which constitute the fellowship, not merely the partaking, which comes afterwards. Christ's presence in the Holy Communion is effected by the prayers and actions of the priest, officiating as the representative of the whole Christian community ('we bless, we break'). The *blood* is mentioned first, as in Eph. vi. 12 and (according to the best reading)

bread, one body: for we all partake of the one bread. Behold Israel after the flesh: have not they 18: which eat the sacrifices communion with the altar?

Heb. ii. 14, because it is the special symbol of life. *Because the bread is one, one body are we the many, for we all from the one bread have our share.* The unity of the bread is thus primarily the symbol of unity among Christians, and our own partaking of the bread when it is consecrated is the means by which that unity is effected. Just as a family is made one by community of blood, so the Christian family is made one by common participation in the flesh and blood of Christ. So in the 'Teaching of the Apostles'—'As this broken bread was once grains of corn scattered upon the mountains and then gathered together to become one thing, so may Thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom.' St. Paul's thought passes from the fellowship of Christians with Christ to their fellowship with one another (cf. 1 John i. 6, 7), both of which are effected by the Eucharist; and he glances at the horrible possibility of a similar connexion between the evil spirits and their worshippers, and the danger of Christians drifting into it through attending idol feasts, and so being cut off from Christ. *Look at Israel according to the flesh*—i.e. the Jews; the Christian church is the spiritual Israel, 'the Israel of God' (Gal. vi. 16)—so the unbelieving Jews are now Israel only in the physical sense. *Are not those who eat the sacrifices of the Temple fellows of*—i.e. in fellowship with—the

19 What say I then? that a thing sacrificed to idols
20 is anything, or that an idol is anything? But *I say*,
 that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they

altar, and therefore with the god of the altar? That is the purpose of sacrifice—to bring the sacrificer into close relationship with the god to whom he offers the sacrifice. (Cf. Ex. xxiv. 8.) *What then do I assert?* What is my object in adducing this parallel? Do I mean *that what is sacrificed to an idol is anything, or that an idol is anything?* Of course not; the gods and goddesses of the heathen have no real existence—whether they be called Venus or Kali—and therefore their images are nothing more than bits of stone or clay, and the offerings made to them are nothing more than pieces of flesh or handfuls of rice. *But* what I do assert is this, *that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice 'to demons they sacrifice and to a no-god.'* The quotation is from Deut. xxxii. 17; the expression *a no-god* is common in the Old Testament. (Cf. 2 Chr. xiii. 9; Jer. v. 7, etc.) According to the Greek version of Psalm xcvi. 5, 'all the gods of the heathen are demons.' 'For St. Paul the gods as such are creatures of the imagination; yet he does not hold that nothing at all exists behind the image-worship of the heathen, but that demons lurk there and the kingdom of Satan, and that participators in heathen feasts are drawn into the circle of their evil influence.' (*H.D.B.*, vol. i, p. 594.) What missionary has not felt the same? Though he would stoutly maintain that there is no such being as Siva or Durga, yet there

sacrifice to devils, and not to God : and I would not that ye should have communion with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup 2f

seems to radiate a noxious influence from their temples which he cannot but ascribe to evil spirits. The ' Teaching of the Apostles ' takes a similar view. ' Carefully abstain from that which is offered to an idol, for it is the worship of dead gods '—(Ch. 6.) *And I do not wish you to become fellows oi*—in fellowship with—*the demons*. Our Lord says ' the eternal fire is prepared for the devil and his angels ' (Matt. xxv. 41), and it is with the latter that we must identify *the demons* in this passage ; to enter into fellowship with them would be to share their fate. *You cannot drink the Lord's cup and the demons' cup ; you cannot have your share in the Lord's table and the demons' table*. The Lord's table is an expression derived from Malachi i. 7, where it is identified with the altar of sacrifice. (Cf. Ezek. xli. 22.) *Or are we * provoking the Lord to jealousy ?*' Again a quotation from the Old Testament. ' They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God ' (Deut. xxxii. 21.) St. James says :—' That Spirit which He made to dwell in us yearneth for us even unto jealous envy ' (Jas. iv. 5. R. V. m.)—i.e. God desires the whole possession of our hearts even as a husband expects to have the whole affection of his wife ; if it is given to another He is rightly jealous. But this is just what this dallying with idol worship meant, the absence of a whole-hearted devotion to God. *Are we stronger*

of devils: ye cannot partake of the table of the
 22 Lord, and of the table of devils. Or do we provoke
 the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than he?

than He? We claim to be 'strong' while others are
 'weak' (ch. viii. 9), but are we stronger than God,
 and can we brave His anger with impunity?

With these two indignant questions the apostle here
 brings the argument to a climax. The upshot of it is
 that idol feasts are to be shunned on every ground by
 Christians. This last passage (*vv.* 14-22) is specially
 interesting from the side light which it throws on the
 Christian Eucharist. St. Paul clearly looks upon it as
 both a sacrifice and a feast upon a sacrifice, and so far
 parallel with Jewish and heathen sacrifices. It effects
 a real union between ourselves and Christ, and also
 with one another. Wherever the Eucharist is rightly
 celebrated this union is a fact—it is the unity on
 which the life of the church depends, and it cannot be
 broken, though it may be marred, by divisions among
 the members of the church; just as the unity of a
 family is not broken, though it is grievously marred,
 by quarrels among the brothers and sisters. To be a
 communicant of the church is to have fellowship with
 Christ and with one another, a fellowship which we
 are called upon to realize in love and service. The
 implications of the passage are well stated by St. John
 Damascene, the great theologian of the Eastern
 Church. The Holy Eucharist, he says, 'is called
 "communion" (or fellowship) and so it is in truth
 because by means of it we have fellowship with Christ

All things are lawful; but all things are not **23** expedient. All things are lawful; but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but *each* his **24** neighbour's *good*. Whatsoever is sold in the sham- **25** bles, eat, asking no question for conscience sake; for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. **26**

and are sharers of His flesh and of His divinity; by it also we have fellowship and are united with one another; for since we are all partakers of one bread, we become one body of Christ and one blood, and members of one another, being called unitedly the Body of Christ.'—*De Fide Orth.*, iv. 13.

(4) Final considerations about meat which has been offered to an idol (x. 23–xi. 1).—You must recognize the just limitations of the principle 'all things are lawful' and follow the example I have given you of respect for tender consciences. You should on no account take part in a feast which takes place in the temple of an idol, but when meat is sold in the market you are not bound to enquire where it comes from, and if a non-Christian friend asks you to dinner you may eat what is set before you without scruple; if however at such an entertainment you are definitely told that the food has been offered to an idol you should refrain from eating it, not because it would do you any harm but because your eating it might injure the conscience of the man who told you. The great principle is to seek the glory of God in all things, and this will lead you to think not only of your own salvation, but of that of all with whom you

27 If one of them that believe not biddeth you *to a feast*, and ye are disposed to go ; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience **28** sake. But if any man say unto you, This hath been offered in sacrifice, eat not, for his sake that **29** shewed it, and for conscience sake : conscience,

have to do. That is my own aim, it should be yours ; for it is the true following of Christ.

' All things are in our power '—yes, but not all things are profitable for us ; *' all things are in our power '*—yes, but not all things build up our spiritual life. Those against whom St. Paul is arguing took their stand on this phrase, which though true in a general way of Christian life requires to be applied with some discrimination. In Galatians St. Paul had earnestly upheld the principle of Christian liberty ; here he argues as earnestly for certain voluntary restrictions on that liberty. *Let no one seek his own profit, but let each one seek the profit of the other.* ' What must I do to be saved ? ' (Acts xvi. 30) is a perfectly right enquiry for one who is first entering on the Christian life, but as that life goes forward it is seen to consist not in the merely selfish quest of one's own salvation, but in the desire of salvation for all. ' The love which is true and firm consists not only in wishing oneself to be saved but all the brethren also '—says an early Christian document (Mart. Polycarpi, i). In great souls like St. Paul and St. Theresa it goes so far as to desire even to lose one's own salvation for that of others, if that were possible ; but of course it is not

I say, not thine own, but the other's; for why is my liberty judged by another conscience? If I by 30 grace partake, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks? Whether therefore ye eat, 31

possible, for it is just that unselfish desire by which we are saved. *Every thing which is sold in the market eat, for the sake of your conscience making no investigation.* There is no need to make enquiries which might trouble your conscience, for after all, the meat is just the same whether it has been offered to an idol or not: all belongs to the true God. *For 'the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof'*—i.e. all that it contains. A quotation from Psalm xxiv. 1. *If any one invites you, one of the unbelievers, and you wish to go, eat that which is set before you, for the sake of your conscience making no investigation.* The meat which was set before guests at an ordinary dinner might or might not have been offered to an idol beforehand; there is no obligation for you to enquire about it. *But if any one should say to you, This is a temple sacrifice, refrain from eating it on account of that man who informed you of it, and on account of the conscience.* The informant must be supposed to be a fellow-guest, either a Christian whose conscience is scrupulous on such matters or a possible convert; he calls the meat not an idol-offering (A.V.) but a *temple sacrifice* or a *sacred sacrifice*, for he still looks upon it with a certain amount of reverence; he has not wholly shaken off the feelings of his heathen life. *Conscience, I say, not one's own but the other's, for to what purpose does my*

or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory
32 of God. Give no occasion of stumbling, either to
33 Jews, or to Greeks, or to the church of God : even
as I also please all men in all things, not seeking

freedom get judged by another conscience? The very nature of conscience is that it is an individual faculty ; what possible good then could come of one man's conscience taking its principles from that of some one else ? *If I with thankfulness have share in the feast, why am I abused for that for which I give thanks?* He means that it would be absurd to thank God for what I eat—assuming that I have begun my meal with what we call ' Grace before meat ', i.e. an act of thanksgiving—and then admit that I am rightly blamed for what I have eaten, as though it were displeasing to that very God whom I have thanked for it. *Therefore whether you eat or drink or do anything else, do all things for the glory of God.* God's glory is the supreme aim of all Christian life ; it is to be sought by the utmost considerateness for all kinds of men, even for their prejudices so far as they are not actually sinful. *Become inoffensive both to Jews*—who shrink rightly from heathen sacrifices—*and to Greeks*—who would be alienated by any excessive scrupulosity on your part—*and to the church of God*—i.e. Christians who by your example might be shaken in their opposition to idolatry. *Inoffensive* means that your actions must be such as not to lead others into sin ; if you took part in an idol sacrifice you would alienate the Jews, who look upon idolatry with abhorrence ; if

mine own profit, but the *profit* of the many, that they may be saved. Be ye imitators of me, even as I also am of Christ. **11**

when dining with a Gentile friend you make a fuss about the food, asking where it comes from, you would make yourself ridiculous in his eyes and set him against Christianity ; if, however, you go on eating food which a fellow-Christian has told you comes from an idol-temple, you may throw him back in the direction of heathenism : but if in all things you keep the glory of God, and not your own self-indulgence, in view, you will be saved from mistakes. *The church* means the whole body of Christians, but he has in view specially those who are still weak in the faith. *Even as I also try to satisfy all men in all things, not seeking my own profit but that of the many that they may be saved : become imitators of me even as I also become an imitator of Christ.* St. Paul does not claim that he is an imitator of Christ, but that he is gradually becoming one, especially in the matter of his tender consideration for all men. 'A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench.'—St. Matt. xii. 20. Cf. Heb. v. 2.

St. Paul knows the power of hero-worship, and does not hesitate to put forward his own example as one which is to be imitated by his converts, but he is careful to say that it is only so far to be imitated as he himself is an imitator of Christ—which he longs to be. The passage shows that there was at Corinth no withdrawal of Christians from the general life of

2 Now I praise you that ye remember me in all things, and hold fast the traditions, even as I
3 delivered them to you. But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and

society around them, corrupt as it was in many respects. He contemplates the acceptance by a Christian of an invitation from a heathen friend, and points out that while he must be careful not to violate his own religion in any matter of principle, he must not prejudice Christianity in the eyes of the heathen by unnecessary scruples. For there is such a thing as over-scrupulosity of conscience, and while we should be tender with it in the case of inexperienced Christians, we should aim for ourselves at such a robustness of the moral sense as will prevent us from inventing imaginary sins while we always set our face against real ones.

(5) Behaviour at public worship—i.e. at the Holy Eucharist (xi. 2-16).—It is not quite clear why this section and the next are introduced here. There is nothing in it to indicate that the Corinthians had asked any question on the subject, nor that information about it had reached St. Paul in any other way. But it may have been one of the things communicated by the household of Chloe (ch. i. 11), and since it has to do with worship it is introduced not inappropriately between the question of avoiding idol-worship and employing spiritual gifts in the service of God. St. Paul had no doubt taught the Corinthians, as he did the Galatians (iii. 28), that in Christ Jesus there

the head of the woman is the man ; and the head of Christ is God. Every man praying or prophesy-
4 ing, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman praying or prophesying with her 5

is no distinction between male and female. This means, of course, that there is perfect equality of privilege between Christian men and women in their access to God. But some of the Corinthian ladies seem to have interpreted it as meaning that in the Christian church all distinctions of sex were to be abolished, and consequently that it would not matter what kind of costume were adopted by each. This seems at first sight a small matter, but St. Paul sees that it involves great principles and consequently he does not treat it lightly. The seemly Greek costume for women when they appeared in public was to throw over their heads a part of their robe, just as Indian women do. The Jewish custom was similar (Gen. xxiv. 65) and with both nations it was a mark of shamelessness to have the head uncovered in the presence of men in public. In the case of men, covering the head was a sign of mourning. The present Jewish custom is for men to remain covered in the synagogue, but we cannot be sure that it dates from this early period.

Now I praise you that in all things you remember me, and just as I delivered to you the deliverances you hold them fast. Since he has something to find fault with, he says what he can first in the way of praise. The *deliverances* or *traditions* are the instructions he had

head unveiled dishonoureth her head : for it is one
6 and the same thing as if she were shaven. For if
a woman is not veiled, let her also be shorn : but
if it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven,

given them with regard to the conduct of their public worship, such as we read in 1 Tim. ii. Up to the present they had not been written down, but handed down from one to another. Every society has its *traditions*, i.e. its customary usages beyond those which are embodied in written statements. The Jews had many such (St. Mark vii. 3, 8) which departed from and in some respects contradicted the teaching of their scriptures, but there is in the Church a body of tradition derived from the Apostles which helps us to understand the scriptures. *But I wish you to know that of every man Christ is the head, and of a woman the man is head, and of the Christ God is head.* This does not imply that the woman has no direct relation to Christ, but only that this relation does not abolish her relation to her husband. *Head* implies unity of nature and power of initiation. Our Lord says : ' The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father doing.' The ideal of Christian married life is that while the husband takes the initiative, both man and woman should receive all their orders from Christ. *Every man praying or prophesying with his head covered disgraces his head*—because to do so would be to acknowledge the presence of some visible superior, just as the woman by covering her head acknowledges the superiority of the man. All this is much more in

let her be veiled. For a man indeed ought not to ⁷ have his head veiled, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but ⁸

accordance with Indian than with European ideas: in India the servant covers his head in the presence of his master. *But every woman praying or prophesying with her head uncovered disgraces her head: for she is one and the same thing with the woman who has been shaved.* St. Paul seems to imply that women did sometimes lead the prayers or preach at the public services, and no doubt this might occasionally be done by women who were recognized as prophetesses, like the daughters of Philip (Acts xxi. 9) ¹

If a woman's head was shaved it would be for some scandalous offence; so the meaning is that for a woman to go uncovered is to appear like a woman of bad character. *For if a woman does not cover herself let her also cut her hair; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to cut her hair or to shave her head, let her cover herself. For a man indeed ought not to cover his head,*

¹ 'It is quite clear that women appeared in the local assemblies of the church, with the consent of the apostle, and that they prayed and prophesied in public. This fact and this permission may seem to contradict the evidence of xi. 34f; and indeed the one way of removing the contradiction between the two passages is to suppose that in the former Paul is referring to prayers and prophecies of the ecstatic state, over which no one could exercise any control, while the speech which is forbidden in the second passage denotes public instruction,'—Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, vol. ii, p. 65.

9 the woman of the man : for neither was the man created for the woman ; but the woman for the 10 man : for this cause ought the woman to have a *sign of authority* on her head, because of the angels.

since he is—by his original constitution—*God's image and glory*. The reference is to Gen. i. 26 ; cf. v. 1, and ix. 6, showing that the *image* was not lost by the fall. It refers, of course, to man's spiritual, not to his bodily nature, since God is Spirit. Man is thus capable both of representing God and glorifying God. Cf. 2 Cor. viii. 23. St. Irenæus says, ' The glory of God is a living man, but the life of man is the vision of God'—IV. xx. 7 ; and again, ' God is the glory of man ; but man is the receptacle of God's operation, His wisdom, and His virtue : just as a physician is approved in those whom he heals, so also God in men is manifested '—II. xx. 2. Glory is the expression of holiness, as beauty is the expression of health. In Genesis, however, the word used for man means ' a human being'—including both men and women—and of course St. Paul would not deny that a woman is also *the image and glory of God*, though he is emphasizing here the superior dignity of the husband. *And the woman is man's glory*. He does not say that she is so by her original constitution, but that she actually is so—which appears to mean that the wife represents her husband in many of the ordinary concerns of life, and his character is judged by hers. *The man is not derived from woman, but woman from man ; for indeed man was not created on account of the woman, but woman*

Howbeit neither is the woman without the man, **11**
nor the man without the woman, in the Lord.
For as the woman is of the man, so is the man also **12**
by the woman; but all things are of God. Judge **13**

was created *on account of the man* (Gen. ii. 18-23).
On account of this—her derivation from man—*ought the woman to have authority upon her head.* St. Chrysostom explains *authority* here as meaning a sign of the man's authority, and he uses the word himself in this sense as though it were a recognized meaning among Greek-speaking peoples.¹ The covered head of a woman then is a sign that she is under the authority of her husband, but the next words—*on account of the angels*—create a great difficulty. No doubt St. Paul had something in his mind the clue to which is lost, and we can only guess at what it was. It is clear from the early Liturgies that there was a strong belief in the presence of angels at public worship, as in our Liturgy we have 'therefore with angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven, etc.' Perhaps St. Paul means that the angels seeing a woman unveiled would regard it as a sign of revolt against her husband's authority, and so would be reminded of that terrible revolt in their own order

¹ Professor Ramsay calls this 'a preposterous idea which a Greek scholar would laugh at except in the New Testament' but St. Chrysostom must be admitted to have been no mean Greek scholar, and his interpretation is confirmed by Photius (see Cramer's *Catena*) who was, according to Dr. Rendel Harris, 'as sound a critic as the Greek church has produced.'

ye in yourselves : is it seemly that a woman pray
14 unto God unveiled ? Doth not even nature itself
teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a
15 dishonour to him ? But if a woman have long

whereby a large proportion of them were cast down to hell (Rev. xii. 7-9). This would make them peculiarly sensitive to the need for authority and subordination in all the ranks of being. ' If a woman thinks lightly of shocking men, she must remember that she will also be shocking the angels, who, of course, are present at public worship ' (Plummer). The angels themselves veil their faces in the presence of God (Isaiah vi. 2). *Nevertheless neither is woman apart from man nor man apart from woman in the Lord, for even as the woman is derived from the man—by original creation—so also the man is by means of the woman—in the order of natural birth—but all things are derived from God.* Man and woman are mutually dependent on each other, and both on God ; the intention seems to be to remind the husband that notwithstanding his direct relation to Christ, he still has duties to his wife (cf. 1 St. Peter iii. 7), and the wife that in spite of her dependence on her husband she is still like her husband in immediate relation to God. Cf. Ezek. xviii. 4 ' Behold, all souls are mine '. A final appeal to their own judgment of what is fitting and natural in public worship : *In your own selves—i.e. in your own minds—judge : is it becoming that a woman, uncovered, should pray to God ? Does not even nature itself teach you that if a man has long hair it is a*

hair, it is a glory to her : for her hair is given her for a covering. But if any man seemeth to be **16** contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.

disgrace to him ; but if a woman has long hair it is a glory to her, because the hair has been given to her in place of a mantle ? Our estimate of the teaching of ' nature ' is largely coloured by our own habits and customs ; still the fact that women's hair if allowed to grow is longer than men's may be taken as an indication of the Creator's will in the matter. It is curious to observe that St. Paul himself must have worn his hair long during part of the time he was at Corinth, in fulfilment of a vow (Acts xviii. 18). *But if any one thinks fit to be contentious* let him or her know that *we have not such a custom, nor have the churches of God.* It is unfortunate that both the English versions insert the word ' man ' here, for the remark seems to be chiefly aimed at women. The custom of the church is really sufficient to decide a matter of this sort. In the pictures in the Catacombs the men are always represented with their hair short, and the women as wearing a cloak or mantle over their shoulders which can be drawn over the head. There is no mention of a veil—i.e. a separate head-covering—in this passage nor were any such customary. By *churches* are meant the Christian communities in the different places, all members of the one church.

The question arises how far are we to look upon St. Paul's instructions in this passage as having per-

17 But in giving you this charge, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better but for
18 the worse. For first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that divisions exist among

manent authority for us? Is it a binding obligation for all time that men should attend church with their heads uncovered, and women with covered heads? We must look to the ideas which lie behind St. Paul's instructions which are (1) that our ritual must be the apt expression of spiritual truth; (2) in accordance with the suggestions of nature; (3) in agreement with the customs of the Catholic Church. In India the greatest mark of respect, in the case of men, is to retain the cap or turban and to remove the shoes. Where that custom is observed in church we are following St. Paul's instructions in the spirit if not in the letter. A more important question is whether what he says about the subordination of woman to man is a permanent principle. There can be no doubt that St. Paul considered it so, but it should be remembered that his maturest thoughts about the relations between the sexes—which he only incidentally touches here—are to be found in the Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. v) where he shows that it is a matter of reciprocal obligations, and implies that the husband cannot claim his own privileges unless he fulfils his duty of loving and cherishing his wife.

Certain disorders which occurred at the Agapé—i.e. the common meal which preceded the Eucharist (xi. 17-34).—St. Paul now passes to a more important

you; and I partly believe it. For there must be **19** also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you. When therefore ye assemble yourselves together, **20**

question connected with public worship. It was usual for Christians at that time to assemble for a social meal and then celebrate the Holy Eucharist, just as our Lord ate the Passover with His disciples before instituting the Blessed Sacrament. This meal was intended to symbolize the brotherly love and the complete abolition of caste distinctions among Christians—it was called a ‘love-feast’ (2 St. Peter ii. 13; St. Jude 12)—but at Corinth it seems that even into this the insidious spirit of caste had crept, and instead of being a symbol of love it was marked by gross selfishness, contempt of rich for poor, and even by drunkenness. St. Paul suggests that rather than allow these abuses it would be better to abolish this common meal which had ceased to be worthy of the name ‘Supper of the Lord’ and eat at home. This was what ultimately became the rule, though the Agapé may have lasted longer in some churches than in others. Pliny tells us that the Christians of Bithynia gave it up at his command at the end of the first century, though the Eucharist itself they would by no means give up. St. Paul then passes to a description of the Eucharist—most valuable to us as the first in time of all the accounts of the institution, for the Gospels were written later. He makes it quite clear that our Lord in instituting it commanded it to be

- 21** it is not possible to eat the Lord's supper: for in your eating each one taketh before *other* his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken.
- 22** What? have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?

frequently and perpetually observed until His second Advent.

But in giving you this command—that which follows—*I do not praise you*—in contrast with v. 2—*because not for the better but for the worse you come together.* The object of your social gatherings is to promote the love which should always reign amongst Christians, but, as a matter of fact, it is found to promote selfishness and excess. *For in the first place, when you are coming together in church I hear that there is a perpetual state of division among you.* In *church* can hardly mean that there were yet any buildings set apart for worship, but it is a 'semi-local' expression denoting the habitual assembly; *and to some extent I believe it.* What he already knew of the parties among the Corinthians would dispose him to believe it possible that in social matters they would also form exclusive circles or sets. *For there must be among you also factions*—human nature being what it is—*so that the approved*—i.e. the tested and genuine Christians—*may become manifest among you.* The faction was something more than a social set, it was a body of men bound together by some special belief or contradiction of belief, such as the Pharisees, or the Sadducees, amongst the Jews; yet it does not amount to a 'sect', that is a body which separates from

or despise ye the church of God, and put them to shame that have not? What shall I say to you? shall I praise you in this? I praise you not. For **23** I received of the Lord that which also I delivered

the rest. The Christians are called by Tertullus 'the faction of the Nazarenes' (Acts xxiv. 5) though they could still worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. God brings good out of evil, and shows who are His true saints even by means of these factions, for over them the love of Christ will always triumph. *When you are coming together to the same place, it is not to eat a supper of the Lord*—i.e., one which is really His, and which He would own. Here we have an adjective, meaning 'of the Lord', which is used for the first time in the New Testament and is only found again in Rev. i. 10. It was not, however, altogether a new word, for as the Roman Emperor was commonly called 'the Lord' so the imperial treasury, etc., were called 'of the Lord'. The *supper of the Lord* means not the Eucharist but the Agapé: it was not till the fourth century, when the Agapé had practically ceased, that the name was transferred to the sacrament. The object of the Agapé was primarily to promote the feeling of brotherhood among Christians, and secondarily to give the rich an opportunity of helping their poorer brethren by providing them with food. Both objects are, St. Paul says, defeated by your selfish and unbrotherly conduct. *For each one takes before other his own supper at the time of eating, and while one is hungry another is drunk.* It appears that

unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in
24 which he was betrayed took bread; and when he
had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my
body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of

each person brought his own contribution to the feast, but instead of sharing it with the rest, so that rich and poor should have an equally sufficing meal, they greedily devoured their own food and drink their own wine, so that those who were able to bring little or nothing got no more than they had brought. *Why, have you not houses for the purpose of eating and drinking?* If it is only for the purpose of eating and drinking that you come together, surely it would be better to stop at home. *Or do you despise the church of God—the whole body of Christians—and put to shame those who have not?*—i.e. the poor. See St. James' denunciation of a somewhat similar abuse—St. James ii. 1-9. *What am I to say to you? Am I to praise you? In this matter I do not praise you, for I myself received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you.* St. Paul's use of the emphatic *I* here has led some to think that he received a special revelation on this point, especially as it contrasts with chap. xv. 3, where there is no emphasis on the pronoun; on the other hand the word *from* is not the word which is generally used of immediate origin, and St. Paul might have received the account from St. Peter who was present (Gal. i. 18). In any case it is the earliest account we have of the institution, and indeed of any words of our Lord. The close connexion of the

me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, **25** saying, **This cup is the new covenant in my blood : this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of**

Agapé with the Eucharist, and the intense solemnity of the latter as a carrying out of our Lord's own command, is a reason why the former also should be treated with reverence and not regarded as a common meal. Namely, *that the Lord Jesus in the night in which He was delivered up—or, was delivering Himself up—took a loaf of bread, and having given thanks He broke it and said, This is my body which is on behalf of you ; this do ye continually for the purpose of my memorial. In like manner He took also the cup, after the supping, saying, This cup is the fresh covenant which is made in my blood ; this do ye, as often as you drink, for the purpose of my memorial.* In order to understand these vitally important words we must try to put ourselves in the position of the apostles who heard them for the first time. We must remember that they were celebrating the Passover Festival (St. Luke xxii. 15), at which a lamb was sacrificed and afterwards eaten with unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and cups of wine mingled with water.¹ As the supper drew to an end, our Lord left the table, took a towel and a basin of water, and washed in turn each of the apostles' feet ; thereby symbolizing the necessary cleansing of their souls for something very

¹ For the evidence, see Bp. J. Wordsworth. *The Holy Communion*, App. I.

26 me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come.
27 Wherefore whosoever shall eat the bread or drink

solemn which was about to follow. Then resuming His place at the table He took one of the small loaves which lay before Him 'into those wonderful hands which have raised the dead, and cleansed the leper, and lifted up the sick from their beds, and fed the multitude' and having blessed and broken it, He tells the disciples that it is His body. A little later he takes one of the cups containing wine and water, and tells them it is the fresh covenant—which must have carried their minds back to Jeremiah xxxi. 31-34—which is made in His own blood; or, according to St. Mark (which in point of time is the next account we have of the institution), He said, This is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many. Now it has been pointed out¹ that every one of these four words, *Covenant*, *Do*, *Memorial*, and *Poured out*, had a special use in connexion with the Jewish sacrifices. They are not necessarily sacrificial words, but the use of them in combination, and in connexion with the sacrificial lamb of the Passover, could not fail to suggest to the apostles that here too was both a sacrifice and a feast upon a sacrifice. We have already seen that this is implied in ch. x. 14-22. If

¹ By no one more clearly than by Dr. Darwell Stone in his *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, vol. i, pp. 3-12.

the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord. But let a **28** man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread,

so, the sacrifice is Christ Himself, and He looked upon the rite in which they are engaged as already a part of that terrible offering which He was to make upon the morrow. When therefore He says, *Continue to do this for my remembrance*—it is not strictly correct to translate *in remembrance of me*,—His words, as Bp. J. Wordsworth says, ‘fell certainly on no unprepared or inattentive ears. Those who heard Him knew the sense of the Hebrew [or Aramaic] words intuitively. They knew that He did not merely mean, Do (or offer) this to remind yourselves of me; but, By this make a solemn commemoration of me to God.’ ¹ *For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you continue to proclaim the death of the Lord until He shall have come.* These are the words not of Christ, but of St. Paul; they imply that the celebration of the Eucharist was to be repeated frequently in the church, and as a matter of history it became the regular Christian service for every Sunday. The Eucharist is both an acted sermon, teaching us that Christ is, now and at all times, the propitiation for our sins, and also an expression of belief and hope, looking forward to His return. ‘As

¹ Bp. J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*, p. 51; he quotes a Jewish prayer which confirms this use of the words (i. 48). See further in Appendix II.

29 and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and
drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgement unto him-
30 self, if he discern not the body. For this cause

the proclamation is by action, in which the reception is an integral part, it is implied that there is a real participation in the offered Body and Blood, as the means of the abiding union of the believer with the Saviour, during this time of waiting.'—Parry. *Consequently whoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily will be answerable for the body and blood of the Lord.* The unworthiness is explained in v. 29 to consist in 'not discerning the body'—and therefore treating the consecrated elements as though they were common bread and wine. As St. Justin Martyr says 'We do not receive it as common bread or common drink; but just as Jesus Christ our Saviour, made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been made by the prayer of the word that is from him—that food from which our blood and flesh are by assimilation nourished—is both the flesh and the blood of the Jesus who was made flesh.' In receiving the sacrament we have to answer to God not for what it seems to be, mere bread and wine, but for what it really is, *the body and the blood of Christ.* Unworthiness is no doubt of different degrees, but when it reaches its climax it amounts to 'crucifying the Son of God afresh'—Heb. vi. 6. *But*—in order to avoid this guilt—*let a man habitually prove himself*

many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep. But if we discerned ourselves, we should **31**

and thus let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. All three verbs are in the present tense, showing that Christians should be habitual communicants, and should habitually examine their consciences, as St. Paul himself did (Acts xxiv. 16). *For he who eats and drinks, eats and drinks judgement to himself if he does not discern the body.* St. Ignatius at the beginning of the second century speaks of some 'who hold strange doctrine concerning the grace of Jesus Christ contrary to the mind of God. They have no care for love, none for the orphan, none for the widow, none for the afflicted, none for the prisoner, none for the hungry and thirsty. They abstain from eucharist and prayer, because they allow not that the eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up.'—(Smyrn. 6.) *On this account, among you many are weak and infirm and several fall asleep.* In the prevalence of weakness, sickness and even death, St. Paul sees a judgement on the Church for its irreverence towards the Holy Sacrament.¹ *But if we had discerned—formed a true*

¹ In some cases, perhaps in many, where the soul seems likely to forfeit the grace with which it has trifled, His vigilant providence sends, when chastisements and diseases fail, a hastened and punitive death, 'that we should not be condemned with the world'—Mason: *Faith of the Gospel*, p. 358.

32 not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we may not be con-
33 demned with the world. Wherefore, my brethren,

estimate of—ourselves, we should not be coming under God's judgement, but by coming now under judgement, we are being disciplined by the Lord in order that we may not with the world be condemned. Thus there are two conditions for communicating rightly—discernment of Christ's Body in the sacrament, and discernment of ourselves; God's temporal punishments are intended to open our eyes to the true state of our souls, and if they fail death is perhaps the only means by which we can be led to see ourselves as we truly are. *Consequently, my brothers, when you are coming together for the eating—of the Agapé which is to be concluded with the Eucharist—wait for one another.* If they did not *wait*, those who came late were shut out from the blessings and prayers with which the feast began. *If any one is hungry, let him eat at home, so that you may not come together for judgement—*by avoiding the temptations to any kind of excess at the religious meal. *But the things which remain, whenever I shall come, I will arrange.* This is the correlative to the 'first of all' of v. 18. Since we find in Pliny's letter, some fifty years later, that the Eucharist is now separated from

So perhaps we may look upon the death of the man of God in 1 Kings xiii as saving him from a deeper fall into sin.

when ye come together to eat, wait one for another. If any man is hungry, let him eat at home; ³⁴ that your coming together be not unto judgement.

the Agapé and is celebrated in the early morning, while the latter is held in the evening, this may be one of the arrangements made by St. Paul to avoid the danger of such abuses as he has now here been rebuking.

It is of the deepest interest to us to have this account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist written by St. Paul within a quarter of a century of the time when it took place. He makes it clear that wherever Christianity spread the Eucharist became the chief Christian service of public worship—indeed, as Dr. Swete says,¹ there was no other. Prayer, intercession, thanksgiving, the reading of the Scriptures, the homily, the collection of alms, are all associated with it, and when in modern times we substitute for it, as our principal act of worship, any other form of service, we are gravely departing from the institution of our Lord. ‘The great Christian Service’, says Dr. Swete, ‘was known as the Eucharist, the Oblations or Oblation, and the Sacrifice.’ The name by which it is now sometimes called, the Lord’s Supper, rightly belongs as we have seen to the feast before

¹ *Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries*. By H. B. Swete (*J. T. S.*, vol. iii, p. 161). A very valuable paper.

And the rest will I, set in order whensoever I come.

and apart from the service. In the 'Teaching of the Apostles' it is ordered to be celebrated every Sunday and preceded by confession of sins: in this document it is called the Sacrifice. These early writers leave us in no doubt that they understood the words 'This is my Body' in a literal not in a metaphorical sense. 'The bread of the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread but Eucharist, made up of two things, an earthly and an heavenly'—St. Iren. iv. 18. 5. At the same time 'no sides were taken: there was no Eucharistic controversy; no charge was laid against a brother because he understood the words of Christ in this particular sense or in that. The times were not free from serious controversies on other questions connected with the interpretation of Scripture and the discipline of the Church; but on the subject of the Eucharist no dispute arose. It was as if men felt that no discordant note must be struck when they spoke or wrote of the one Bread which is the symbol and bond of the One Body of Christ'—Swete.

For further study of the subject Dr. Darwell Stone's *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (2 vols.) should be consulted. See also Appendix II. For the devotional understanding of the passage see *The Eucharistic Life*, by Two Members of the Oxford Mission (Longmans, 1918).

Now concerning spiritual *gifts*, brethren, I would **12** ¹
 not have you ignorant. Ye know that when ye **2**
 were Gentiles ye were led away unto those dumb

C. *Concerning the spiritual endowments of the Church
 at Corinth : their relation to charity and to one
 another (xii-xiv).*

The third question which appears to have been asked by the Corinthians was one concerning those spiritual gifts in which the Corinthian Church was especially rich (ch. i. 5-7), but which they were in danger of using rather for ostentation than for the mutual development of character. St. Paul in these chapters deals with the fundamental principles (xii), in the next he breaks out into a passage of almost lyrical rapture on the supremacy of charity over all other gifts (xiii), and finally (xiv) he lays down some practical rules derived from his principles. This chapter (xii) may be divided into three sections :

- (1) Spiritual gifts—the test of their reality (*vv.* 1-3).
- (2) Their one source—the Holy Spirit (*vv.* 4-11).
- (3) Their diversity and its purpose—the edification of the whole body (*vv.* 12-31).

(1) *Now concerning the spiritual gifts, brothers, I do not wish you to be ignorant.* The word 'gifts' is not found in the Greek, and its place might perhaps be supplied by 'persons', but in *vv.* 4, 31 the word *gifts* is expressed. *You know that when you were Gentiles*

Idols, howsoever ye might be led. Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema; and no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit.

you were constantly *being led away to the idols, the dumb things, as you might at any time be led*. Instead of being, as you are now, under the steady guidance of a moral power, you were subject to the capricious influences of a pseudo-spiritual enthusiasm, sometimes urging you one way and sometimes another, but never in the sure path of your true development: while the idols which you were impelled to worship had nothing to say in this matter. Note that St. Paul looks upon Christians as no longer *Gentiles*; they were 'the Israel of God' (Gal. vi. 16). To us in India these words call up a vivid picture of those waves of religious emotion which so often sweep over the country without a definite goal or any clear moral ideal. As a rule they result merely in the temporary popularity of the shrine of some *dumb idol*, which in its turn is neglected for its successor. How are we to distinguish these demoniacal influences from those of the Holy Spirit? The test of spirits is the same as that of human beings: What think ye of Christ? *Wherefore I make it known to you that no man speaking in—i.e. under an influence of the—Spirit of God, says: Jesus is Anathema* (cf. ch. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8; Rom. ix. 3). The expression is the common one for 'accursed', though it originally means 'devoted'

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same ⁴ Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, ⁵

(to God)—i.e. for destruction or punishment. *And no one is able to say : Jesus is Lord, except in*—i.e. under an influence of the—*Holy Spirit*. In the 'Martyrdom of Polycarp' the judge says, 'What harm is there in saying "Cæsar is Lord" and doing sacrifice to him?'¹ St. John in his first epistle (iv. 2, 3) makes the confession of Jesus the crucial test, though there it is the confession of His manhood, here of His Godhead. Cf. Romans x. 9; Phil. ii. 11, etc. To call Jesus Lord is to acknowledge that all authority belongs to Him in heaven and earth (St. Matt. xxviii. 18), and therefore implicitly to own Him as being God. The word *Lord* is indeed sometimes used in an inferior sense as when the jailer at Philippi says to Paul and Silas, 'Sirs, what must I do to be saved?' (Acts xvi. 30), but, generally speaking, it is throughout the Old Testament the title of God, and throughout the New Testament the title of Christ. To say 'Jesus is Lord' is the implicit doctrine of the Nicene Creed, in which we acknowledge Him to be 'very God of very God'. All Christians have the Spirit whatever may be the special gifts of each.

(2) All the spiritual gifts have one source—the Holy Spirit (*vv.* 4–11).—This passage, in which the

¹ Tiberius Cæsar, the reigning Emperor at the time of the Crucifixion, is called 'the Lord' in a contemporary document (Milligan's *Select Papyri*, p. 18).

6 and the same Lord. And there are diversities of
workings, but the same God, who worketh all things
7 in all. But to each one is given the manifestation

special endowments of the Corinthian Church are enumerated, was already in the fourth century felt to be a difficult one, for St. Chrysostom says, 'This whole passage is very obscure, but the obscurity is produced by our ignorance of the facts referred to and by their cessation, being such as then used to occur but now no longer take place.' But though the nine gifts here mentioned are not so conspicuously present in the modern Church, it would be a mistake to think they are altogether absent. We shall see that there are present endowments which in some way correspond to those of Corinth. *But there are distributions to different persons of gifts of grace, but the same Spirit: and there are distributions of services—i.e. different forms of service allotted to different people—and the same Lord—i.e. Christ: and there are distributions of spiritual effects, but the same God who effects all things in all men.* This is one of the first intimations of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and it is remarkable how incidentally it is mentioned, as though it were already perfectly familiar to the readers of the Epistle.¹ The *gifts*

¹ 'There is nothing more wonderful in the history of human thought than the silent and imperishable way in which this doctrine, to us so difficult, took its place without struggle and without controversy among accepted Christian truths.'—Sanday and Headlam: *Commentary on Romans*, p. 16.

of the Spirit to profit withal. For to one is given **8** through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge, according to the

of grace—such as wisdom, knowledge and faith—are specially gifts of the Spirit. (Cf. Isaiah xi. 2.) The *services* to mankind—such as healing, miracles and prophecy—are ascribed to Christ, being such as He constantly performed when He was on earth. The *spiritual effects*—such as discernment of spirits, speaking with and discernment of tongues—are specially connected with God the Father. Yet it is distinctly implied that the Giver in all three cases is the same. *But to each man is given—from time to time—the manifestation of the Spirit*—i.e. the capacity of showing forth by supernatural signs the power of that indwelling Spirit whose presence is normally concealed—for the spiritual profit—both of themselves and others.¹ *For to one through the Spirit there is given a word of wisdom, to another a word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit, to yet another faith, in the same Spirit.* It is not easy to see why St. Paul so carefully uses a different preposition in each case. Perhaps he

¹ 'As there appear, it has been said, upon the face of the sea signs of those deeper, steadier tides, which move in silence under the lighter changes of the surface currents, so did the secret miracles of redemption and sanctification appear for a time upon the surface of the visible Church, translated, manifested, outspoken, in the miraculous endowments of its ministry.'—Bp. Paget, *Concerning Spiritual Gifts*. A book which is an excellent guide to the meaning of this chapter.

- 9 same Spirit: to another faith, in the same Spirit ;
and to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit ;
10 and to another workings of miracles ; and to
another prophecy ; and to another discernings of

means that while *wisdom* is a direct result of inspiration, *knowledge* is rather a development according to the Spirit's will, and *faith* a growth taking place in the Spirit's atmosphere. The *word of wisdom* is the power of seeing and expressing things as God sees them to be, a sort of heavenly insight into their true nature ; the *word of knowledge* suggests an enlightened theology, a true understanding of the divine revelation ; while *faith* leads us ' beyond the region of mere moral certainty to the actual realization of that in which we believe '. Cf. Paget, loc. cit., pp. 12-17. These three seem to fall under the first head, as gifts of the Spirit. Then come three gifts of service, specially connected with our Lord and His life on earth. *And to another gifts of healing, in the one Spirit, and to another effects of spiritual powers*—i.e. miracles—*and to another prophecy*. The gifts of bodily healing and miracles are by no means absent from the modern Church, but far more important is the healing of sin-sick souls by absolution, the quickening of their spiritual powers by the Body and Blood of Christ, and the prophetic insight of some of our greatest teachers. See Paget, loc. cit., pp. 21-31. Our Lord Himself laid more stress on His being sent ' to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and receiving of sight to the blind ' than on His miracles of healing or

spirits : to another *divers* kinds of tongues ; and to another the interpretation of tongues : but all these **II** worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally even as he will.

power over nature, and it is this part of His work that He desires us above all to carry on. Then come the three gifts which in *v.* 6 are called *effects* (of divine action). *And to another right judgment of spirits, to yet another classes of tongues, and to another interpretation of tongues,* (Cf. 1 St. John iv. 1). The *tongues* were ecstatic forms of prayer, praise and thanksgiving in a language which was incomprehensible except to those who had the gift of interpreting it ; it appears to be a mistake to suppose that it was the power of speaking in foreign languages, though that seems to be suggested in Acts ii. This gift has so completely passed away from the Church that it must remain mysterious for us, though there have been occasional claims to having revived it, as in the case of the Irvingites in 1831. It is dealt with more fully in ch. xiv. *But all these the one and the same Spirit effects, distributing them in His own way to each person just as He wills.* 'The discernment of spirits, the interpreting of spirits, and the power to answer their mysterious cry, may all be but diverse acts of one and the same enabling grace, the grace of true and spiritual sympathy.'—Paget.

This list of spiritual gifts should be compared with those in *v.* 28 and Romans xii. 6-8. The lists are not identical nor can they be considered exhaustive.

12 For as the body is one, and hath many members,
and all the members of the body, being many, are
13 one body; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit
were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or

What has been said of prophecy is true of all these gifts. 'In its most spiritual element the gift of prophecy may be said never to have become extinct in the Christian Church. Age after age has seen the rise of great teachers, alike within and without the ranks of the regular ministry; men who were dominated by the sense of immediate mission from God, and filled with a conviction which imparted itself by contagion to its hearers. But prophecy as an institution . . . was destined to pass away, leaving those of its functions which were vital to the Church's well-being to be discharged as a rule by the settled ministry, which rose to its full height only on its rival's fall.'—*Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii, col. 3887.

(3) The diversity of the gifts and its purpose—the edification of the whole Body (*vv.* 12–31).—The human body is an organization each of whose functions depends on the rest for its own health and efficiency, all being regulated by the one principle of life. Similarly the Church is the Body of Christ, every member of which can only realize itself in completest union with the rest, and in absolute dependence on Christ the life of the whole. Consequently all the spiritual gifts must be exercised, not for any selfish purpose, but for the benefit of the whole Church.

Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one ¹⁴ member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because ¹⁵ I am not the hand, I am not of the body; it

For even as the body is one and yet has many members, but all the members of the body while being many are one body, thus is the Christ also—i.e. Christ in His church is similarly one living organism with a variety of members. In Ephesians St. Paul regards Christ as the head of the body, but here He is regarded rather as the one principle of life pervading the whole body. Cf. xv. 45, where He is said to be, in His risen and glorious life, 'a life-giving spirit'. It is, of course, the human body of which the apostle is thinking. For indeed in one Spirit we all into one body were baptized, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free men. John the Baptist says, 'I indeed baptize you in water. . . . He shall baptize you in Holy Spirit.' As the water was the element in which the body was immersed, so the soul is immersed in the Holy Spirit (Cf. Gal. iii. 27, 28). Baptism is not only a cleansing from sin, but also the rite of initiation into the society of Christian discipleship. Hence national and social distinctions are not indeed done away, but are merged in a larger unity in the Catholic church; to perpetuate caste in the church is to commit a grave sin against the Holy Spirit who is the author of this unity. *And we all were made to drink one Spirit—i.e. were thoroughly imbued with the one Spirit. 'The new fact in the mind of the Apostle seems to me to*

- 16 is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body.
- 17 If the whole body were an eye, where were the

be the communication of the gifts of the Spirit which accompanied the laying on of hands after Baptism: cf. Acts viii. 17; xix. 6. By Baptism the believer is bathed in the Spirit as the source of new life; by the act which follows, the Spirit enters into him as the principle of certain particular gifts and of the personal activity which will flow from them . . . he is *made to drink*, saturated with new forces, that he may be able to serve the body of which he has become a member.'—Godet. *For indeed the body is not one member but many: if the foot say, Because I am not hand, I am not a constituent part of the body, not for this reason—i.e. because it says this—is it not of the body.* It does not cease to belong to the body because it says it does not belong to it. The unity of the church is not destroyed, though it is sadly impaired in its effects, by the refusal of any Christians to join the rest in one communion and fellowship. *And if the ear say, Because I am not eye, I am not of the body, not for this reason is it not of the body.* It is perhaps too fanciful to take, with St. Thomas Aquinas (quoted by Bengel), *the hand, the foot, the eye, the ear* as representing respectively clergy and laity, doctors of the church and their disciples: but it is at any rate clear that the inferior members—as in the parable of the servant with only one talent—are just those who are most tempted to

hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members each 18 one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And 19 if they were all one member, where were the body?

forget their obligation to 'endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit' (Eph. iv. 3) and to do the duties of their vocation and ministry (see the second collect for Good Friday) in the service of all; or again to be discontented because they are not promoted to a kind of service for which they are not fitted. *If the whole body be eye, where is the hearing? If the whole be hearing, where is the smelling? But now—as it is—God set the members each one of them in the body, just as He willed.* 'So that to the foot also it is profitable to be so stationed, and not to the head only.'—Chr. These verses suggest the answer to those who, in the interests of the transmigration theory, ask why one man is born rich and another poor, one blind and another seeing, etc. Human society is a complete organism, which requires diversity in its parts in order to carry out the purpose of the whole, which is 'that the works of God may be made manifest' (St. John ix. 3). No part is really more privileged nor more honourable than the rest, because all are required in order to accomplish the result, and each has the capacities which he needs for doing so: the knowledge that he has been put in his place by God's will should fill him with joy and happiness in doing his part, however difficult or humble it may be for the time being. But because human society has so largely failed in

- 20 But now they are many members, but one body.
21 And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need
of thee: or again the head to the feet, I have no
22 need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of

realizing its purpose, it is reconstituted in the Christian church, where each member clearly understands his privileges and his opportunities, and is bound to give himself for the service of the whole, in order that God may at last 'sum up all things in Christ'—(Eph. i. 10). *But if they were all one member, where would the body be? But now, while there are many members there is one body.* Moreover, the members have mutually need of one another, and the eye cannot say to the hand, I do not require thee: or again the head to the feet, I do not require you. All gifts have their place in the church; both vision and activity, initiative and perseverance. Note that by the head in this passage is not meant Christ; it is rather one who, by his office or his capacity, is entrusted with the power of leadership. A general can do nothing without an army. *But on the contrary much rather are the members of the body necessary which seem—to us, but are not really—to be—by their natural constitution—weaker than the rest.* 'The inferiority is not in truth, but in our estimation; for nothing in us is dishonourable, seeing it is God's work'—Chr. *And those parts of the body which we think to be more dishonourable, these we clothe with more abundant honour; and our unseemly parts have a more abundant seemliness—from being carefully covered—while our seemly parts*

the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary: and those *parts* of the body, which we think **23** to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour; and our uncomely *parts* have

have no need—of being covered (Cf. Gen. iii. 21). St. Paul's philosophy of clothes seems to be that they are intended to equalize the various parts of the body, so that none may be despised, but all recognized as having a distinct place in God's plan; so with the church. *Yea, God Himself commingled the body and gave to that which was lacking in honour an honour more abundant, in order that there may not be division in the body but that the members may have the same anxiety on behalf of one another.* The Psalmist complained 'I had no place to flee unto, and no man cared for my soul' (Psalm cxlii. 5); such a complaint ought to be impossible among Christians. *And so, if one member suffers, with it suffer all the members; and if a member receives glory, with it rejoice all the members.* This verse gives the key-note of the next chapter. 'Let us all then considering these things imitate the love of these members; let us not in any wise do the contrary, trampling on the miseries of our neighbour and envying his good things. For this is the part of madmen. Just as he that digs out his own eye hath displayed a very great proof of senselessness; and he that devours his own hand exhibits a clear evidence of downright madness'—Chr. *Now you are Christ's body, and severally His members.* The Catholicity of the church consists in each person, and each nation,

24 more abundant comeliness ; whereas our comely *parts* have no need : but God tempered the body together, giving more abundant honour to that *part*
25 which lacked ; that there should be no schism in

realizing that his gifts are not to be received as individual endowment but as a trust to be expended on the rest ; and it will not be complete until they shall ' bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it ' (Rev. xxi. 26). Therefore the evangelization of the heathen is of the very essence of the church's life. *And God set some in the church—first apostles ; secondly prophets ; thirdly teachers ; then those who have miraculous powers ; then gifts of healing ; capacities of helping ; capacities of directing ; classes of tongues.* St. Paul is here not giving a list of offices in the church, but of endowments ; and the endowments are not mutually exclusive—two or more may be given to one man. St. Paul combined nearly all in his own person ; he was apostle, prophet (xiii. 9), teacher (2 Tim. i. 11), worker of miracles, healer, helper (Acts xx. 35), director (2 Cor. xi. 28), and speaker with tongues (ch. xiv. 18). The attempt which has been made by Harnack to show that the first three constituted the primitive ministry of the church has been shown to be a mistake (J. A. Robinson's essay in *The Early History of the Church and Ministry*, edited by Dr. Swete). The list in Eph. iv. 11 is much shorter, and may point to the fact that some of the gifts were already dying out. It is not quite clear what is meant by the *capacities of helping* and *of directing*, but

the body; but *that* the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or *one* member is honoured, all the members rejoice

if we compare this list with that in Romans xii. 6-8, these two gifts seem to correspond with the words 'He that giveth, let him do it with liberality; he that ruleth with diligence'—so that the first would imply generous and abundant almsgiving on the part of those who are endowed with wealth, and the second suggests the charitable organizations of a well-worked parish—not necessarily carried on by the parish priest. The *tongues* are assigned to the last place, as being of least importance. *Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Have all gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret?* God's goodness is shown just as much in what He does not give us, as in what He does, for our deficiency makes us dependent on others and so links us all together in one family. 'Thankful for all God takes away, humbled by all He gives'—Keble. To be sufficient to ourselves would be the greatest of all misfortunes, for it would mean an isolated and loveless life. *But*—since all men cannot have all the gifts—*covet the gifts which are the greater*—so as to enable you to be of service to others. He hints that if the best gifts had not been bestowed, it was because they had not really desired them. They cared more for those which fed their own pride—such as speaking with tongues—than for

27 with it. Now ye are the body of Christ, and
28 severally members thereof. And God hath set some
in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets,
thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings,

those which edified the church. And yet greater
than all gifts is the love which binds them all
together, and lays the endowment of each Christian
at the service of the rest.¹

¹ 'Membership which carries with it no active work on behalf of the Body is a contradiction in terms. A member is one who is endowed with gifts for special service for the common good. The failure to use these gifts means the impoverishment of the whole body. Those who have returned from the Great War tell us that one of the chief characteristics of the hard life in the trenches was the magnificent spirit of comradeship. Those differences which so often separate man from man disappeared in the face of common dangers and hardships. Men were extraordinarily helpful. They were ready to place all they possessed at the service of their fellowmen. They were conscious that only by united and disciplined effort could the victory they sought be achieved, and every man co-operated with his fellows to the absolute limit of his power and willingly submitted to the rigours of a discipline which alone could make his individual effort an effective contribution to the success of the common cause. It is that spirit of fellowship and readiness to co-operate which we need now in the face of those great dangers which beset the Church of God, and which threaten the freedom and life of His people. They are an essential element of vital Christianity, for they are nothing else than love in action. I earnestly hope that they may be characteristic of the Church life in this diocese'—Letter of the Bishop of Calcutta to his Diocese, 1919.

helps, governments, *divers* kinds of tongues. Are 29
all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers?
are all *workers of miracles*? have all gifts of 30

There could not be a more stringent condemnation of the caste system than is to be found in this passage. To let any trace of it find its way into the Christian church is to be unfaithful to the root principle of Christianity, which aims at realizing the solidarity of the human race 'till we all come . . . unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ'. Those classes whom we look upon as mean or dishonourable are not really so; if their work is necessary for the welfare of the community they deserve to be both loved and honoured for their work's sake, all the more if it is laborious and disagreeable. 'Aux plus déshérités le plus d'amour.' It is sometimes said that there is as much caste-feeling among Christians as among Hindus, which may be true, but we see in this chapter that the whole weight of Christianity is thrown into the scale against it, while the influence of Hinduism maintains it as a religious duty. That which for the Hindu is a religious obligation, is sin for the Christian. Similarly this chapter shows how false is the Hindu doctrine of Karma and Transmigration. It is God who *commingles the body* by making it consist of people with different gifts and capacities—it is not the effect of our own karma. To be born blind or poor is not a punishment but a privilege if it conduces to the health of the whole by

healings? do all speak with tongues? do all
 31 interpret? But desire earnestly the greater gifts.
 And a still more excellent way shew I unto you.

drawing out latent capacities of sympathy and healing. A society in which there were no poor, none diseased or incapacitated, would be given up to the worst disease of all, that of selfishness. When Christ 'for our sakes became poor' He showed that poverty is not a curse but a blessing; and when He suffered hunger, thirst and pain, He taught that human life would be all the worse for the absence of these conditions.¹ Only when love has become perfect can we afford to throw away the ladder by which men climb to love (Rev. vii. 16, 17). Another consideration suggested by this chapter is that no one has a right to be idle: his service is due to the community. Wealth and rank do not entitle any one to waste his life in self-indulgence. Wealth is one of the *helps* which ought to be bestowed on others when one's own necessities have been provided for, and rank is one of the *governments* which fit a man to take the lead in good works; but their position at the end of the list shows that they are not among the *greater gifts* which we ought to *covet*.

¹ "'The end of life?" Yes. . . . I can tell you what that is. . . . Let me suffer always; not more than I am able to bear, for that makes a man mad, as hunger drives the wolf to sally from the forest; but still to suffer some, and never sink up to my eyes in comfort and grow dead in virtues and respectability.'—R. L. Stevenson.

If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become sounding **131**

The analogy of the human body to the body politic was a familiar thought to the ancients, and Shakespeare, who borrows it from them, shows how easily the several members fall into their place :

The kingly-crowned head, the vigilant eye,
The counsellor heart, the arm our soldier,
Our steed the leg, the tongue our trumpeter,
With other muniments and petty helps
In this our fabric.

—*Coriolanus*, Act I, Scene 1.

The supremacy of love as the way by which we are to come to God (ch. xiii.)—There is no contrast between this chapter and the last, for the ‘and yet’ of the Authorized Version should be ‘and further’ or ‘and moreover’. St. Paul has illustrated the Way—i.e. the Christian life—by an argument based on the close inter-dependence of all the members of the body. That points to the duty of union among themselves; but there is something better still, the passion of union which springs from love. If faith is the root, love is the fruit of Christianity, and its most characteristic grace. It ‘has been shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost’ from the moment that we became Christians, and the essence of our religion consists in our response to that gift. As he meditates on this the apostle is kindled into a kind of lyric rapture in which he sings a hymn of love, every

2 brass, or a clanging cymbal. And if I have *the gift of prophecy*, and know all mysteries and all know-

feature of which seems to be derived from the life of Christ Himself.¹ He touches on its supreme necessity (*vv.* 1-3), its unfailing marks (*vv.* 4-7), and its immortal permanence (*vv.* 8-13).

And moreover—above and beyond these gifts—there is a *super-eminent way* which I show you. In Acts the Christian religion is frequently called the 'Way' or the 'Path', an expression which is also found in Buddhism. In the latter it means the path or discipline of human life, but in Christ it means the way to God (Acts xviii. 26). St. John says Christ is the Way, and St. Paul says love is the Way; and there is no difference between the two, for Christ is the love of God made manifest.

If with the tongues of men I should speak, yea, of angels, but have not love, I am become mere resounding brass or clanging cymbal. Speaking with tongues is an ecstatic condition, but the great mystics (such as St. Teresa) always warn us that ecstasy is in itself no criterion of our religious life. What the *tongues of angels* may be is suggested by St. John in Rev. xiv. 2, 3. The Greek word for *love* used here and elsewhere by St. Paul is a word found only (with one or two doubtful exceptions²) in the Bible: a new term

¹ St. Clement of Rome (Ep. 49), writing to this same church, kindles in much the same way when he comes to speak of love, and several of his expressions are derived from this chapter.

² See Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary*, s.v

ledge ; and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I 3

was required in order to purify the conception from the associations it had acquired in heathenism. The Authorized Version has *charity*, and this perhaps would be a better translation of the word had it not in many minds been narrowed to mean nothing more than almsgiving. *Love*, in the Christian sense, is 'the love which God is and with which He loves ; it is love which in its essence is the desire to give, not to get. It is the giving of self to others. It is love which is altogether a moral virtue since it depends entirely on the will—the choice of those who give it'. It includes both love to God and love to man, though in this chapter it is chiefly the latter which is in view. In Psalm cl. we have 'Praise Him upon the high-sounding cymbals'. The cymbals without the praise would be like the Christian without love. *And if I should have prophecy and should know all the mysteries—the secrets of God's revelation—and all the knowledge, and if I should have all the faith so as to remove mountains, but should not have love, I am nothing.* 'He did not say "I am a small and worthless person" but "I am nothing" '—Chr. See St. Matt. vii. 22, 23. St. Paul himself had in a supreme degree the gift of *prophecy, knowledge and faith*, but he does not expect them to save him (ix. 27). It is true that he is never tired of dwelling on the saving efficacy of faith, but he means the kind of faith in which love is implicitly contained

bestow all my goods to feed *the poor*, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it

—‘faith working by love’ (Gal. v. 6). As to bare faith, it is clear from this verse that he would have been in hearty agreement with St. James. Balaam is an instance of one who had the gift of prophecy without love. *To remove mountains* is a proverbial expression, taken from the Old Testament, for undertakings of extreme difficulty (Zech. iv. 7; cf. St. Matt. xxi. 21). *And if I should give in food—to others—all my substance, and if I should deliver up my body so that I should be burnt,*¹ *but should not have love, I am nothing profited.* The burning of martyrs has unhappily been frequent in church history, but we know of no instance before Nero’s persecution, which was later than this epistle. St. Paul may have had in his mind the Greek Version of Dan. iii. 28 (‘they delivered up their bodies to the fire’ cf. Heb. xi. 34) or 2 Macc. vii. 5, but Dr. Lightfoot has made the interesting suggestion that he must have seen at Athens the tomb of an Indian Buddhist who burnt himself alive there in the

¹ There is very high authority for ‘in order that I should boast’ instead of ‘in order . . . burned’, which only involves the change of one letter in the Greek. See R. Vm. (W. H. put it in their text; not Nestle). If it is right, it should be used with both the previous clauses—‘If I give my goods . . . if I give my body, in order to boast’. But Tertullian in the second century clearly read ‘to be burnt’. (*Adv. Prax.* i; ‘exurendum’), and in the Greek Fathers there is as much doubt as there is in the text. See note in W. H., vol. ii, p. 116.

profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long, *and* 4 is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself,

reign of Augustus (Comm. on Colossians, p. 392) and the inscription on the tomb saying that he 'immortalized' himself.

Thus all the gifts enumerated in the last chapter are shown to be valueless unless they are informed and perfected by love. As St. Bernard says: 'The amplitude of a soul is estimated by the measure of the charity which it possesses; so that, for example, the soul which has much charity is great and that which possesses little is itself little; while that which has none at all is simply nothing, as St. Paul declares, "If I have not charity I am nothing"'—*Cant. 27.*

Characteristics of Christian charity (*vv. 4-7*).—*The true love is long-suffering—or patient; is gracious; in each case an attribute of God is through Christ translated into a virtue of man. God's patience (Wisdom xii. 20, 21) is manifested in Christ (1 Tim. i. 16); His gracious loving-kindness, which is the constant theme of the psalms, reappears in our Lord (Tit. iii. 4). Patience is shown in bearing injuries, benignity in wishing and doing good; it involves graciousness of manner as well as true kindness of heart. French: 'douceur'. That love is not jealous. Yet God is 'a jealous God'. The Greek word has two meanings, a good one and a bad; but in English we generally use 'zealous' in the good sense, and 'jealous' in the bad. The good sense is found in St. John ii. 17 (of Christ);*

5 is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not

Romans x. 2 ; 2 Cor. ix. 2 ; xi. 2. God's love is the opposite of jealousy in the bad sense, for ' He giveth to all men liberally '—St. Jas. i. 5. He says to us : ' Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine '. And Christ's love consists in giving all things for us, even His life. *That love does not vaunt itself*—' *swagger* ' is the word which best expresses the meaning. As St. Clement says, ' In love there is nothing coarse (or arrogant, or in bad taste) '. It shrinks from all false glitter, bragging, and ostentation. *Does not puff itself up*—with presumptuous self-satisfaction. This seems to have been a besetting sin of the Corinthians (cf. iv. 6, 18, 19 ; v. 2 ; viii. 1). *Does nothing unbecoming*—or *ungentlemanly*. This is a word of wide meaning, containing everything which is likely to shock the feelings of others, from bad behaviour in church (ch. xiv. 40) to what we generally mean by ' indecency ' (Romans i. 27). *Does not seek its own things*. Does this mean, ' does not seek things for itself ' or ' does not claim its own rights ' ? The analogy of ch. x, 24, 33 is in favour of the former, but to say that Christianity is unselfish does not carry you very far. Of course it is, but Christian charity does not stop there. See St. Matt. v. 38–42. George Eliot says of one of her characters, ' Her ideal was not to claim justice but to give tenderness '. Charity would have prevented the Corinthians from pressing the principle ' All things are lawful for me '

account of evil ; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, 6
but rejoiceth with the truth ; beareth all things, 7

to its full extent. *Does not sharpen itself with indignation* at personal affront. The reference is to that brooding over an injury which ends in exaggerating it out of all proportion to its true dimensions. While St. Paul waited at Athens his spirit within him was *sharpening itself with indignation* against the idols ; but the injury in that case was not against himself but against God, and his indignation was justified (Acts xvii. 16). *Does not reckon up* in its own heart *the evil* done to itself. Cf. Zech. viii. 17 (LXX.). ‘ And let each of you not reckon up in your own hearts the evil of your neighbour.’ Brooding over our own injuries goes with a jealous reckoning of other people’s faults. *Does not rejoice over the injustice of men but rejoices with their truth.* There is a kind of malicious pleasure in finding that men are worse than one expected, because their failure seems to exalt one’s own uprightness. Charity however will have none of it ; the truer and more honourable men prove themselves, the more she rejoices. Truth like love is personified ; they are twin-sisters in their joy. *It covers all faults, believes in all virtues, hopes for all things good, endures all things evil.* For the first see Prov. x. 12 ; xvii. 9 ; 1 St. Peter iv. 8. So R. V.m. It is the part of charity to make whatever true excuses it can for the sins of others. Cf. St. Luke xxiii. 34 ; Acts iii. 17. For the second,—to believe in the good in a man (and all men have some good in them) is

believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth : but whether *there be*

generally the best way to bring it out and help it to triumph. How desperately our Lord believed in the good in Judas and refused to the last to believe that the evil in him would conquer. Barnabas believed in Mark and was justified, and perhaps in after years St. Paul looked back sadly on his own impatience with him (2 Tim. iv. 11). For *hopes all things* cf. Browning's 'Epilogue.'

' One who never turned his back but marched breast
forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong
would triumph ;
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

Even when people seem to have gone utterly wrong, love inspires us to hope for the best. When the war broke out in 1914 it was remarked how many who seemed utterly irreclaimable 'made good'. Finally love *endures all* things hostile with brave patience. It has been truly said : 'He who feels weary of life does not love his fellow-creatures as he ought'. St. Paul says 'I endure all things for the elect's sake that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus' (2 Tim. ii. 10). How often has it been witnessed in missionary work that the patient endurance of injuries turns the enemy into a friend, and in many cases leads to his conversion.

prophecies, they shall be done away ; whether *there be* tongues, they shall cease ; whether *there be*

One more contrast between love and the spiritual gifts of the last chapter. They are endowments of the Church on earth ; love (like faith and hope) belongs to the life both of earth and of heaven.

The true love never fails. Human love is partial and capricious, but Christian love is always on the look-out for opportunities even among the most unlikely recipients, as in the case of the Good Samaritan ; it is not like a meteor which *falls* from heaven, but a steadily burning star. *But if there be prophecies they shall be annihilated ; and if tongues, they shall cease ; and if knowledge, it shall be annihilated.* Prophecies, which are the inspired declaration of God's Will, will no longer be needed when that Will is known directly to all ; *tongues* are for a sign to the unbelieving (xiv. 22), and there will be no unbelieving in heaven : *knowledge* as the special endowment of a few will be supplemented by the universal manifestation of truth. *For partial now is our knowledge and partial our prophecy.* We cannot know even one thing perfectly ; nor can we declare all God's Will as a whole. *But when shall have come the perfect, the partial shall be annihilated.* Perhaps there is no better name for heaven in the Bible than *the perfect* or *perfection* : the satisfaction of all aspirations, the completion of all beginnings, the redemption of all failures. Till then there must be a reverent agnosticism, which recognizes the extremely

9 knowledge, it shall be done away. For we know
10 in part, and we prophesy in part: but when that

limited nature of our present knowledge and refuses to supplement it by guesses of our own. *When I was an infant, I used to speak as an infant, to feel as an infant, to reason as an infant.* The whole of earthly life is here compared to early childhood, tongues to its infantile babble, prophecy to its childish modes of thought and feeling, knowledge to its immature judgments; heaven is manhood, with all its functions developed. Between the two however there is no breach; the latter grows gradually out of the former, and all that is to be made perfect in heaven must have been begun on earth. Now *when I have become a man, I have annihilated the infant's ways.* He means something more than merely growing up: I have deliberately put aside my childish habits; a man may find some difficulty in giving up games and other childish pursuits, but he does it because he feels it is time to tackle the work of his manhood. The work of Christian manhood is to be ever extending and deepening our love for God and man. *For we look—at God—now through a mirror, in the form of a riddle, but then we shall look at Him face to face.* The expression *face to face* shows that a personal object is contemplated, and if so, it must be God. The mirrors of the ancients were of metal (Ex. xxxviii. 8) which may often have been rusty and so have given an imperfect reflexion. Elsewhere St. Paul speaks of Christ as the mirror in whom we see God

which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a **11**

(2 Cor. iii. 18), but probably he is not thinking of that here—cf. Wisdom viii. 26—but only of the imperfection of our human faculties, from which the rust is not wiped off (Ecclus. xii. 11). All nature is a riddle or enigma in which God is part revealed and part concealed (cf. Tennyson, 'In Memoriam', 55) and even 'the word' as spoken by prophets is only a mirror in which God is not fully or clearly seen (St. Jas. i. 23). Christ Himself does not yet tell us all, or nearly all, that He is able to disclose about God (St. John xvi. 12; 1 St. John iii). Though Moses is said to have spoken with God 'face to face and not in riddles' (Numb. xii. 6-8) this expression must be understood relatively, to denote the superiority of God's revelation to Moses above that of all other prophets. *Now I know God only partially, but then I shall know¹ Him even as I was known by Him.* Cf. Gal. iv. 9. St. Paul can hardly mean that man's knowledge of God, the finite of the Infinite, will be as complete as God's knowledge of man; he must mean

¹ There is a slight change here in the Greek word for *know* which it is difficult to express in English. It hints at a change from an intellectual knowledge to glad personal recognition. See Paget, 'Spirit of Discipline' v. (p. 100) 'Then will the broken and faltering effort pass into an unhindered energy . . . so shall we be ever moving forward, with intensity then undivided and unwearied, in the realization of His infinite faith and goodness.'

child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child : now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things. For now we see in a mirror, darkly ; but

that the method of our knowledge will then be like God's, direct or immediate, not the result of inference. *Now* there is something which *abides, faith, hope, love ; these three abide, but greatest of these is love.* This is a difficult verse because the word *now*—which is a different word from that which is twice used in v. 12—may be used temporally or conjunctively, and if used temporally it seems to suggest that they only abide for the present, i.e. in this life. So it is understood by St. Chrysostom, who says : ' For faith and hope, when the good things believed and hoped for are come, cease . . . but charity is then most elevated, and becomes more vehement '. But this can hardly be right, in spite of St. Chrysostom's great authority, for *faith, hope, love* all go together in the sentence with a singular verb, and if two of them cease the third must cease too. St. Irenæus, an earlier Greek writer than St. Chrysostom, understands it otherwise, for he writes : ' The apostle says that when other things are destroyed these will then survive—not only in this age but in the future one—faith, hope and love. For faith towards our Master always remains firm, assuring us that One alone is truly God ; and we must truly love God always, because He is the sole Father ; and we must hope to receive ever something more from Him, and to learn from God because He is good and has inexhaustible

then face to face : now I know in part ; but then shall I know even as also I have been known. But **13** now abideth faith, hope, love, these three ; and the greatest of these is love.

riches, and an eternal kingdom, and a measureless inspiration' (ii. 41, 2). By using a verb in the singular St. Paul first regards *faith, hope and love* unitedly, as the one permanent grace of the Christian life, equally needful in the next world and in this ; but then again he regards them as three, and says that love is the greatest. There is no contradiction in this, for love in the Christian sense cannot exist without faith and hope, nor faith or hope without love ; but in thought they may be separated, just as in human beings we speak of will, thought and affection as distinct, though in fact they cannot be separated. *Pursue the love*—viz. that *love* of which I have spoken. It seems a pity to divide this from what has gone before, for in fact it is the practical conclusion of the whole matter. Love must be followed up into all the details of human life, into all the ramifications of conduct, if we are to be true to our religion, for indeed it is the one thing which makes a Christian differ from other people. ' We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' The prevailing motives in the world are selfish—the love of money, of power, of sensation ; not till we have exchanged them for the one motive, the self-sacrificing love of others, can we be sure that we are really converted.

14 Follow after love ; yet desire earnestly spiritual **2** gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy. For he that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God ; for no man understandeth ; but in **3** the spirit he speaketh mysteries. But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men edification, and **4** comfort, and consolation. He that speaketh in a

‘ Eternal blessings are not like a bag of gold pieces which are received once for all. The permanent essence of the creature is to have nothing of its own, to be eternally helpless and poor. Every instant it must take possession of God by faith, which grasps the manifestations which He has already given ; and by hope which prepares to lay hold of His new manifestations. It is not once for all, it is continually that in eternity faith changes into vision, and hope into possession. These two virtues therefore abide to live again unceasingly. . . . Love is the end in relation to which the other two virtues are only means, and this relation remains even in the state of perfection. Hence it is the greatest.’—Godet.

The relation of the spiritual gifts to one another, and regulations for their exercise (ch. xiv).—St. Paul now returns to the subject of ch. xii, for ch. xiii has been somewhat of a digression. In respect of usefulness, speaking with tongues is inferior to prophecy (*vv.* 1–5), and without interpretation it would even become entirely useless (*vv.* 6–15) ; to exercise it in this way is to offend against the decency of

tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church. Now I would have you all **5** speak with tongues, but rather that ye should prophesy: and greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying. But now, **6** brethren, if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, unless I speak to you either

divine worship (*vv.* 16–19). Moreover it is inferior also with regard to unbelievers (*vv.* 20–25). Consequently it should only be practised after a certain regular order, with the help of interpretation (*vv.* 26–33). Concluding exhortation (*vv.* 34–40).

And covet the spiritual gifts, and especially that you may prophesy. This resumes xii. 31. All that has been said about the superior importance of love does not mean that the spiritual gifts are not to be desired, but love itself will suggest that amongst them those which are of service to others are more to be desired than those which end with oneself. And of these *prophecy* comes first. *For he who speaks with a tongue*—i.e. with an ecstatic utterance—*speaks not to men but to God, for no one hears; but in spirit he speaks mysteries.* The word *hears*, as often elsewhere, means *understands*, as in Authorized Version and Revised Version. The sounds of his voice were heard but they were unintelligible. Cf. Acts ix. 7 with xxii. 9. His spirit, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, speaks ‘unspeakable words’ (2 Cor. xii. 4)—secrets of divine truth. *But he who prophesies speaks to men,*

by way of revelation, or of knowledge, or of prophesying, or of teaching? Even things without life, giving a voice, whether pipe or harp, if they give not a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain voice, who shall prepare himself for war? So also ye, unless ye utter by the tongue speech easy to be understood, how shall

so as to produce *edification and encouragement and consolation*. Mind and will and heart are all strengthened by the divine grace of prophecy, and such should still be the effect of Christian preaching; faith, hope and love are thus developed. *He who speaks with a tongue edifies himself, but he who prophesies edifies a whole church—or congregation*. Thus St. Paul disparages the selfish quest of one's own salvation apart from that of others. *Now I wish all of you to speak with tongues, but especially I wish that you may prophesy: as greater is he who prophesies than he who speaks with tongues, unless it be that he interpret so that the church may receive edification*. The same person might have the double gift of speaking with tongues and interpreting tongues. *But now, brothers, if I come to you speaking with tongues how shall I help you? Unless I speak to you either in revelation or in knowledge or in prophecy or in teaching I shall not help you. The things which though they are lifeless nevertheless give a voice, be it pipe or harp—wind or string instrument—if they give not distinction in their sounds, how will that which is piped or that which is harped be*

it be known what is spoken? for ye will be speaking into the air. There are, it may be, so many **10** kinds of voices in the world, and no *kind* is without signification. If then I know not the meaning of **11** the voice, I shall be to him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh will be a barbarian unto me. So also ye, since ye are zealous of **12** spiritual *gifts*, seek that ye may abound unto the

known? If there is only one note there can be no tune. It cannot be known, *for if even a trumpet*—the nearest approach to a tuneless instrument—*give a voice which is not clear, who will make ready for fight.* The A. V. *battle* is better than R. V. *war*; so also in Rev. ix. 9. Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 15 (LXX); 1 Macc. vi. 33. *Thus also you, if through your tongue*—i.e. your natural tongue, not the gift of tongues—*you do not give out well-marked discourse*—i.e. articulate words, not the babble of infants—*how will that which is being spoken be known?* *For you will be speaking into air.* *There are perhaps ever so many kinds of voices in the world, and nothing is voiceless.* By *voices* are here meant the languages either of men or animals. *If therefore I should not know the meaning of the voice I shall be to the speaker a barbarian, and the speaker will be a barbarian in me*—i.e. so far as I am concerned. A barbarian means one whose language is not understood; the Greeks called all who did not speak Greek barbarians. Cf. Acts xxviii. 2, 4. *Thus also you, since you are covetous of spirits*, i.e. of spiritual gifts—*seek that you may abound in them to the edification of the church.*

13 edifying of the church. Wherefore let him that speaketh in a tongue pray that he may interpret.

14 For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but

15 my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then?

I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit,

16 and I will sing with the understanding also. Else if thou bless with the spirit, how shall he that

You are right in coveting the gifts (*v.* 1) if you do so not for yourselves alone but for others. *Wherefore let him who speaks with a tongue pray that he may interpret.* It is not quite clear whether this prayer is to take place while he is still in ecstasy, as in the next verse, or at some other time; if the former, it would show that the ecstasy did not deprive its subject of self-control. *For if I should pray with a tongue, my spirit prays while my mind is unfruitful.* 'Fruit' is the supply of other people's needs. *What therefore is the case? I shall pray with my spirit and I shall pray also with my mind; I will sing with my spirit and I will sing also with my mind.* This gives us a hint of what the 'tongues' really were; they were prayers or hymns to God, like those of the angels (Rev. xiv. 3), uttered no doubt in some solemn chant which must have made them very impressive, even though not understood. But the utterer was not so much carried away that he could not keep an intelligent will to direct his praise and prayer aright. *Else if thou bless God in spirit*—i.e. in an ecstatic utterance—*how will he who fills the place of the un-*

fillet the place of the unlearned say the Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks 17 well, but the other is not edified. I thank God, 18 I speak with tongues more than you all: howbeit 19 in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue.

initiated say the Amen at thy thanksgiving. Blessing and thanksgiving are synonymous. The latter word is that from which we get 'Eucharist', but at this early period its technical use had hardly come in, and some more general form of thanksgiving is implied. The uninitiated probably means one who had not yet been baptized; such as was afterwards called a catechumen—it is evident that even the heathen were not excluded from the service (v. 23)—and if so there was probably a special place reserved for them in the building. The use of Amen was inherited from Judaism; it signifies the assent of the hearers to what has been said. Cf. Justin M., Apol. i. 65, 'After he finishes the prayers and thanksgivings, all the congregation which is present gives glad assent, saying "Amen". Now the "Amen" in the Hebrew tongue signifies "So be it".' Since he does not know what thou sayest: for while thy thanksgiving is excellent, still the other is not being edified. Though the instructed Christians might be able to seize the end of the prayer and unite in saying 'Amen' those who were still under instruction for baptism could hardly do so.

20 Brethren, be not children in mind : howbeit in
21 malice be ye babes, but in mind be men. In the
law it is written, By men of strange tongues and
by the lips of strangers will I speak unto this
people ; and not even thus will they hear me, saith
22 the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not
to them that believe, but to the unbelieving : but

and the service would be to them meaningless. *I give thanks to God, more than you all I speak with tongues.* The gift therefore is not to be depreciated ; those who know anything of the ecstatic state speak of the torrent of joy with which it fills the heart. But still in church I wish to *speak five words with my mind in order that I might also instruct others*—as well as myself—*than ten thousand words with a tongue.* The Authorized Version has ‘ in an unknown tongue ’ a translation which has been the cause of much misunderstanding. The gift of tongues spoken of in this chapter has clearly nothing to do with a knowledge of foreign languages ; whether that is what is meant by Acts ii. 5–12 is another and more difficult question.

‘ *Brothers, become not children in your minds, still in point of wickedness be always infants, but in your minds become perfect men.* The verse is sometimes connected with what goes before, but the urgent and affectionate *brothers* generally marks a new start. It is childish to prefer the showy gifts to the more solid ones, and compared with prophecy the gift of tongues is one which tends to ostentation. All our lives we ought to be like little children in sim-

prophesying *is for a sign*, not to the unbelieving, but to them that believe. If therefore the whole church be assembled together, and all speak with tongues, and there come in men unlearned or unbelieving, will they not say that ye are mad? But if all prophesy, and there come in one unbelieving

plicity and innocence (St. Matt. xviii. 3) while we continually grow in wisdom and intelligence. In English the difference is marked by the words 'child-like' and 'childish'. *In the Law it is written: 'With men speaking alien tongues and with lips of aliens will I speak to this people—i.e. Israel—and not even thus will they attentively hear me, saith the Lord.'* This is a free quotation from Isaiah xxviii. 11, *the law* being thus made to include all the Old Testament. See Romans iii. 19, where the term includes the psalms. St. Paul makes a curious adaptation of Isaiah's prophecy. It belongs to the year 725 B.C. (see G. A. Smith's 'Isaiah') when the Assyrians were slowly advancing upon Israel, but had not yet threatened Judah. Consequently the magnates of Jerusalem, sunk in sensuality and false confidence, mocked at Isaiah's warning, saying, 'Are we school-children to require this milk-and-water doctrine—precept upon precept, line upon line?' The prophet answers that since they mock at God's words they will soon be taught by the stern facts of the Assyrian invasion—little by little the iron shall enter into their souls. As the unintelligible language of the Assyrians, precluding all sympathy and understanding, may well

or unlearned, he is reprov'd by all, he is judged
25 by all; the secrets of his heart are made manifest; and so he will fall down on his face and worship God, declaring that God is among you indeed.

have been the hardest part of the punishment of the unbelieving Jews, so the unintelligible tongues contained a judicial element for those attendant at the Christian service in Corinth who would not believe but mocked (Acts ii. 13) and said 'Ye are mad'. How much better first to try to convict their consciences by the gift of prophecy. *Consequently the tongues are meant to be a sign not to the believers but to the unbelieving; but prophecy is not for the unbelieving but for the believers.* Two classes would be found among the unbelievers; on some the tongues would have a hardening effect, while others would be struck by them and have their minds opened to the truth. For Christians the tongues were no longer needed. *Therefore if the whole church should come together to the same place, and all should be speaking with tongues, and there should enter some of the uninitiated or unbelieving, will they not say you are mad.* Just as on the day of Pentecost the apostles were accused of being drunk. But if all should be prophesying, and there enter some one who is unbelieving or uninitiated, he is convicted of all, he is investigated by all, the secret things of his heart become manifest, and thus falling on his face he will worship God, declaring, 'Surely the true God is among you' (Isaiah xlv. 14). Thus the purposes of the tongues are three—for private self-edification; for

What is it then, brethren? When ye come **26** together, each one hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying. If any man speaketh in a tongue, *let it be by two, 27*

edification of the Church when accompanied by interpretation; for a judicial sign to unbelievers, separating those who are of an honest and good heart from the rest. Prophecy however is a much surer way to the conversion of the latter.

Final directions for maintaining order in the church assemblies (*vv.* 26-40).—Even as God is not the author of confusion, so the worship of God must be orderly and tranquil. In the beautiful words of St. Bernard—*Tranquillus Deus tranquillat omnia, et Quietum respicere, requiescere est.*¹ The words come home to us in India where we are accustomed to the noisy and discordant worship of heathen deities. He deals first with the order and manner of speaking (*vv.* 26-33*a*); he then gives directions for women (*vv.* 33*b*-36), and some concluding exhortations (*vv.* 37-40).

What therefore is the case, brothers? Whenever you are coming together, each has a psalm, has a teaching, has a revelation, has a tongue, has an interpretation. Let all become for edification. A psalm is an inspired rhythm such as that in 1 Tim. iii. 16; teaching is the inculcation of an old truth, revelation the imparting of

¹ 'The God of Peace makes all things peaceful, and to gaze on Him who is at rest is to enter into rest ourselves.'

or at the most three, and *that* in turn ; and let one
 28 interpret : but if there be no interpreter, let him
 keep silence in the church ; and let him speak to
 29 himself, and to God. And let the prophets speak
 30 *by* two or three, and let the others discern. But
 if a revelation be made to another sitting by, let

a new one. Each feels eager to impart what is in him, but the first condition should be, will it edify the Church ? *If any one speaks with a tongue, to the number of two or three at the most and in their allotted turn let them speak, and let one interpret—for all ; but if there should not be present an interpreter, let him—i.e. the speaker with tongues—keep silence in church, but let him speak to himself and to God—i.e. privately at home. As to prophets, let two or three speak, and let the others discern—what in their speech is truly inspired ; the others must here mean those who have the gift of discernment of spirits. The ‘Teaching of the Apostles’ says on the other hand ‘Ye shall not try or discern any prophet speaking in the Spirit.’ No doubt there would be a tendency for incompetent persons to criticize their utterances, just as sermons are criticized in the present day ; but a discerning criticism is to be welcomed. But if to another there should be made a revelation while he is sitting down—i.e. occupying the position of a learner not of a teacher—let the first keep silence. The tense of the last verb indicates not that he is to stop at once, but that he must then draw his discourse to a close ; a prophecy begun in the power of inspiration would, if*

the first keep silence. For ye all can prophesy one **31** by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted; and the spirits of the prophets are subject **32** to the prophets; for God is not *a God* of confusion, **33** but of peace; as in all the churches of the saints.

it were lengthened, tend to become mere human verbosity. *For thus you—i.e. the prophets—are able all to prophesy one by one, in order that all—i. e. the hearers—may learn and all get encouragement.* The whole message will thus be delivered to the edification of the whole Church. *And spirits—i.e. inspirations—of prophets submit themselves to prophets.* That is, the prophets though inspired by the Holy Spirit do not lose self-control. St. Theresa says that even when she was in so great an ecstasy that her body was lifted up, her senses were not lost (Life of St. Theresa, ch. 20). ‘Divine inspiration differs from diabolical, in that the latter takes man from himself, the former restores man to himself.’—Godet. So the prophet might not plead that he was unable to restrain the gift of prophecy when it came to him. *For God is not a God of confusion but of peace.* The duty of harmony rests upon the character of God. His kingdom of nature would be in revolution unless He had so ordered it that all the parts should fit into and minister to each other, as the doctrine of evolution has taught us that they do. So likewise His kingdom of grace is created for harmony and mutual edification. The disunion and strife of churches are a certain evidence that they are unfaithful to God’s design.

34 Let the women keep silence in the churches : for it is not permitted unto them to speak ; but let **35** them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home : for it is shameful for a

As in all the churches of the saints, let the women keep silence in the church of Corinth for it is not permitted them to speak. This punctuation is suggested by W. H., and adopted by Nestle. It seems very much better than that in Authorized Version and Revised Version, for on such a point custom is a good guide. Cf. ch. v. 36. In 1 Tim. ii. 12 this command is repeated. *But let them submit themselves, even as the Law also says.* The reference is probably to Gen. iii. 16. *And if they wish to learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in church.* Or—if you will not obey this order—*was it from you that the word of God came forth, or unto you alone did it arrive?* These sharp questions seem to imply that St. Paul expected some resistance from the Corinthians in this matter, and he asks sarcastically whether the right to contravene the general custom of the other churches rests upon the fact that the gospel had its origin in Corinth, or whether Corinthians were the only Christians. The Corinthian women seem to have been peculiarly impervious to argument. Cf. xi. 16. The matter might seem a small one, but it involved the whole relation of the sexes.

If any one think that he—or she—is a prophet or a

woman to speak in the church. What? was it **36** from you that the word of God went forth? or came it unto you alone?

If any man thinketh himself to be a prophet, **37** or spiritual, let him take knowledge of the things

spiritual person—i.e. one endowed with one of the spiritual gifts—*let him recognize the things which I write to you, that they are the Lord's precept; but if any one is ignorant*—of the divine source of my instructions—*let him—or her—be ignorant*. 'St. Paul is conscious of speaking really with the mind of Christ and with the consciousness of Christ. Those who have themselves the true gift of the Spirit will, he is sure, at once recognize this. And as to the rest they must be left in their blindness'—Sanday, 'Inspiration', p. 354. The manuscripts are almost equally balanced between the reading *let him be ignorant* and *he is unknown*, but comparison with Ezekiel iii. 27 and Rev. xxii. 11 leads to a decision in favour of the former (retained by Nestle, not by W. H.). The two verses, like xi. 16, appear to be aimed at women rather than at men. Query—was not St. Paul always a little impatient with women's arguments, or were the Corinthian ladies somewhat insubordinate? Perhaps there is truth in both suppositions. *Consequently, my brothers, covet the gift of prophesying, and do not hinder the speaking with tongues*. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 19. *But let all things be done with seemliness, and according to due order*. In 1 Tim. ii he gives fuller directions about public worship.

which I write unto you, that they are the com-
38 mandment of the Lord. But if any man is ignorant, let him be ignorant.

It is difficult for us to feel much interest in this chapter, the subject-matter being so entirely remote from our own experience. Yet there are certain principles to be gathered from it for our own guidance. Perhaps the use of music in our churches is that which comes nearest to the tongues of the apostolic age. It is a language addressed to God, not understood by all, but capable in the hands of a master of lifting up our hearts to the highest ecstasies of religious emotion. And here we still need the Apostle's warning, that it must be used to edification—a principle which would seem to rule out such elaborate services as can only be appreciated by very musical or very intellectual people. Secondly, the chapter aims at checking the exuberance of the spiritual gifts at Corinth, and giving method and order to their manifestation. Hence we have learnt the necessary decorum of public worship, but would not St. Paul, if he entered into one of our church assemblies, feel that we had carried this principle too far, even to the point of dullness? Would he not still say to us, *Covet earnestly the greater gifts* and use them to the edification of your neighbours? And he would say it not only to clergy, but also to the laity. He would say that there is room for much greater variety in our worship, for extempore as well as written prayers, for teaching and prophesying on the part of many of those present and not only

Wherefore, my brethren, desire earnestly to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues. But let all things be done decently and in order.

of the ministers conducting the service. Of course all this would have to be 'according to the proportion of faith' and it requires a well-instructed laity if they are to be intrusted with so much responsibility. Thirdly, he very definitely forbids any such ministrations on the part of women, and the question again arises whether we are to look upon this command as a permanent obligation. Certainly it would be contrary to every precedent of the Catholic Church that a woman should be ordained to the priesthood, but when in the epistle to Titus (ii. 3) he says that the older women should be 'teachers of that which is good' he opens the door to a kind of apostolate on the part of women to which modern conditions of education may well give some extension.

IV. THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY

15 **1** Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye **2** received, wherein also ye stand, by which also ye

Having disposed of the questions asked by the Corinthians, St. Paul now deals with a great doctrinal subject. He does so because information had reached him that there were some among the Corinthian Christians who said there was no resurrection of the dead for believers (*v.* 12). It must be carefully observed that they did not doubt the Resurrection of Christ Himself; of any disbelief in that fact there is no shadow of evidence in the New Testament, except in the 'some doubted' of St. Matt. xxviii. 17—a doubt which seems speedily to have passed away. But these Christians of Corinth while accepting the resurrection of Christ had doubts about their own resurrection, and the object of this chapter is to show them that the latter is involved in the former. We cannot but be thankful for an unbelief which has given us this great discourse, which sheds more light on this central Christian doctrine than any other passage in the Bible. It may be divided into three sections, with subdivisions, thus :

(1) Summary of the evidence for the Resurrection of Christ (*vv.* 1-11).

are saved ; *I make known, I say*, in what words I preached it unto you, if ye hold it fast, except ye believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of 3

(2) The resurrection of the dead follows from the Resurrection of Christ (*vv.* 12-34).

(a) Intellectual consequences of denying this (*vv.* 12-19).

(b) It is the fundamental fact on which Christianity rests (*vv.* 20-28).

(c) Moral consequences of the denial (*vv.* 29-34).

(3) The manner of the resurrection of the body (*vv.* 35-57).

(a) The analogies from nature (*vv.* 35-41).

(b) The nature of the resurrection body (*vv.* 42-49).

(c) The manner in which the resurrection will take place (*vv.* 50-57).

Practical conclusion (*v.* 58).

(1) The historical fact of the Resurrection of Christ is the substance of apostolic preaching (*vv.* 1-11).—*Now I declare unto you, brothers, the gospel which I preached to you.* The word *declare* is a solemn one carrying with it 'the whole weight of apostolic authority' (Milligan), and in the second part of the sentence the noun and the verb are correlatives—*the evangel with which I evangelized you.* Christ's death and resurrection are substantially *the gospel.* *Which also you received*—at the time when I first preached at Corinth, some four years before this present letter.

all that which also I received, how that Christ died
 4 for our sins according to the scriptures; and that
 he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the

In which also you stand—i.e. remain in a state of grace. *Through which also you are being saved if, with what word I preached it unto you, you hold it fast*—i.e. if you retain your faith in the 'gospel' in the same sense as that in which I declared it—*unless you believed without cause*—i.e. embraced the faith without due consideration. The apostle would condemn any conversion which takes place from unsound or insufficient reasons. 'This carries back the date of the evidence some four years—to A.D. 51 or at the latest A.D. 53. . . . The assured tone of these passages shows not only that the apostle is speaking from the very strongest personal conviction, but that he is confident of carrying his readers with him'—Sanday. *For I delivered to you among first things*—i.e., of principal importance—*that which also I received*. Here as in xi. 23 the question arises, How did St. Paul receive the gospel? In Gal. i. 12, he answers 'Not of man, but by revelation of Jesus Christ'. The fact of the death and resurrection was brought home to him by his own sight of the risen Lord, but this would not exclude his having learnt the details from Peter when he went up to Jerusalem specially to have an interview with him and abode with him fifteen days (Gal. i. 18)—also from James (Gal. i. 19), besides the other apostles and elders whom he saw on a later occasion (Acts xv. 4) at Jerusalem. *That Christ died for our sins*

third day according to the scriptures ; and that he 5
appeared to Cephas ; then to the twelve ; then he 6
appeared to above five hundred brethren at once, of

according to the scriptures. What scriptures ? Chiefly Is. liii, and Ps. xxii. *And that he was buried.* The burial is a part of the 'gospel'—being the proof that He was actually dead. *And that he has been raised—*
raised on the third day—according to the scriptures. The tense of the verb is changed to show that the risen life of Christ, not like the death and burial, is a present fact. The scriptures referred to are Ps. xvi. (cf. Acts ii) and Is. liii. 10. That Christ's death and resurrection were prophesied in the Old Testament is a proof that they took place in accordance with the Divine principles and will. *And that he was seen by Cephas.* The exact Greek expression, 'He was seen to Cephas' is untranslatable in English, but it is represented better by A. V. than R. V., for *appeared* might mean that it was only a vision or hallucination, which it emphatically was not. Cf. St. Luke xxiv. 37f. St. Paul makes a selection of the five most important appearances, which have all something of a public and representative character. He does not mention those to the women or to the two unnamed disciples on the way to Emmaus (unless indeed St. Peter—Cephas—was one of these, as is suggested by Codex Bezae), but this raises no presumption that he did not know of them. What was known to St. Luke could hardly have been unknown to St. Paul. The appearance to St. Peter was the first to an apostle and took

whom the greater part remain until now, but some 7 are fallen asleep; then he appeared to James; then 8 to all the apostles; and last of all, as unto one born

place on the day of the Resurrection (St. Luke xxiv. 34). It therefore holds the first place in St. Paul's summary account—no doubt he heard of it from St. Peter's own lips—and the rest follow in chronological order. *Then by the twelve.* This is either the first or the second of the appearances mentioned by St. John in xx. 19–29: the apostles were then only ten, or eleven, but they were officially called 'the twelve' by St. John also (xx. 24). *Then He was seen by more than five hundred brothers at once, of whom the majority remain in life till now, but some fell asleep.* This is probably the appearance of St. Matthew xxviii. 16–20, though there only the apostles are definitely mentioned. Nowhere but in Galilee could so large a number of disciples have been collected; the Corinthians may easily have seen some of these, and been able to question them for themselves. In any case the fact that several hundreds were still living made it impossible to suspect any mistake or fraud. *Then He was seen by James.* James was one of the commonest names among the Jews, and (John's brother being dead) there was only one who could have been spoken of in this way with the certainty of recognition. That was our Lord's 'brother' who now held the position of bishop in Jerusalem. Though not one of the twelve, he was looked upon as an apostle (Gal. i. 19). The *Gospel of the Hebrews* has an account of an

out of due time, he appeared to me also. For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the appearance to him, but that (if true) must have taken place on the day of the Resurrection and therefore cannot be the one here referred to by St. Paul if he is putting the appearances in chronological order. No doubt he had his information from St. James himself (Gal. loc. cit.). The fact that St. James like the other Brethren had not at first been a believer in Christ (St. John vii. 5) makes his testimony specially valuable. *Then to all the apostles.* Probably the appearance recorded in Acts i. 4-9, which was followed by the Ascension. *Last of all, as it were by the untimely birth*—of the apostolic family—*He was seen even by me.* A curious expression, found three times in the LXX, which means literally 'that which is cut out'—a child born untimely and therefore immature. St. Ignatius (Romans 9) uses it of himself. The ideas contained in it, according to Lightfoot, are two—(1) irregularity of time, referring to an unexpected, abrupt conversion; and (2) imperfection, immaturity, weakness of growth. 'I came late into the apostolic family, and my spiritual growth is stunted.' The expression suggests that sudden conversion must be the exception rather than the rule. *For I am the least of the apostles*—*I who am not morally sufficient to be called apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God.* The remembrance of his having persecuted Christians became a lasting spring of penitence in the apostle's mind, and he often recurs to

10 church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not found vain; but I laboured more

it (1 Tim. i. 13; Phil. iii. 6, etc.). *But by God's grace I am what I am*—i.e. an apostle. Here we have the word *grace* which means 'the favour of God' passing into its theological sense of God's effective favour, 'the power that worketh in us' (Eph. iii. 20). 'Grace (in this later sense) is an operative, impelling and controlling force, by which the understanding is enlightened to see spiritual truth, and the affections warmed to embrace spiritual beauty, and the will braced and strengthened to do that which the illuminated conscience may prescribe.'—Liddon. *And His grace* which is *towards me*—or, *which enters into me*—*became not empty of fruit but more abundantly than all of them I toiled: yet not I myself toiled, but the grace of God with me.* The work of God in grace is co-operation with the human will, not substitution for it. Cf. iii. 9, 2 Cor. vi. 1. If co-operation on the human side is lacking, then grace becomes *empty*. *Therefore we, be it I or be it those apostles, thus proclaim* our message—namely in the sense in which I have declared, v. 2—*and thus you believed.*

The object of these first eleven verses is to prepare for the coming argument by a rapid summary of the evidence for our Lord's Resurrection. Some of the Corinthians had doubts about their own resurrection, they had none about that of our Lord. But for the sake of logical completeness St. Paul reminds them of

abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me. Whether then *it be* 11 I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.

his teaching four years earlier—about A.D. 51—in order to carry them along with him afterwards in what he has to say about the resurrection of the body. But the evidence is carried back still further than this, to the time when St. Paul ‘received’ it from St. Peter and St. James on his first visit to Jerusalem, which must be placed ‘from five to eight years after the Passion’.¹ The Epistle itself was written long before any of the Gospels, but the evidence is further carried back to a date some twenty years before the writing of the Epistle—in fact, to the first decade of the Christian Church. Moreover it is declared to be the substance not only of St. Paul’s own preaching but of that of the other apostles (*v.* 11)—on that point there was no divergence between their respective presentations of the Gospel. Finally he insists that in all the cases he mentions Our Lord *was seen* (cf. ix. 1). There was certainly in his own mind no question of a vision or hallucination. Amid all the questions then that have been raised from that day to this about this fundamental fact of Christianity, one thing stands out with absolute clearness, that all the apostles believed that our Lord actually rose from the dead. This was their earliest belief, their united belief, and the belief for which they were prepared both to live and to die.

¹ Dr. Chase in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 392.

12 Now if Christ is preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that **13** there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath

If any one to-day has doubts about the truth of Christ's Resurrection, he must hold them in the face of the belief of the earliest witnesses, and those who had the most power of acquainting themselves with the facts.

(2) The resurrection of the dead follows from belief in the Resurrection of Christ (*vv.* 12-34).—St. Paul now enters upon the argument for the resurrection of the dead, which starts from the certainty of Christ's resurrection. And first he glances at the consequences of denying it. To do so would logically involve the denial of Christ's resurrection, the falsification of apostolic preaching and of the foundation truth of the Christian religion (*vv.* 12-19).

Now if Christ is proclaimed that he is risen from the dead, how is it that even among you some are saying that resurrection of dead men is not, i.e. does not take place. St. Paul assumes that in Corinth as in other Christian churches Christ's resurrection is constantly declared both in public worship—for the Eucharist proclaims Christ's death 'till He comes' and therefore implies that He is now alive—and in teaching. This one instance was alone enough to invalidate the general proposition that dead men do not rise again. Such a statement may be found in heathen writings (e.g. Aeschylus, 'Eumen', 648), but we Christians

Christ been raised: and if Christ hath not been **14**
raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith
also is vain. Yea, and we are found false wit- **15**
nesses of God; because we witnessed of God that

know better. It is the specific Christian belief of the resurrection of the body which is here in question. Most heathen would have admitted the possibility, or probability, of the immortality of the soul. *But if resurrection of dead men does not take place, neither is Christ risen*—for He too was a man. *But if Christ is not risen, empty then is our proclamation, empty also is your faith.* They have no real fact to lay hold of. *And we are being found out as also false witnesses of God, because we bore witness against God that He raised the Christ whom He did not raise if in fact dead men do not rise.* To tell a lie in the interests of religion is to bear witness *against God* (cf. St. Mark xiv. 55), it is an attempt to deny His truth. So the Vulgate. Not only then would the apostolic preaching be empty and hollow in the case supposed; it would also be blasphemous. *For if dead men do not rise, neither is Christ risen: and if Christ is not risen fruitless is your faith, ye are yet in your sins.* Just before he had declared their faith to be *empty*—destitute of a true object; now he declares it to be also *fruitless*—destitute of that blessed consequence of the forgiveness of sins which they had supposed it to have. We see then that the proper object of Christian faith is the risen Christ, and the forgiveness of our sins is effected not by the death of Christ alone but by His death and

he raised up Christ : whom he raised not up, if so
 16 be that the dead are not raised. For if the dead
 are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised :
 17 and if Christ hath not been raised, your faith is

resurrection (Romans iv. 25). *In that case they also who tell asleep in Christ then perished.* Though St. Paul often uses the word *perish* he never tells us exactly what he means by it. In x. 9 it clearly means physical death, but here it means something a great deal worse than that. *If in this life of ours in Christ we are men who have hoped, that only, we are more pitiable than all mankind.*¹ *Life in Christ* is admittedly the life of hope (Romans viii. 24) ; what if there be no reality—no risen Christ—for hope to rest upon ? ‘ If we have nothing but a mere hope ’—Moffatt. We should be like men who spend their lives in digging for a hidden treasure which does not exist. The contrast between our expectations and the facts would make us—not necessarily *miserable* (Authorized Version), for we might be sustained by our delusions—but *objects of pity* to all who recognized the truth. The real fact was that Christians had a true object of hope, not only *in their life in Christ* on earth but also beyond the tomb, as is witnessed by the joyful inscriptions of the Catacombs, amongst which ‘ mayest thou live in Christ ’ is one of the most common.

This passage is an appeal to feeling rather than to

¹ The usage of the words forbids us to take *life* as meaning ‘ the course of our life on earth ’, or to connect *hope* with *in Christ*.

vain ; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also 18 which are fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If 19 in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most pitiable.

argument, an attempt to face the disastrous consequences of denying the truth of the resurrection. Was it possible to conceive such an utter contradiction of the Christian hope ? For men who like the Corinthians were living in the fresh and exultant experience of ' the powers of the world to come ', it was not possible.

The next step in the argument is to glance at the positive consequences of belief in the resurrection (vv. 20-28). The style rises and throbs with the passion of the subject, the supreme motive force of the apostle's own life. *But now*—as it is—*Christ is risen from the dead as first-fruits of them that have fallen asleep*—i.e. as a beginning of harvest to be followed in due time by the ingathering of the whole crop (cf. Lev. xxiii. 10-12) ; the sheaf of first-fruits was waved before the Lord in token that the whole harvest was His. *For since death is by means of man, also by means of man is resurrection of the dead.* This looks back to Genesis. Death in the case of human beings did not come from man—it came from the devil (Wisdom ii. 24)—but it came *by means of man*, because the man yielded to temptation ; consequently *resurrection*, though it comes from God, must come *by means of man*, i.e. through the true humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ. *For just as in Adam all are dying, so also in Christ all will be made to live, but each one in his*

20 But now hath Christ been raised from the dead,
21 the firstfruits of them that are asleep. For since
 by man *came* death, by man *came* also the resurrec-

own rank. St. Paul's view in this chapter is entirely limited to Christians: the resurrection of others is neither asserted nor denied, but those who rise are said to rise *in Christ*. All men are dying *in Adam*, i.e. by virtue of that mortal nature which they inherit from Adam; so by virtue of that new nature which they derive from Christ, all will even in their bodies receive new life. At the administration of Holy Communion we hear the words: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.' Christ's life in us is the principle of our blessed resurrection. For the proper use of the word *rank*—not *order*, as though one of a series—see St. Clement's Epistle. 'All are not prefects, nor rulers of thousands, nor rulers of hundreds, nor rulers of fifties and so forth; but each man *in his own rank* executeth the orders given by the king'—c. 37. The first-fruits became a class apart from the rest by being selected from the offering: the rest of the harvest has its own separate position. *Christ* is made to live as *first-fruits*: then the people of the *Christ* are made to live *in* and by *Him*: i.e. their resurrection is dependent on His presence in them. The teaching of Scripture points not so much to a 'general resurrection at the last day'¹ as to the individual

¹ Collect in the Burial Office.

tion of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also **22**
in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his **23**
own order: Christ the firstfruits; then they that
are Christ's, at his coming. Then *cometh* the end, **24**

attainment of resurrection by each one as he becomes filled with the fulness of Christ. Christ says, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' and both resurrection and life are His gifts to the soul which is perfectly united with Him. It is difficult to suppose that the great saints, the Blessed Virgin Mary for instance, or St. Paul himself, are still waiting for their resurrection. The other idea is based upon a too literal understanding of a passage in the Apocalypse (Rev. xx. 11-13). It is true that the general resurrection agrees better with the thought of first-fruits and harvest, but no metaphor is complete in all its parts, and the harvest may be extended over many ages. *Then the end, whenever He delivers up His kingdom to His God and Father, when He shall have annihilated all rule and all authority and power—i.e. all which is opposed to Him, the hitherto permitted reign of evil spirits and evil men—for He—i.e. Christ—must continue to reign until He—the Father—shall have 'put all His enemies under His feet'—from Psalm cx. 1. As the last enemy, death is annihilated, for—it is written—'He subjected all things under His feet.' Psalm viii. 7. Cf. Heb. ii. 6-9. God the Father makes all things, including death, subject to Christ, and therefore the abolition of physical death is the ultimate result of Christ's victory on the cross. But whenever He—*

when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have abolished all rule **25** and all authority and power. For he must reign, **26** till he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The

Christ—*shall have said, 'All things have been subjected' evidently all things have been subjected except Him who subjected to Him the all.* There will come a day when Christ will be able to announce to the Father the completion of His victory ; nothing will then remain which is not absolutely under the dominion of Christ, except of course the Father Himself. This is the consummation of the prayer which has been offered continually through the ages, Thy kingdom come. *But whenever, I say, the all shall have been subjected to Him, then also the Son Himself will subject Himself to Him who subjected the all to Him, that God may be all in all*—i.e. the climax of Christ's mediatorial reign is to cause all His saints to be perfectly penetrated by God. Though Christ as man surrenders His mediatorial authority—that authority which was given to Him at His resurrection (St. Matt. xxviii. 18), for which there is no longer any need when every soul has been redeemed and sanctified—He still as God, in common with the Father and the Holy Spirit, remains the life of every soul.

This mysterious passage stands alone in its clear declaration of the subordination of the Son to the Father and the temporary character of the Son's position as Mediator. Since however St. Paul says elsewhere that in Christ 'dwelleth all the fulness of

last enemy that shall be abolished is death. For, **27** He put all things in subjection under his feet. But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that he is excepted who did subject all

the godhead bodily ' there is no excuse for interpreting this passage in an Arian sense. ' Christ and God are of one Divine Nature, yet within this unity there obtain relations of higher and lower.' ¹ The work of the Son was to glorify the Father, and He lays down the authority which was given Him at the Resurrection (Phil. ii. 9) when that glorification has been completely accomplished.

St. Paul has been led by his argument into the statement of a high mystery, but he now returns somewhat abruptly to his main line of thought, and proceeds to give some moral reasons for faith in our own resurrection (*vv.* 29-34).

Otherwise—i.e. if there be no resurrection of the dead—*what will they do*—what object will they effect—*who get themselves baptized for the sake of the dead?* Much difficulty has been made over this passage and it has been supposed to refer to a grossly superstitious custom mentioned by Tertullian and Epiphanius—a custom which is much more likely to have arisen from a misunderstanding of this verse. Observe that the preposition *for* means not ' instead of ' but ' for the sake of '. Every missionary knows cases in which, after the death of a Christian, his relations

¹ Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, p. 74.

28 things unto him. And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.

overcome by grief and sorrow come forward for baptism.¹ There is in fact no more natural or touching

¹ 'We asked our guide whether he had known any of those who had suffered. "Yes," he replied, "I knew most of them; but one was a very dear friend." "Were you a Christian then?" I asked. "No" was the answer, "but my friend had often talked to me about Jesus Christ and besought me to become a disciple; but I hardened my heart." "But what led you to become a Christian at last?" "Munange (my friend), it was because my brother died for what he believed to be true. If he had not died, I should never have been a Christian. How could I refuse then?"—Tucker: *Eighteen Years in Uganda*, p. 52.

On the death of Bishop Lightfoot, Dr. Benson wrote:—'Poor miners are getting confirmed because "he told them and they didn't mind, but now he was gone they must".'—*Life of Archbishop Benson* (Abridged edition), p. 368.

The present writer is acquainted with an Indian lady whose husband was a Christian, while she remained a Hindu. During his lifetime she always resisted his wish that she should be baptized, but directly he died she felt that she could no longer refuse to comply with his wishes, and she became a Christian with her children.

'Another instance is mentioned in *The Times* of March 22, 1922, "James Hutton Williamson, miner, was executed at Durham yesterday for the wilful murder of his wife at Houghton. The condemned man had embraced the Roman Catholic faith in order, as he said, 'to meet his wife again in the Great Beyond'."

The great Calcutta Missionary, Dr. Duff, might be said

Else what shall they do which are baptized for **29**
the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why
then are they baptized for them? why do we also **30**
stand in jeopardy every hour? I protest by that **31**

sentiment than that which prompts us to do something for our dead friends, something more than we have done in life; and when that something is a deed to which they have often urged us, and which in their belief would lead to our reunion beyond the grave, the motive often becomes overwhelming. St. Paul has just spoken of the close connexion between the resurrection of the dead, the victory of Christ over evil, and the consummation of all things—'the end' which seemed much nearer to the early Christians than it does to us. In order to bring this nearer we must first reign with Christ and take part in His warfare (Rev. xix. 14); but this cannot be till we have been buried with Him in baptism and risen again with Him to newness of life—i.e. evil must be conquered in ourselves before we can conquer it in others. Thus a catechumen who had hitherto shrunk from the perils of baptism, would often in affection for the memory of a dead friend, or perhaps at his dying request, be baptized in order that he might both hasten his friend's resurrection and also have a share in it. This gives a perfectly natural and sufficient

to have been 'ordained for the dead' for it was owing to the early death of his greatest friend, who had offered himself for mission work in China, that Duff offered himself for the Indian mission. See Paton's *Alexander Duff*, p. 47.

glorying in you, brethren, which I have in Christ
32 Jesus our Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of
 men I fought with beasts at Ephesus, what doth it
 profit me? If the dead are not raised, let us eat

explanation of the phrase *baptized on behalf of the dead*. *If dead men do not rise at all, why do men even get themselves baptized for their sake?* It would be foolish to do such a thing for the sake of persons who are 'dead and gone,' for baptism of course involved considerable risk of persecution. *Why are we also in danger every hour?* *We also*, the apostles, are living lives in which persecution and death might come upon us at any moment; should we have the courage to do so, unless we were sustained by the hope of resurrection? *Daily I die*—i.e. I am at the point of death—*yea*, I declare it *by that boast of you, brothers, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord*. 'Ye are our glory and our joy'—St. Paul had said to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 19–20), and in the same way he calls the Corinthians his *boast*, i.e. their conversion was something which he felt to be a continual cause of exultation and as it were a treasure laid up for him in Christ. So surely as he felt that joy, so surely did he know that death might overtake him any moment. It was shortly after this letter was written that the riot occurred at Ephesus in which St. Paul nearly lost his life (Acts xviii. 23–41), and no doubt he already felt the symptoms of the coming storm. *If in a merely human spirit*—i.e. uninspired, unindwelt by Christ—*I here in Ephesus fought with beasts, what is*

and drink, for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived : **33**
Evil company doth corrupt good manners. Awake **34**
up righteously, and sin not ; for some have no
knowledge of God : I speak *this* to move you to
shame.

the gain to me ? In later times it became common to throw Christians to the lions so that they might fight with them in the amphitheatre, but it is not probable that the practice could have begun so early as this, and St. Paul must be speaking metaphorically. So St. Ignatius being carried to Rome by soldiers speaks thus of his life among them. 'From Syria to Rome I am fighting with beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, being bound amongst ten leopards, a company of soldiers who only wax worse when they are kindly treated.' If St. Paul had literally fought with beasts he would surely have mentioned it in 2 Cor. xi. 23-29. Apparently there had been an occasion at Ephesus when St. Paul had nearly been torn to pieces by the mob whose quality we see in Acts xviii. *If dead men do not rise, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die'* (Isaiah xxii. 13). The people of Jerusalem in Isaiah's day when threatened with invasion and summoned by the prophet to penitence replied by words of practical atheism ; and they would have been right, says the apostle, if there were no truth in the resurrection from the dead. Similarly Wisdom ii. Morality cannot be sustained except upon a basis of theology. *Be no more led astray*—i.e. by the heathen influences of your past lives and of the

35 But some one will say, How are the dead
 raised? And with what manner of body do they
 36 come? Thou foolish one, that which thou thyself
 37 sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that

society around you. '*Bad companionships destroy sweet dispositions.*' A quotation from the Greek poet Menander. *Rouse up and do your duty, and sin no more, for some of you have a stubborn ignorance of God.* The word is a strong one, implying something more than mere ignorance. Cf. 1 St. Peter ii. 15. Light-foot on St. Clement R. 59 gives the translation 'stubborn ignorance'—an ignorance that is culpable and deliberate. *I speak thus to you, to move you to shame.*

Our Lord had already shown that a true knowledge of God involves belief in the resurrection (St. Mark xii. 24) and St. Paul in this passage traces the unbelief of the Corinthians in the latter doctrine to a culpable ignorance of God due to an insincere dallying with heathen philosophy. The faith of a Christian requires to be continually braced by readiness to suffer persecution (St. Matt. v. 10). The Corinthians would not so readily have surrendered their belief in the resurrection, if like the apostle they had been daily ready to die.

(3) St. Paul now deals with the manner of the resurrection (*vv.* 35-57), and firstly he introduces certain illustrations from nature (*vv.* 35-41).

Still—even if the fact of the resurrection be admitted—some will say, How do the dead rise? And with what kind of a body do they come? Unbelief is often

which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind; but God giveth it a body **38** even as it pleased him, and to each seed a body of

due to a want of imagination, and therefore the difficulty of conceiving the resurrection of the body is a question which must be dealt with. Thou art *foolish*; *what thou thyself sowest is not made to live unless it dies*. The illustration is used by our Lord Himself, St. John xii. 24. It appears to involve three things: (1) the necessity of death in order to gain fuller life; (2) the identity of the body before and after the resurrection; (3) the complete and astonishing difference in its condition. Of course it is not strictly true to say that a seed dies when it is cast into the ground; it only dies as a seed, while the germ of life which it contains is retained. So there is something of the man—not a material something—which survives death; that which we call his character and his personality (Rev. xiv. 13), and this clothes itself—or rather is clothed by God—with a ‘body,’ i.e., a means of manifestation, as much more glorious than the old body as the flower is more glorious than the seed. *And as to what thou sowest—thou dost not sow the body which will come into existence but a naked grain, perhaps of wheat or of one of the other plants; but God gives it a body even as He willed, and to each of the seeds He gives a body proper to itself. As He willed* points back to the creative fiat of God at the beginning (Gen. i. 11, 12). Another

39 its own. All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one *flesh* of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another flesh of birds, and another of 40 fishes. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies

illustration: *All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one of men, and another flesh of cattle, and another flesh of birds and another of fishes.* Not only the flesh but even the blood of different creatures is different, so that microscopic examination reveals whether it is derived from men or animals. *And there are bodies heavenly and bodies earthly.* What does St. Paul mean by *heavenly bodies*? The expression in English is generally applied to the sun, moon, stars, etc. and *v.* 41 suggests that that is the meaning here; but the word *body* in Greek always means a living organism, and *heavenly* is never in the New Testament used of the sky, but always of the spiritual world, as in *vv.* 48, 49. Still St. Paul has already spoken of a plant as a *body*, and if he conceived of the stars as some kind of living organism,¹ which was the general opinion of his age, he may easily have extended the term *body* to them. Plato and Galen use *heavenly* of the sky, the latter indeed speaking of the stars and planets as 'the bodies which are above,' and on the whole it seems most likely that St. Paul means just what we should mean by the

¹ 'The context seems to show that he (St. Paul) shared the universal belief of antiquity that the stars were animate beings.' —H. St. J. Thackeray, *St. Paul and Contemporary Jewish Thought.*

terrestrial : but the glory of the celestial is one, and the *glory* of the terrestrial is another. There is **41** one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars ; for one star

expression. (See also Moulton and Milligan's *Vocab. of the Greek Test.*, s.v. *ἐπουράνιος*.) The alternative is to suppose that he is thinking of the bodies of angels, for which there is little authority.

*But the glory of the heavenly bodies is of one kind and that of the earthly bodies is of a different kind.*¹ The glory of a thing is the manifestation of its inward character ; the stars show what they are by their heat and brightness, things on earth by their form, colour, etc. Each has its appropriate manifestation, therefore we need not doubt God's power to provide the risen body with its appropriate *glory*. Amongst the

¹ Ruskin, in his 'Ethics of the Dust,' suggests another beautiful illustration of 'the glory of the earthly'. 'Take an ounce of the blackest slime of a beaten footpath on a rainy day near a manufacturing town, compound say of clay, sand, soot and water. Suppose that its several atoms were brought into the closest relation possible. What would you then have? The clay would become sapphire, gathering out of light the loveliest blue rays only and refusing the rest. The sand would become a white earth that arranges itself in infinitely fine parallel lines, which have the power of reflecting the blue, green, purple and red rays of light in wonderful beauty (an opal). The soot, laying aside its blackness, obtains the power of reflecting all the rays of the sun at once in the vividest rays that any solid thing can shoot (a diamond). The water when purified may sparkle as a dew drop, or may crystallize into a star of snow.'

42 differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption ; it is raised in incorruption : it is sown in

heavenly bodies themselves there are also differences. *There is one glory of the sun, and another of the moon, and another glory of stars*—of stars, I say, not star, for star from star differs in glory. All show a wonderful adaptation to their conditions, and therefore we may be sure it will be the same with our resurrection bodies.

Prepared by these analogies we now pass to the consideration of the nature of the resurrection body (v. 42-49). What they establish is (1) the possibility of a marvellous change taking place in organized matter through death, i.e. through dissolution of the material particles : nothing could be more astonishing, if we had not seen it a thousand times, than the evolution of a flower from a seed ; (2) the preservation of identity, in spite of this change, as the same seed always reproduces and is reproduced by the same plant ; (3) the capacity of matter for an infinite variety of adaptations to all imaginable environments.

Thus also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it rises in incorruption. The subject of the verb is not expressed, but it clearly must be 'the body' as in v. 44. It is a more difficult question what is meant by sowing ; does it mean burial ? Or does it mean the whole of the earthly life, during which the body is placed under terrestrial conditions ? 'Even so we in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw to our end'—Wisdom v. 13. The

dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a 44

analogy of the seed in *vv.* 37, 38 makes it more probable that the former is what is primarily meant. So St. Chrysostom.¹ We then have the gradual corruption of the grave contrasted with the impassibility of the risen body (Rev. vii. 16; xxi. 4). 'They cannot die any more' (St. Luke xx. 26). *It is sown in dishonour, it rises in glory* (cf. Phil. iii. 21). The body of our humiliation will be conformed to the body of His glory. Many are the humiliating experiences of our present bodies, culminating in the repulsiveness of a corpse, which was considered by the Jews to make any one who touched it unclean (Numb. xix. 11). On the other hand even in this life the body begins to be illuminated by a holy soul (Acts vii. 1). 'This glory is a certain brightness overflowing to the body from the supreme felicity of the soul, so that there is a certain communication of the beatitude which the soul enjoys'—Catechism of the Council of Trent. When St. Paul saw our Lord's risen body on the road to Damascus, he says, 'I could not see for the glory of that light'—Acts xxii. 11. *It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power.* Nothing is more pathetic than the *weakness* of the dying. St. Paul must often have heard from the apostles the sad story of the gradual failure of our Lord's physical power upon the Cross, and then His burial, contrasted

¹ See Chase, *Belief and Creed*, pp. 142-45.

natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual

with the amazing impression of *power* conveyed by His resurrection. 'The power of His resurrection' is often referred to (Phil. iii. 10; Eph. i. 19, 20). On earth, 'the corruptible body presseth down the soul' (Wisd. ix. 15) and limits it in all directions; in many respects animals, birds and fishes have more power over their bodies than men. The *power* of the risen body lies in its being able instantly and fully to execute the commands of the will, as when our Lord appeared wherever He would, even passing through the stone of the tomb and closed doors. *It is sown a sensuous body, it rises a spiritual body.* In 1 Thess. v. 23 St. Paul describes man as consisting of spirit, soul and body, and by 'soul' he means that life and principle in man which adapts him to this world of sense in which he for the present moves. So Dr. Milligan suggests *sensuous* as the translation of the adjective which belongs to this word. It is found elsewhere only in ch. ii. 14, St. Jas. iii. 15 and St. Jude 19. In the first of these it is translated 'natural', but 'sensual' in the other two places. The body which dies is the body which has been adapted to all the purposes of life in this world. Just as it has been the organ of the earthly life or soul, so the resurrection body is to be the organ of the spirit. Here 'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak'—unable to lift up the body to obey spiritual behests—but 'the *spiritual* or *pneumatical body* is a body whose forma-

body. So also it is written, The first man Adam **45** became a living soul. The last Adam *became* a

tive principle is the spirit. The spirit is the principle of the intellectual, moral and religious life of man. The spiritual body is a body corresponding to the innermost personality. It is the self's perfected expression. Its constituents are not flesh and blood—what they are is not described—yet it is a real body. Just as the psychical body does not consist of soul, neither does the pneumatical body consist of spirit. The “pneumatical body” is a phrase not intended to deny the distinctiveness of the body, nor to merge it into or identify it with spirit, but to affirm its entire subordination to the purposes of spirit. It is a body which has no longer anything of this earthly materiality in the sense of the gross solid flesh and bones; but it still possesses materiality in a manner inconceivably changed and refined.’¹ When we see ice passing into water, and water passing into steam, we get a faint idea of the possible refinement of matter. The phrase *spiritual body* seems to have been invented by St. Paul. It must have sounded like a contradiction in terms to those who first heard it, but nowadays we are not so confident that we know what ‘matter’ is, or how it differs from ‘spirit’. *If there is a sensuous body, there is also a spiritual body*. Since God provides us with an organ adapted to the purposes of this present life, we may be sure that He also provides one

¹ Sparrow Simpson, *The Resurrection and Modern Thought*, p. 330.

46 life-giving spirit. Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that

adapted to the purposes of the future life. We know that he did so in the case of Christ; His Ascension showed that He had a body independent of earthly conditions. *Thus also it is written: 'The first man Adam was made into a living soul'* (Gen. ii. 7). The Hebrew reads 'Adam', the Greek version reads 'man'; St. Paul combines the two readings and adds the word 'first'. Adam received the gift of natural or sensuous life. *The last Adam was made into a life-giving spirit*—i.e. at His Resurrection. A very deep and far-reaching statement, which implies that the change which took place in our Lord's body at the Resurrection was not merely from death to life, but to a higher kind of life previously unknown among men, a life which is capable of communicating itself to others, so that henceforth 'our sinful bodies are made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood'. He is called *Adam* because He thus becomes the Head of a new race. All St. Paul's theology which gathers round the phrase 'in Christ' is contained in this statement. Christ is called *the last Adam*—not 'the second'—to emphasise the fact that after Him is no other Head of humanity (Cf. St. John vi. 63). *Howbeit the spiritual is not first; but there is first the sensuous, then the spiritual.* 'The law here enunciated when rightly understood throws a vivid light on the general course of God's work within humanity. The life of the spirit is

which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, 47
earthy : the second man is of heaven. As is the 48

substantially identical with holiness ; it could not therefore have been given to man at the time of his creation, for holiness is not a thing imposed, it is essentially a product of liberty . . . God therefore required to begin with an inferior state, the characteristic of which was simply freedom, the power in man to give or withhold himself . . . Even independently of the Fall there would have been progress from a lower state, the psychical (sensuous), to a higher, the spiritual state foreseen and willed as the end from the beginning '—Godet.

The first man is 'from earth, of dust': 'And God formed the man, dust from the earth'.—Gen. ii. 7.
The second man is from heaven. This does not refer to our Lord's Incarnation, but to His Resurrection. The Body of His Incarnation was *from earth* like ours, but in the Resurrection it was changed into a Body heavenly and spiritual. During His earthly life Jesus 'was not yet glorified' (St. John vii. 39). *As the man of dust, such also are they of dust ; and as the man of heaven, such also are they of heaven.* The law of natural and spiritual heredity. The race of Adam cannot rise above Adam. There are limits to the capacities of human nature, and it is very remarkable, on a survey of history, to see one race after another—the Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Indian, the Greek, the Roman—rising to great heights of philosophy and science, and then sinking back again,

earthy, such are they also that are earthy : and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are

as though they recognized the law : Thus far shalt thou come and no further. Only in Christian nations—not always in them—is there anything which looks like steady progress : they alone have their ideal in the future, not in the past. Christ has implanted in human nature a principle of moral and spiritual development, which is as yet far from being exhausted even in its earthly manifestations, and which is, we believe, to have infinitely higher manifestations in a future life. The life-principle of Christians is a heavenly one, and only in heaven can it reach its consummation.¹ *And just as we wore—as human beings—the image of the man of dust, we shall wear also the image of the man of heaven.* There is great doubt about the reading—‘ we shall wear ’ or ‘ let us

¹ ‘ If it is as part of a race that we are in the First Man, as part also of a community or race we are in the Second Man. Through the Church as a Divine institution in the world, through her life and organization, through her sacraments and worship, the blessings of Christ’s kingdom flow to the individual members of the kingdom. Christ lives in His Church, and when we are really in His Church we are in Him. By His living personal presence the Church is made at every moment what she is—His Body . . . The body is not less real in the one case than in the other ; and each believer is not less truly a member of the body, and grows up to what he is by being so, than each man is a member of the race, with all the consequences depending on that fact ’—Milligan, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, p. 192.

heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the **49** earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.

wear'. The former is read by R. V. in the text, the latter in the margin; W. H. and N. put 'let us wear' in their text. The argument seems to demand the former, but the authorities are considerably in favour of the latter. If we read *we shall wear* it is an assertion of the certainty of the resurrection of our bodies based on the fact that we are already 'in Christ' sharing His spiritual nature and therefore destined to share His bodily nature, i.e. His present resurrection life. We are, as St. Paul says elsewhere, 'waiting for the redemption of our body' (Rom. viii. 23). The *image* of Christ which we wear now is His spiritual image, but it necessarily involves the bodily image hereafter. If we read *let us wear* we must suppose that St. Paul by a sudden turn of thought reminds us that the whole transaction—our present and future likeness to Christ—is one in which moral action is implied. 'Not by mechanical force are we made partakers of the spirit and life of Christ, but by willing appropriation of what He bestows.' But this does not clinch the argument with anything like the same force as the other reading.

This grand passage contains some of the deepest thoughts of St. Paul's theology, of which an exposition can only hope to skim the surface. All started from St. Paul's own experience, when he heard and saw our Lord on the road to Damascus, supplemented by all that he learnt from the other apostles about

50 Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth
51 corruption inherit incorruption. Behold, I tell you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all

the various appearances after the Resurrection. From these sources, frequently dwelt upon in devout meditation, he was able to form some conception of the nature of Christ's risen Body, and from it to infer that of His saints.

Finally he deals with the necessity of a glorious change in the bodily condition for those who shall be alive at Christ's coming as well as for the dead. (*vv.* 50-57).

Now this I assert, brothers: flesh and blood cannot inherit God's kingdom, neither does corruption inherit incorruption. Human nature under its present conditions, whether alive or dead, is not fitted for the life of the kingdom, i.e. the consummated kingdom of the Church triumphant. The Apostles' Creed, as recited in the Baptismal service and Visitation of the Sick, together with some early authorities, speaks of 'the resurrection of the flesh', but we must understand this as meaning that that which was flesh—and is so no longer—shall rise again.¹ No instructed Christian would be superstitious enough to believe that the flesh as such would rise again, though the early Christians were accused of doing so by their enemies. 'Neither we nor the sacred Scriptures assert that those who

¹ Cf. Chase, *Belief and Creed*, pp. 38-41.

be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, **52** at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall

died long ago shall rise again from the earth and live in the actual flesh without its undergoing a change for the better. And Celsus when he says this calumniates us.'—Origen against Celsus, v. 18 (quoted by Chase). What then will happen? *Behold, I tell you a secret*—which has been revealed to me. *We all*—who are alive at Christ's coming—*shall not fall asleep, but we all shall be changed in a moment, in an eye's blink, in the sounding of the last trumpet.* 'The sound of a great trumpet' (St. Matt. xxiv. 31) was part of the apocalyptic imagery of the Second Advent. An actual trumpet was sounded at the giving of the Law (Ex. xix. 16) and on other great occasions (Is. xxvii. 13, Joel ii. 1) but this shall be *the last trumpet.* St. Paul had at this time such a keen expectation of being himself alive at Christ's coming—cf. 1 Thess. iv. 15–17—that he does not hesitate to identify himself with the rest and says *we all*, though in vi. 14 he seems for a moment to identify himself with those who shall have died. In 2 Cor. iv. 14, v. 1–8 and Phil. ii. 21, he speaks more doubtfully, perhaps because in the meantime he had had a serious illness which seemed to carry with it 'the sentence of death' (2 Cor. i. 9). In 2 Tim. iv. 6 he is clearly looking forward to death. *For God will sound it*—the verb elsewhere is always transitive, and the subject to be understood is probably God, for in 1 Thess. iv. 16 he speaks

53 be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on **54**immortality. But when this corruptible shall

of 'the trumpet of God', and it is natural that the signal for resurrection should come from Him—and *the dead will be raised incorruptible, and we—who survive—shall be changed. For it is necessary that this corruptible body should put on incorruption, and that this mortal body should put on immortality—* otherwise it could not live in the spiritual world beyond the grave; the first phrase may refer to the quick, the second to the dead. *And when this corruptible body shall have put on incorruption and this mortal body shall have put on immortality, then will come to pass the word which has been written: 'Death was swallowed up into victory.'* The words of Isaiah xxv. 8 are 'He hath swallowed up death for ever' (R. V.) or 'in victory' (A. V.). The Hebrew word has both meanings, denoting a state of inward vigour which precludes all possibility of decay, and hence it is used for unlimited duration. St. Paul here departs from the LXX. which is different. The prophet is speaking of deliverance from the Assyrian invader, but the apostle gives the words a much wider application; then, in an accession of lyric rapture as he contemplates the bliss of the resurrection, he cries: *Where, O death, is thy victory? Where, O death, is thy sting?* The thought comes from Hosea xiii. 14 'O death, where are thy plagues? O grave, where is thy destruction?'—but the quotation is not exact, either

have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy **55**

from the Hebrew or the Greek, and it is possible that the words are taken from some Christian hymn founded upon the passage. Such hymns we have in the so-called Odes of Solomon, a Christian hymn-book of the first or second century; one of them contains this passage :

The way of error have I left, and have walked towards
Him and have received from Him salvation generously :

And according to His bounty He has given to me, and
according to His excellent beauty He has made me.

I have put on incorruption through His Name, and have
put off corruption by His grace.

Death hath been destroyed before my face, and the grave
has been abolished by my [?His] word ;

And then has gone up deathless life in the Lord's land,
and it hath been made known to His faithful ones, and
hath been given without stint to all those that trust in
Him. Hallelujah.

Such was the joy with which the knowledge of the resurrection was received by those to whom it was a new revelation. *Now sin is the sting of death*—i.e. the weapon by which death overcomes us; here death is personified almost as 'that old serpent' (Rev. xii. 9) with a poison fang. Apart from sin, death could have no power over us (Rom. v. 12). *And the law is the power of sin*—i.e. sins committed in ignorance become, where there is knowledge of the

56 victory? O death, where is thy sting? The sting of death is sin; and the power of sin is the law:

Law, wilful rebellion against God, and therefore worthy of the punishment of death. These ideas are worked out in the Epistle to the Romans, but there is no other allusion to them in this epistle, so we must assume that they had been the subject of St. Paul's verbal teaching at Corinth. *But to God be thanks—to Him who continually gives us the victory over sin and death through our Lord Jesus Christ.* (Cf. Rom. vii. 24, 25). Instead of stating this great fact of redemption as the conclusion of the argument, St. Paul, overcome by his emotion, turns it into a thanksgiving.

Practical conclusion of the whole subject (v. 58). *Consequently, my brothers beloved, become more and more settled—in faith and conduct, on Christ the foundation, instead of allowing yourselves to be disturbed by idle speculations—unmoveable by temptation (Col. i. 23), abounding in the work of the Lord at all times, knowing that in the Lord your weary toil is not in vain.* The activity of Christian charity has often been found to be the best remedy for a shaken faith. Nothing which is undertaken for Christ and in the Spirit of Christ can be in vain. 'There shall never be one lost good.' (Cf. Is. xlv. 4; lxxv. 23; Gal. vi. 9). The word for *labour* is a strong one 'being not so much the actual exertion which a man makes, as the lassitude or weariness which follows on this straining of all his powers to the utmost' (Trench).

but thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory **57**

This great chapter is our chief source of information on the Christian doctrine of the future life. It will be observed that St. Paul does not so much as glance at the theory of the immortality of the soul apart from the body. That theory, which seems an easier one to understand than the resurrection of the body, is really a harder one, for if we think of the soul as still having an individuality of its own it can scarcely be without some means of manifesting itself, and St. Paul's conception of a 'body' is simply that of a means of manifestation or self-expression. So Tennyson has expressed it :

That each, who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general Soul,
Is faith as vague as all unsweet :
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside ;
And I shall know him when we meet.

—*In Memoriam*, 47.

Upon which Tennyson's own note is, 'The individuality lasts after death and we are not utterly absorbed into the Godhead.' That is, he saw clearly that the alternative is between some kind of bodily resurrection and the loss of individuality, and there is no room for a third term—a soul without a 'form' by which to express itself.

The great Indian thinkers of the past saw the same, and they frankly adopted the second

58 through our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore, my

alternative, the loss of individual existence. There is indeed a Vedic hymn which, addressing the departing soul, says: 'Meet with the Fathers, meet with Yama, meet with the sacrifice that thou hast offered in the highest heaven. Throwing off all imperfection again go to thy home. Become united to a body and clothed in a shining form.' (Rig Veda, x. 14). But this conception, which might have prepared the way for belief in the resurrection of the body, was never elaborated, and it was completely swallowed up by the doctrine of the Upanishads which compared the departed soul to salt dissolved in water (Chandogya Upanishad, vi. 13) wrapped in a dreamless sleep (*Ibid.*, viii. 11). This was Nirvana, which certainly means the loss of personal, individual existence. The only resurrection was to renewed life on earth, in the form of man or animal—an existence which was looked upon as penal rather than desirable.

The early belief of the Jews was either that of no future life at all, or a miserable mutilated life of shades in Sheol or Hades; but from the second century before Christ the idea of the resurrection begins to appear. (Cf. Dan. xii. 2). A Jewish document of the first century A.D. shows however that the belief was very crude:—

'In what shape shall those live who live in Thy day, or how will the splendour of those who are after that time continue? Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammelling

beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable,

members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated? Or wilt Thou perchance change these things that have been in the world, as also the world? And He answered and said unto me, Hear, Baruch, this word, and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead which it now receiveth in order to preserve them. It shall make no change in their form, but as it hath received so shall it restore them; and as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them'—*Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 49, 50. Changes, however, may take place after the resurrection: 'Their splendour shall be glorified in changes, and the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the word which doth not die, which is then promised to them'—*Ibid.*, p. 51.

The Jews then were prepared for belief in the resurrection of the body, and all that St. Paul had to do was to raise their minds above the somewhat gross conceptions in which it was wrapped up. (Cf. Acts xxvi. 22, 23). But at Corinth he had mainly to deal with Greeks, who had no notion at all of a bodily resurrection, and for whom even the immortality of the soul was only a speculation. Greek philosophy, like that of India, regarded the body as a prison of the soul, a garment which might be outworn and the soul set free. But modern psychology postulates an

always abounding in the work of the Lord, foras-

intimate connexion between soul and body and would deny the completeness of any human nature which did not consist of both. That was also St. Paul's doctrine (1 Thess. v. 23), and he was able to base it on the outstanding fact of the resurrection of Christ. He had himself seen Christ's risen body, and he had heard from the apostles all the details which are now to be found in the gospels, and perhaps more. From this he advanced to the doctrine of 'Christ the first-fruits' implying that our own resurrection will be like that of Christ,¹ and suggesting the analogy of the seed. We need not however suppose that St. Paul considered that this analogy would hold good in all respects. Though the seed dies as a seed there is in it a vital part which survives, whereas of the human body nothing survives, and the spiritual body which takes its place is given by God 'from heaven' (2 Cor. v. 2); only that as each seed receives a body which is proper to it (v. 38), so each human being receives a spiritual body which is conditioned by his own life and character.

In all this there is nothing which conflicts with any truth of science. 'Christianity' says Sir Oliver Lodge 'both by its doctrines and its ceremonies rightly emphasises the material aspects of existence.

¹ For the question whether our Lord's appearances after the Resurrection were not in some respects accommodated to the state of mind of the apostles, see Sparrow Simpson, *The Resurrection and Modern Thought*, ch. 29.

much as ye know that your labour is not vain in the Lord.

For it is founded upon the idea of Incarnation ; and its belief in some sort of bodily resurrection is based on the idea that every real personal existence must have a double aspect, not spiritual alone, nor physical alone, but in some way both. Such an opinion, in a refined form, is common to many systems of philosophy, and it is by no means out of harmony with science. Christianity therefore reasonably supplements the mere survival of a discarnate spirit, a homeless wanderer or melancholy ghost, with the warm and comfortable clothing of something that may legitimately be spoken of as a ' body ' ; that is to say, it postulates a supersensually appreciable vehicle or mode of manifestation, fitted to subserve the needs of future existence as our bodies subserve the needs of terrestrial life.¹

It should be added that neither in this chapter nor anywhere else does St. Paul consider the question of the resurrection of the wicked.² His view is limited to ' those who are in Christ ' (v. 23) and therefore no argument for or against the theory of universal restitution can be drawn from his teaching.

¹ Lodge, *Man and the Universe*, p. 160. See also pp. 292-294.

² He recognizes the fact of their resurrection in Acts xxiv. 15 and it is implied in 1 Cor. vi. 2 ; xi. 32.

CONCLUSION

161 Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the churches of Galatia, so also do ye. Upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store, as he may prosper, that

The Epistle concludes with a few directions, chiefly personal; chap. xvi.

The collection for the Christians of Jerusalem (vv. 1-4); St. Paul's own plans (vv. 5-9); concerning Timothy and Apollos (vv. 10-12); exhortation with respect to themselves and their ministers (vv. 13-18); salutations and benediction (vv. 19-24).

Now concerning the collection of money which is for the saints—i. e. the Christians of Jerusalem (Acts xxiv. 17)—*even as I appointed for the churches of Galatia, thus do ye also.* St. Paul had this collection much at heart, not only because the Jerusalem Christians needed support, but because he looked upon the aid given to them as both a symbol of the unity of the church and a means of promoting it. When it was agreed that Paul and Barnabas should look upon themselves as apostles more especially to the Gentiles, the other apostles made it a proviso that they should remember the (Jewish) poor (Gal. ii. 10). Consequently in each of the four provinces in which his work was carried on—Galatia (Antioch in Pisidia,

no collections be made when I come. And when I arrive, whomsoever ye shall approve by letters, them will I send to carry your bounty unto Jerusalem : and if it be meet for me to go also, they shall

Iconium, Lystra and Derbe), Macedonia (Philippi, Thessalonica and Beroëa), Achaia (Athens, Corinth and Cenchreæ), and Asia (Ephesus, Colossæ and the churches round)—he instituted collections, and for each province delegates were appointed to accompany him to Jerusalem, so that they might report to their own churches that their alms had been properly bestowed. So scrupulous was the apostle in making careful, business-like arrangements for the disposal of public funds. *Every first day of a week let each one of you lay by him, storing it up as a treasure, whatsoever he may prosper in, in order that when I shall have come collections may not then be taking place.* This is the first indication of a special observance of the *first day of the week*. (Cf. Acts xx. 7 ; Rev. i. 10). The name 'Lord's Day' was apparently not yet in use, while 'Sabbath' belonged to Saturday, the Jewish holy day. St. Paul says that Christians are under no obligation to observe the Jewish Sabbath (Col. ii. 16), but since it commemorated the creation of the world some of its associations naturally gathered round the observance of the first day of the week, which was made by our Lord's Resurrection the beginning of the new creation. St. Justin, writing for the heathen in the second century, says that Christians always assembled for worship on 'the day which is called the

5 go with me. But I will come unto you, when I shall have passed through Macedonia; for I do pass
6 through Macedonia; but with you it may be that I shall abide, or even winter, that ye may set me

day of the sun', first because this was the day on which God began the creation of the world, and secondly because Christ rose on that day from the dead. The observance of the day from the earliest times of the Church is thus an important witness to the fact of the Resurrection. The money was to be stored up at home, not taken to church as afterwards became the custom. *Storing it up as a treasure* is a beautiful expression, suggesting the thought of St. Matt. vi. 20; 1. Tim. vi. 19. *But whenever I arrive, whomsoever you shall have approved*—i. e. chosen as men of tried and trusted character—*these I will send with a letter*—probably to St. James—*to carry your grace*—i. e. your freewill offering—*to Jerusalem*. In Acts xx. 4 we find that there were several delegates from the Macedonian, Galatian and Asiatic churches, but none from Corinth. 'Either the Corinthian church was not ready after all, or perhaps, in reaction from former mistrust, gave their alms into the hands of the apostle'—says Rackham. *With a letter* may belong either to *approve* or to *send*; the former punctuation is adopted by W. H. and R. V., the latter by N. and R. V.m. In either case it shows St. Paul's great anxiety that all should be done with every precaution against misappropriation of funds. *And if it be worth while that I also should make the journey, they will*

forward on my journey whithersoever I go. For I do not wish to see you now by the way ; for I hope to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit. But 8

journey with me. Ultimately he did go (Rom. xv. 25). We gather from this passage that Christian almsgiving should be (1) systematic—a weekly contribution ; (2) an act of grace, that is a free offering of gratitude to God and of kindly feeling towards man ; (3) worthy, and therefore generous and abundant ; (4) carried out with all business-like precautions, such as keeping careful accounts and publishing them, and choosing trustworthy men to manage the funds.

St. Paul's approaching visit to Corinth (*vv.* 5–9). He writes from Ephesus, apparently before the riot mentioned in Acts xix. 23–41, and promises a visit after he has been through Macedonia. This visit, which lasted three months (Acts xx. 3), took place in the following winter. *But I will come to you when I shall have passed through Macedonia, for I intend to pass through Macedonia,* The verb is often used in Acts in the sense of making a missionary tour (viii. 4 ; ix. 32, etc.)—in this case to Philippi and Thessalonica and perhaps Beroea (2 Cor. ii. 13). *And with you, may be, I shall make a stay or even spend the winter—as he did—in order that you may set me forward wherever I may journey.* There was no travelling by sea in the winter (Acts xxvii. 9). *Set forward* probably means that he expected the Corinthian Christians to provide him with all that was requisite for his journey—his travelling expenses. So the word

9 I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost ; for a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.

is clearly used in Titus iii. 13 ; 3 St. John 6. (Cf. 1 Esdras iv. 47 ; 1 Macc. xii. 4). Though St. Paul worked with his hands to support himself in Corinth (Acts xviii. 3) he could hardly in this way have gained sufficient money to pay for the journeys of himself and his companions. *For I do not wish to see you now merely in passing*—that is, he might have paid them a hasty visit on his way to Macedonia ; from Ephesus it would have been nearly as easy to cross to Corinth and then go north to Thessalonica, as to go by way of Troas—which was what he actually did—but in that case he could not have spared any time for Corinth, and he wanted his visit there to be a longer one. *For I hope to remain on some time with you if the Lord permit.* St. Paul did not make his own rigid plans beforehand, but trusted to the guidance of the Holy Ghost as He revealed His purposes from time to time. Some of the Corinthians did not understand this, and called it ‘levity’ (2 Cor. i. 17). *But I am remaining on—or I will remain on—at Ephesus until the Pentecost.* The verb may be present or future according to the accent—W. H. read the present, R. V. and N. the future. Was Pentecost already kept as a Christian festival ? (Cf. Acts ii. 1 ; xx. 16). We find its observance established in the second century (Tertull. *De Cor. Mil.* 3 ; *De Bapt.* 19). *For a door*—i.e. an opportunity of preaching—*is opened for me great and*

Now if Timothy come, see that he be with you **10** without fear ; for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do : let no man therefore despise him. **11** But set him forward on his journey in peace, that he may come unto me : for I expect him with the

effectual, and opponents are many. For both reasons St. Paul wishes to stay ; not long afterwards occurred the riot at Ephesus which for the time being put a stop to his preaching and caused him to come away.

Plans of Timothy and Apollos (*vv.* 10–12).—*Now if Timothy should come to Corinth, look to it that without any fear he may come before you*—i.e. appear in your public assemblies. (Cf. ii. 3). St. Paul himself had been afraid when he had to make his first public appearance in wicked Corinth ; and all the notices of Timothy suggest that he was of a timid disposition (2 Tim. i. 6, 7 ; ii. 1) and at this time he was not much more than a boy. *For he works the work of the Lord as I also do.* (Cf. Acts xvi. 1–3 ; Phil. ii. 19–22). It has been suggested with much probability that Timothy was the person who ‘suffered wrong’ mentioned in 2 Cor. vii. 12 ; that is, that he came to Corinth and was in some way injured or insulted, which would show how much need there was for the present appeal to their good feelings. *Let not therefore anyone set him at nought, but set him forward on his journey in peace, that he may come to me ; for I expect him with the brothers*—who are with him. Only Erastus is mentioned (Acts xix. 22), but he would

12 brethren. But as touching Apollos the brother, I besought him much to come unto you with the brethren: and it was not at all *his* will to come now; but he will come when he shall have opportunity.

very likely pick up others in going through Macedonia. *Brothers*, as usual, means 'fellow-Christians'. *And concerning my brother Apollos, I besought him much that he would come to you with the other brothers, and there was no will at all on his part that he should come now, but he will come whenever he shall get a good opportunity.* Origen explains this by saying that Apollos being a holy and peaceable man and learning the state of faction which existed in the Corinthian church, determined not to give any support by his presence to those who claimed him as their leader. He also says that Apollos was Bishop of Corinth at that time, and explains *will* here as meaning the will of God (R. V. m.). It is evident in any case that his relations with St. Paul were perfectly friendly, and the latter seems to have wished him to lead the mission which was afterwards undertaken by Titus. At a later time we find him associated with Titus (Tit. iii. 13). The other *brothers* in this verse are probably the Corinthian delegates, whose names are mentioned in *v.* 17; they had brought the letter of the Corinthians to St. Paul, and would take the present letter back with them to Corinth. There is no need to suppose that they are the same *brothers* as in *v.* 11.

Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like **13** men, be strong. Let all that ye do be done in love. **14**

Now I beseech you, brethren (ye know the house **15** of Stephanas, that it is the firstfruits of Achaia,

Exhortation with regard to themselves and their delegates (*vv.* 13-18).—Four short, sharp exhortations, like the words of command to an army, warning the Corinthians against their special temptations. *Be wakeful, stand firm in your faith, be manly, be brave.* They had as it were slept at their post, otherwise the sins which he has had to rebuke would not have crept in upon them: for the future they must *keep awake*; they had been more or less shaken in their faith, for the future they must be *stedfast*; they had been soft and self-indulgent in admitting sensual sins into their community, for the future they must *play the man with courage*. Above all things they must seek to grow in charity (ch. xiii). *Let all that you do take place in love.* It was want of brotherly love which had caused the divisions in the church. Literally it is: *all things of you*—i.e. all your thoughts, feelings and actions. Love is to pervade the whole life of a Christian. *And I beseech you, brothers—you know the house of Stephanas that he is the firstfruits of Achaia and they set themselves for service to the saints—that you also set yourselves under the men of this sort and under every one who joins in God's work and labours hard.*

This is the only hint in the epistle of any organized local ministry; even what St. Paul says about this is addressed to the general body of the church and there

and that they have set themselves to minister unto
16 the saints), that ye also be in subjection unto
such, and to every one that helpeth in the work

is no indication that it required a special minister. On the other hand St. Clement's letter to the Corinthians, forty years later, was occasioned by a revolt against the authority of their clergy, and he rebukes them in these terms. 'Those therefore who were appointed by them (the apostles) or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for a long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe: for they have no fear lest anyone should remove them from their appointed place'—ch. 44. Clement then clearly looks back to a Corinthian ministry dating from apostolic times, and there must have been plenty of people in Corinth who remembered its institution. From Acts xiv. 23 we learn that Paul and Barnabas appointed presbyters in the Galatian churches on their second visit, and we may perhaps infer that it was the apostle's custom, on his first visit to a place, to devote himself entirely to the work of evangelization, and not to take any steps

and laboureth. And I rejoyce at the coming of **17** Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus: for that which was lacking on your part they supplied.

towards organization till he could come there a second time (ch. xi. 34). At the time when both this letter and 2 Corinthians were written he had probably paid only one visit to Corinth. There are however indications of a ministry at Thessalonica after only one visit (1 Thess. v. 12-13), unless the words refer to those whom St. Paul had sent there for a special purpose. There is a difficulty about the expression *first-fruits of Achaia*, for Athens belonged to the Roman province of Achaia and we are told in Acts xvii. 34 that Dionysius was the first convert; but probably St. Paul uses 'Achaia' in the popular sense, which confined it to the maritime district round about Corinth. There is nothing more difficult than to determine the varying use of geographical terms.¹ Compare, for instance, the different meanings which may be borne by 'Bengal'. *And I am glad at the presence of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus—*

¹ Or again it is possible that Stephanas had been baptized away from Corinth before St. Paul went to Athens, or at Athens itself, which is only about fifty miles from Corinth. In i. 16 St. Paul says, 'I baptized the household of Stephanas' as though Stephanas himself had been baptized previously. The last chapter of Romans suggests that there were many Roman Christians who had been baptized elsewhere than at Rome, since they were known to St. Paul before he visited the city. In xvi. 15 Stephanas and not his household is called *the firstfruits of Achaia*.

18 For they refreshed my spirit and yours : acknowledge ye therefore them that are such.

19 The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the

apparently the Corinthian delegates. (Cf. i. 16). A Fortunatus is mentioned also in Clement's letter, and Lightfoot's note on the passage runs : ' There is no improbability in identifying him with the Fortunatus of 1 Cor. xvi. 17 ; for Fortunatus seems to be mentioned by St. Paul (A.D. 57) as a younger member of the household of Stephanas, and might well be alive less than forty years after when Clement wrote. It must be remembered however that Fortunatus is a very common name.' If this identification is correct, we find Fortunatus again acting as a delegate from Corinth and taking back St. Clement's letter. *Because these men filled up the lack of you—i.e. of your presence.* As representatives of the Corinthian church they stood to St. Paul in the place of the whole body. *For they refreshed my spirit and yours.* In such a phrase we get a glimpse of the apostle's yearning affection for his converts. Just as their presence was a comfort to St. Paul, so he anticipates that his letter, sent by them, will be a comfort to the Corinthians. *Therefore always recognize those who are such—i.e. acknowledge their services with gratitude.*

Salutations and benediction (vv. 19-24).—*The churches of Asia salute you.* Asia is the Roman province which formed the western portion of what we now call Asia Minor. What were the churches of

church that is in their house. All the brethren **20** salute you. Salute one another with a holy kiss.

Asia? In the Apocalypse we find them to be seven (Rev. i. 11) but we cannot be sure that all seven had been founded at this time. Ephesus was certainly the chief of them. Colossæ, Laodicea and Hierapolis are also mentioned by St. Paul (Col. iv. 15), and in Acts xix. 26 he is said to have made converts 'almost throughout all Asia'. A great deal of this work was done by delegates, such as Epaphras (Col. iv. 12) and Tychicus (Col. iv. 7). *Aquila and Prisca salutes* (sic) *you much in the Lord with the church at their house.* Note the singular verb and plural pronoun—a husband and wife are one and yet two. St. Paul had lived with them at Corinth, and they had come with him to Ephesus where some of the Christians met for worship at their house. By the end of the year they are at Rome (Rom. xvi. 3) and later we find them again at Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 19). Probably these travels were undertaken in connexion with their business as tent-makers. *All the brothers*—i.e. the Ephesian Christians—*salute you*—the Corinthian Christians. 'One feels in reading such salutations that the history of nations is coming to an end and that a new nation of a wholly different kind is beginning.'—Godet. *Salute one another with a kiss* that is *holy*. In three other places St. Paul refers to the *holy kiss* and St. Peter to 'the kiss of love'. (1 St. Peter v. 14). It became part of the solemn service of the Eucharist, and is called by Tertullian 'the kiss

21 The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand.

22 If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be

of peace' (*De Or.* 14)—the sign that all who partake of the Eucharist are in love and peace with one another. Owing to the danger of abuse it was afterwards ruled that the kiss should be given only by men to men and by women to women. It gives us a vivid sense of the simplicity of the love which bound together the early Christians that St. Paul and St. Peter should recommend it thus without restriction. St. Chrysostom says: 'What is meant by *holy*? Not hollow, not treacherous, like the kiss which Judas gave to Christ. For therefore is this kiss of peace—that it may stimulate our love, that it may kindle the disposition, that we may so love each other as brothers love brothers, as parents love their children and children their parents. For those things are a disposition implanted by nature, but these by spiritual grace. Thus are souls bound unto each other We are the temple of Christ; we kiss then the porch and entrance of the temple when we kiss one another.' In the Syrian church of Malabar two bishops meeting embrace one another, and in the Eucharist the kiss is represented by a stroking of the hand, after the Creed and before the Consecration Prayer. In the Greek Church the actual kiss is given on Easter morning.

The salutation with my hand is that of Paul. Hitherto he has dictated the letter, but now he takes the pen and finishes it himself as in 2 Thess. iii. 17 and Gal. vi. 11, that they may have a proof of its

anathema. Maranatha. The grace of the Lord **23**

genuineness. *If any one has no affection for the Lord, let him be anathema.* The high Christian word for love is not used, but every one must have at least that lower human affection for Christ, the one and only *Lord*, which was claimed by St. Peter (St. John xxi. 15-17). The word is the one in common use for love, but St. John is the only writer of the New Testament who uses it at all frequently—St. Paul only again in Tit. iii. 15. For *anathema* see ch. xii. 3. St. Paul's own passionate devotion for our Lord made it impossible for him to conceive that any Christian can be without at least some personal love for Him, unless he be under a curse. *Maranatha.* It is a mistake to connect this with the previous word: it means 'O our Lord come' or perhaps 'Our Lord cometh', and keeps its Aramaic form (like such words as 'Amen', 'Hosanna', 'Alleluia') because it had become a sort of watch-word among Christians (Cf. Phil. iv. 5; Rev. xxii. 20). So in the 'Teaching of the Twelve App.' ch. 10. It is introduced here to increase the solemnity of the previous warning. *The grace of the Lord Jesus (Christ) be with you.* W. H. and N. omit 'Christ'. He means, May the favour of Jesus continue to rest upon you, and take care that you be worthy of it. *My love is with you all in Christ Jesus.* Here he goes back to the Christian word for *love*. 'In spite of any severity which may have appeared in the Epistle, my love, the love which I have for you all in Christ, is with you.' It has been truly said, 'He who loves as

24 Jesus Christ be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen.

Christ would have him love will often have to grieve the object of his affection.' The 'Amen' should probably be omitted. The Epistle ends on the same keynote as that on which it began—'Christ Jesus'.

Christ ! I am Christ's, and let the Name suffice you,
Ay, for me too He greatly hath sufficed :
Lo with no winning words would I entice you,
Paul has no honour and no friend but Christ.

APPENDIX I

THE BRETHREN OF THE LORD

The question as to who our Lord's 'Brethren' exactly were is one of the most difficult in early Church history. For English readers a flood of light was shed on it by Bishop Lightfoot's Essay in his *Commentary on Galatians*, first published in 1865, and his own solution, commonly called the 'Epiphonian' theory, that they were the sons of Joseph by a former wife, has received much favour. The 'Hieronymian' theory, that they were maternal cousins of our Lord, was almost completely exploded by Lightfoot, though it is still generally received in the Roman Church. The 'Helvidian' theory, that they were the sons of Joseph and Mary, born after our Lord, seems recently to have been growing in favour, supported by such names as those of Zahn and Mayor.

But does not a much simpler theory than any of these lie upon the surface of Scripture? St. Mark, in vi. 3, tells us that the names of the Brethren were James and Joses (or Joseph) and Judas and Simon (or Symeon); and when, in ch. xv. 40, he wishes to introduce to us an unknown Mary, he tells us that she was 'the mother of James the Less (τοῦ μικροῦ)'¹ and

¹ 'The Less' probably here means 'the younger': see Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (E.T.), p. 144, and is used of course to distinguish this James from the son of Zebedee.

of Joseph'. Could any one who was not prejudiced by a theory doubt for a moment that St. Mark in the latter passage means the same James and Joses whom he has already mentioned in the former? Otherwise he would be introducing the unknown Mary by the still more unknown James and Joses—*obscurum per obscurius*.

Again in xvi. 1 Mary is called 'the mother of the James (τοῦ Ι.)'. When St. Mark wrote, could 'the James' mean any one but James, Bishop of Jerusalem?

This Mary, who by St. Mark and the other Synoptists is called mother of James and Joseph, is by St. John called 'the wife of Clopas (ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ)'—xix. 25. There can hardly be any doubt about this identification.

Who was this Clopas?

To that question we get a very clear, definite and precise reply from Eusebius, who tells us that he gives it on the authority of Hegesippus.

First he tells us that after the death of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, the surviving apostles and relatives of our Lord came together to choose his successor. 'They all with one consent pronounced Symeon, the son of Clopas of whom the Gospel also makes mention, to be worthy of the episcopal throne. He was a cousin, they say, of the Saviour, for Hegesippus records that Clopas was brother of Joseph'.—H. E. iii. 11.

In H. E. iii. 32, quoting the very words of Hegesippus, he says:—'The son of the Lord's uncle

(ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ τοῦ κυρίου), the above-mentioned Symeon, the son of Clopas, was informed against by the heretics' and martyred. In the same chapter he makes mention, of another 'of the *so-called* brothers of the Saviour (τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος) whose name was Judas'.

Once more, in H.E. iv. 22, again quoting the words of Hegesippus, he says:—'And after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as the Lord had also on the same account, the son of His uncle, Symeon, the son of Clopas, is appointed bishop.'

Thus we have the clearest possible testimony from Hegesippus, the earliest Church historian, to the following facts:—(1) Clopas—the Clopas who is mentioned in the Gospel (St. John xix. 25)—was the brother of Joseph; (2) that he was commonly known as the Lord's uncle; (3) that he had a son named Symeon, and probably—though this is not quite clear—another named Judas. From the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John we have seen that he had two other sons named James (the less) and Joseph.

Here then we have the four 'Brethren' mentioned in St. Mark vi. 3.

To English readers it seems to be a fatal objection to this theory that these so-called brothers were really cousins—the sons of our Lord's 'uncle'. But any one who knows the East—and by the East I mean the whole of Southern Asia from the Mediterranean to the Bay of Bengal—would treat such an objection as simply laughable. We who live in India know that cousins are *always* called brothers—they

are never called anything else, and none of the vernaculars of India have any other name for them: Neither was there any other name for them in Hebrew, or in the Aramaic-speaking circle in which our Lord lived. In the whole of the English version of the Old Testament the word 'cousin' does not once occur, simply because it does not exist in the languages from which the Old Testament is translated. When cousins have occasion to be mentioned they are called brothers, as in Lev. x. 4, or, if an exact description is required, cousins are called 'their father's brother's sons' (Numb. xxxvi. 11)—a description far too cumbrous for ordinary use.¹ It is not till Greek influences come in with the Apocryphal books, that a distinct word for cousins (*ἀνεψιός*) begins to appear, but even then it is used somewhat uncertainly. In the Book of Tobit Raguel calls Tobit at one time his cousin (vii. 2) and immediately afterwards his brother (vii. 4). The word *ἀνεψιός* occurs once in the New Testament (Col. iv. 10) but here we have passed entirely away from the Aramaic atmosphere of the Gospels.

This usage has its exact parallel in India. No native of India, even though he talks English, ever thinks of calling his cousin anything but a brother. As the process of Anglicization advances he may perhaps make use of a quaint compound: 'He is my cousin-brother'. But only when he has learnt to

¹ *Ἀνεψιός* is used in the LXX only in this place, so far as the Old Testament (excluding the Apocrypha) is concerned.

think in English as well as to talk it would he at all naturally use the word 'cousin'. In the same way in the apostolic circle they still thought in Aramaic even though they sometimes talked Greek, and therefore 'brother'—the translation of the vernacular—springs quite naturally to their lips. If Clopas was known as our Lord's uncle, his sons could not have been called anything else but the Lord's brothers. They were his paternal cousins, not—as the Hieronymian theory would require—his maternal cousins.

Why has this simple theory never gained more acceptance than it has? Firstly because of the difficulty to the English—I might say to the European—mind of regularly calling cousins by the name of brothers; and secondly, because those who have advocated it have generally mixed it up with some supposition that the 'Brethren' were also apostles—an idea which is sufficiently contradicted by St. John (vii. 5). Lightfoot glances at it in the following terms:—'It will be seen that the cousinhood of these persons is represented (in the Hieronymian theory) as a cousinhood on the mother's side, and that it depends on three assumptions: (1) The identification of James the son of Alphæus in the list of the Twelve with James the Little the son of Mary: (2) The identification of "Mary of Clopas" in St. John with Mary the mother of James and Joses in the other Evangelists: (3) The correctness of the received punctuation of John xix. 25 which makes "Mary of Clopas" the Virgin's sister. If any of these be rejected this cousinhood falls to the ground. Yet of

these three assumptions the second alone can safely be pronounced more likely than not (though we are expressly told that "many other women were present") for it avoids the unnecessary multiplication of Marias. The first must be considered highly doubtful, seeing that James was a very common name; while the third is most improbable, for it gives two sisters both called Mary—a difficulty far surpassing that of supposing two or even three cousins bearing the same name. On the other hand, if admitting the second identification and supplying the ellipsis in "Mary of Clopas" by "wife", we combine with it the statement of Hegesippus that Clopas the father of Symeon was brother of Joseph, we get three cousins, James, Joses and Symeon, *on their father's side*. Yet this result again must be considered on the whole improbable. I see no reason indeed for doubting the testimony of Hegesippus, who was perhaps born during the lifetime of this Symeon, and is likely to have been well-informed. But the chances are against the other hypotheses, on which it depends, being both of them correct.'

Here the great bishop was surely napping, for he has most unwarrantably transferred to the paternal cousins an objection which only holds good against the maternal ones. The theory which we have been considering in no way depends upon the first and third of Bishop Lightfoot's hypotheses; on the contrary, it excludes them. At the same time the bishop in this passage gives his powerful support to the two hypotheses on which our theory really does depend,

namely, the identity of Mary the mother of James and Joses with the wife of Clopas, and the trustworthiness of Hegesippus when he tells us that Clopas was the brother of Joseph.

But if these two last hypotheses are correct, then the theory which the bishop favours, making out the Brethren to have been sons of Joseph by a former wife, and also the theory which looks upon them as the sons of Joseph and Mary after their marriage, are both faced with a most serious objection. According to these theories Joseph had four sons named James, Joseph, Simon and Judas; while the Gospels and Hegesippus show us that Clopas, Joseph's brother, had at least three sons named James, Joseph and Simon or Symeon, and he may also have had a fourth named Judas. Is it conceivable that these names should be so exactly repeated in the families of the two brothers, living in the same neighbourhood, for all were inhabitants of Galilee (St. Luke xxiii. 49)? Even if it were just conceivable under European conditions, it becomes impossible when we consider the usual conditions of Eastern life. It has always been the custom in the East, and is so to this day, for the sons when they marry not to set up separate establishments of their own but to bring their wives to the ancestral house of the family.¹ In all probability Joseph and Clopas, with their wives and families, were living together in

¹ In St. Luke xii. 52, 53, note that the daughter-in-law is regarded as a permanent inmate of the 'one house.'

the same house at Nazareth. Think of the inextricable confusion of having two Jameses, two Josephs, and two Simons in the one house. In all the catalogues of the Old Testament it is difficult to find a single instance of two cousins being called by the same name.

Lastly the theory which we have been considering removes an objection which, Bishop Lightfoot says, 'has been hurled at the Helvidian theory with great force and, as it seems to me, with fatal effect'. When we consider our Lord's tender respect for all family life, it does not seem very likely that He would have been careful on the cross to remove His mother from the guardianship of her own sons. It is less improbable, though still not probable, that He should have taken her away even from her step-sons; but this is required by the Epiphonian theory which Lightfoot favours. If however the theory which we have here maintained is true, our Lord committed her to the care of her nearest living relation, and so was consistent to the end in safeguarding the rights of the family. For if we compare St. Matthew xxvii. 56 with St. John xix. 25 it seems clear that 'the mother of Zebedee's children' is the same person as 'His mother's sister'. In all the four Gospels we may assume that it is the same three women who appear under different designations. By St. Mark this lady is called Salome (xv. 40; xvi. 1). St. John then was the son of the Blessed Virgin's own sister, while the 'Brethren' were only the sons of her husband's brother, and therefore it was no slight to them that

she should be removed from their care. It is true that in recent criticism it has often been doubted whether the 'disciple whom Jesus loved' is to be identified with St. John, but in any consideration of this question weight should be given to the unlikelihood that our Lord in dying would have transferred His mother from the members of His own family to one who, on that supposition, would have had no connexion with it at all.

Finally the question may be asked, 'If St. John was thus a cousin of our Lord, why are James and John the sons of Zebedee never called "brethren of the Lord"?' The answer probably is that Joseph and Clopas, after their marriages, continued to live with their parents at Nazareth, but the sisters Mary and Salome would leave their homes and go to the homes of their husbands (Cf. Tobit x. 12). Thus Clopas's children would be brought up with our Lord, but Salome's children, living at least sixteen miles away by the Sea of Galilee, would be comparative strangers.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION OF 1 COR. XI. 23-25

Παρεδίδετο, 'he was betrayed'. We have already had this word twice in the chapter (*vv.* 2, 23) in the sense of 'delivered', and there seems no good reason for departing from that sense here. In view of St. John xix. 30, the delivery of Christ's soul to the Father is what must chiefly have been in view. The imperfect tense also should be marked, and it may be questioned whether the verb is not a middle rather than a passive. So we find in the Greek Liturgies—which however late as to the period in which they were written down must have embodied some very early elements, especially in this passage—'In the night in which He was delivered up, or rather was delivering Himself up, for the life and salvation of the world'—Lit. of St. James.

'In the night in which He was delivering Himself up for our sins'—Lit. of St. Mark.

'In that night in which He delivered Himself up'
—Coptic Lit. of St. Cyril.

See also 1 St. Peter ii. 23 and Eph. v. 2. Thus the whole action is to be regarded as a part of the Passion.

εὐχαριστήσας, 'having given thanks' is equivalent to 'having blessed' in St. Mark and St. Matthew. It was this action of our Lord, the words of which are not recorded, which effected the change in the bread and in the cup; that change has already taken place when He says: 'This is my body', etc. (Cf. St. John vi. 11, 23).

τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα 'this is my body'. *τοῦτο* must mean the loaf, and being in the neuter is generalized to express the loaf thus taken and blessed and broken. Dr. Stone says:—'As a matter of interpretation, the explanation that the bread and wine are means, and only means, by which the faithful communicants may spiritually receive Christ is not satisfactory. The alternatives are really two, not three.' To explain the words as meaning 'This is a means by the reception of which my body may be spiritually received' is beyond the scope of a translation. We must understand either 'This is in fact my body' or 'This represents my body', and the former is the meaning which accords best with the solemn words which follow about not discerning the Lord's body.

τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν 'which is for you'. The word 'broken' is omitted in the best text. And so 'the thought is rather of the Body of Christ being given for us, or existing for us, as a whole; and this makes us mindful of His whole personality, His incarnation, infancy, ministry death, resurrection, ascension, session at the right hand of God and second coming, not only of the moment of His passion'—Bishop J. Wordsworth.

τοῦτο ποιεῖτε 'this do'. This may either mean 'offer this' (cf. St. Matt. xxvi. 18) as it is understood by Justin Martyr (see Swete, *loc. cit.*, p. 165), or it may mean 'do this which I am doing'—viz., offering myself by this whole action. In either case it means that we are to offer the sacrifice of Christ.

εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. It is very doubtful whether this can mean 'in remembrance of me'. There is no clear instance in the New Testament of the possessive adjective being used for the pronoun. Certainly the instances quoted by Winer—Rom. xi. 31; xv. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 31; xvi. 17—are insufficient to establish it, and it is very rare in other writers. Light is shed on the expression by the Jewish prayer (quoted in Wordsworth) 'Our God and the God of our Fathers, may our memorial and our remembrance and the memorial of our fathers, and the memorial of Messiah, son of David thy servant . . . ascend and come and draw near and be seen and be accepted . . . and be remembered before thee. . . . Remember us on this day, our Lord and God, for good and visit us on it for blessing.' Thus 'my remembrance' is not the remembrance that we make of Christ, but the remembrance which He makes before God.

APPENDIX III

THE CLERGY AND SECULAR WORK

I COR. IX. 4-18

In connexion with this passage, the question arises whether the clergy ought at any time, following the example of St. Paul, to engage in lucrative pursuits ; or whether those engaged in lucrative pursuits ought to be allowed to join the ranks of the clergy.

The general principle is clear. *The Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel.* The reference is no doubt to a command of Christ which had been handed down by tradition, and which was afterwards embodied in St. Matt. x. 10 and St. Luke x. 7. *The labourer is worthy of his hire.* It was derived from the Old Testament (Deut. xviii. 1, 2), and the apostles would be quite familiar with the fact that the priests and Levites of the Temple were supported by the offerings of the people. This practice was taken over by the Christian church, though we know little of the details. The references to almsgiving in N. T. are nearly all to collections *for the poor*, but in this chapter of 1 Cor., we learn that the apostles and, if they had them, their wives, were maintained by a church fund, and in the Pastoral Epistles we have hints that church finance was becoming a practical question (1 Tim. v. 17 ; Tit. iii. 13). But what if the

offerings of the faithful were insufficient to maintain the clergy, as might easily happen in a poor and nascent church? Or what if any of the clergy, like St. Paul, preferred to be independent and maintain themselves by their own labour? Should the church grant them permission to do so?

The dangers of giving such a permission were clearly recognised. St. Paul himself only worked to provide the minimum of necessary support for himself and his companions (Acts. xx. 34), but who could guarantee that clergymen engaged in commerce would not pursue it simply for the sake of gain to the neglect of their true vocation? Hence the seventh of the 'Apostolic Canons' lays down:—'Let not a bishop, presbyter or deacon take upon himself secular cares.' And the Roman Ordinal says even to candidates for the sub-diaconate:—'Hitherto . . . you were free, and may pass if you will to secular pursuits; but if you undertake this office you may no longer depart from your purpose, but must commit yourselves, like slaves to the perpetual service of the church.' By English law (1 & 2 Vict. c. 106) the clergy are restrained from 'farming and trafficking', an exception being made in favour of those who keep a school, since it is assumed that any cleric so doing would regard it as a pastoral charge. The question was thoroughly debated in Convocation during the years 1884 to 1888, and Archbishop Benson summed up the matter by saying:—'From the beginning the earliest evidence we have shows that the bishops, priests and deacons were to be maintained in other ways than by trading, the

exception being in cases of extreme poverty, and in cases of self-devotion (asceticism) in which latter remunerative labour was permitted for the purpose of giving alms to the poor.' Thus it is clear that the church only rarely and grudgingly has given permission to her clergy to engage in remunerative pursuits, and in such cases has done her utmost to safeguard the principle that the clerical character shall be of primary importance, and the secular occupation shall only be carried out in strict subordination thereto. So far St. Paul's example may carry us, and in what has been said up to this point there is no distinction between bishops, priests and deacons.

It is a separate question whether those whose secular occupation is *primary* should be ordained to the *diaconate* and so allowed to devote their leisure time to the assistance of the priests, especially in ministering the chalice at Holy Communion. This proposal was rejected by the English Convocations, but among the resolutions of the Episcopal Synod of the Province of India and Ceylon in 1922 was one with regard to the diaconate, which after laying down that 'in view of the special needs of the Church in India the development of the diaconate is of great importance' and making suggestions for the revival of the diaconate as a distinct office which does not necessarily imply a claim to the priesthood, continues as follows :—

'The Synod is also of opinion that men of the requisite character and devotion who are maintaining themselves by some ordinary profession or occupation, but are able and desirous to assist the Church in some

of the ways appropriate to the deacon's office, might be ordained thereto without being required to give up their other profession or occupation.'

The whole subject is well discussed in Dr. W. Bright's *Waymarks in Church History*, chapter x with Appendix J.

ESSAY ON THE DIVORCE AND RE-MARRIAGE OF CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY¹

BY

THE REV. FATHER PULLER, S.S.J.E.

QUESTION.—‘ A MAN and woman have been married as non-Christians. The husband or the wife has been converted to Christianity and baptized, the other party remaining an unbeliever. The heathen partner repudiates the Christian, expressly on the ground of difference of religion. Is the Christian thus repudiated at liberty to contract another marriage during the life-time of the non-Christian partner :—

(a) Where the marriage has been contracted in childhood, according to the laws and customs of the country, but the parties have never lived together as man and wife ?

(b) Where the parties have lived together as man and wife ? ’

THE RESOLUTION BY REV. F. W. PULLER.

My opinion is that both on the supposition (a) and on the supposition (b) the repudiated Christian is at

¹ This essay has been long out of print, and we are greatly indebted to Father Puller for allowing us to republish it.

liberty to contract another marriage during the life time of the non-Christian partner.

As far as I can see, the determination of this question depends on the true meaning of St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. vii. 15.—*Εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄπιστος χωρίζεται, χωριζέσθω. οὐ δεδούλωται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἡ ἀδελφή ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις*,—and also on a right comprehension of the bearing of the whole passage, 1 Cor. vii. 10–17, in the middle of which the words just quoted occur.

It will perhaps be best to consider first the bearing of the whole passage on the point at issue. In verse 12, St. Paul implies that our Blessed Lord had not legislated about mixed marriages, for, if He had, the Apostle would most certainly out of reverence have referred to the teaching of his Master, instead of contenting himself with giving his own decision. It follows that it would be very unsafe to assume that our Lord's teaching about the indissolubility of marriage ought to be applied to such unions. But further, when St. Paul himself announces his own Apostolic decision in reference to them, he nowhere clearly states or implies that such marriages are indissoluble. And this is the more remarkable, because in verse 11, where he is treating of Christian marriage, he says expressly, 'Let her remain unmarried.' But in verse 15, where he treats of mixed marriages, there is no such clause. Thus the whole passage clearly shows that the statements of Christ and of St. Paul, on which the doctrine of the absolute indissolubility of Christian marriage is based, cannot

be adduced to support a similar doctrine when non-Christian marriage is in question.

It is to be specially observed that this argument is independent of the meaning which may be attached to the words *οὐ δεδούλωται* in verse 15. So that persons, who are not convinced that by those words—*οὐ δεδούλωται*—St. Paul has expressly given permission to the Christian partner to re-marry, still hold that the teaching of the whole passage implies, or (to put it at the very lowest) does not exclude, such permission.

But, as a matter of fact, it seems to me clear that the words *οὐ δεδούλωται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις* do give an express permission to the deserted Christian partner to marry again. For what other sense can the words bear? As Kling, in his comment *in loc.*, observes:—‘The words cannot simply mean: “He is not bound to crowd himself upon the other:”’ they must therefore ‘carry the further implication: “He is not unconditionally bound to the marriage relationship like a slave,”’ or in other words:—he is *free*.

The contrast between *δούλος* with its cognates and *ἐλεύθερος* with its cognates is of very frequent occurrence in the New Testament. I reckon that there are at least twenty-one passages where it occurs, of which fifteen are in St. Paul’s Epistles. This seems to confirm the idea that *οὐ δεδούλωται* is equivalent to *ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν*, and we may quote in illustration of the Apostle’s meaning verse 39, of this very chapter:—*Γυνὴ δέδεταί ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ζῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ*

αὐτῆς· ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ. The freedom spoken of in both verses is a freedom to marry.

If we turn to modern commentators on this passage, we find that many of them understand St. Paul to allow in this case re-marriage. Thus, *Bp. Wordsworth* says:—‘Although a Christian may not put away his wife, being an unbeliever, yet if the wife desert her husband (χωρίζεται) he may contract a second marriage.’ *Natalis Alexander* says:—‘Vir aut mulier fidelis subjecti non sunt matrimonii servituti in hujusmodi casu, sed soluti sunt a vinculo et lege matrimonii, ita ut alteri nubere, aut continentiam vovere possint.’ *Estius* and *Cornelius a Lapide* take the same view of the Apostle’s meaning: *Meyer*, although he differs from these divines in regard to the meaning of the expression οὐ δεδούλωται, agrees with them in their explanation of the general scope of the whole passage. He says:—‘Our text gives no express information upon the point, whether Paul would allow the Christian partner in such a union to marry again. For what οὐ δεδούλωται negatives is not the constraint “ut cælebs maneat” (Grotius, al.), but the necessity for the marriage being continued. It may be inferred, however, that as in Paul’s view mixed marriages did not come under Christ’s prohibition of divorce, so neither would he have applied the prohibition of re-marriage in Matt. v. 32 to the case of such unions. Olshausen is wrong in holding a second marriage in such case unlawful, on the ground of its being according to Matthew, *l.c.*, a

μοιχεία. Christ Himself took no account of mixed marriages. Nor would verse 11, which does not refer to marriages of that kind, be at variance with the re-marriage of the believing partner.' This extract from Meyer shows that Grotius may be quoted in favour of the right of re-marriage, and Olshausen as being opposed thereto.

On the whole, so far as I have been able to discover, the larger number of commentators suppose that the passage in 1 Cor. vii establishes the right of being divorced *a vinculo* in favour of the deserted Christian partner, while a small minority, mostly Germans, conceive that St. Paul is only allowing a separation *a mensâ et toro*.

I now pass to the witness of the Fathers and Councils and to the practice of the Church.

And I observe first that there is less patristic and conciliar evidence to be produced than one might have anticipated; and secondly, so far as I am aware, all the evidence is in favour of the right to contract a second marriage, and none opposed to it.

I will begin by quoting the *ninth Canon* and the *first half of the tenth Canon of Elvira*, for although they do not exactly touch upon the question we are discussing, they nevertheless illustrate the difference which the Church recognizes between the indissolubility of Christian marriage and the dissolubility of non-Christian marriage. The ninth Canon runs as follows:—'Femina fidelis, quæ adulterum maritum reliquerit fidelem et alterum ducit, prohibetur ne ducat: si duxerit, non prius accipiat Communionem,

nisi quem reliquit de sæculo exierit, nisi forsitan necessitas infirmitatis dare compulerit.' The first half of the 10th Canon decides that:—' Si ea quam catechumenus relinquit duxerit maritum, potest ad fontem lavacri admitti.' Thus a deserted *catechumen*, who marries again during the lifetime of her first husband, has no penance enjoined upon her, nor any delay of Baptism, but she may be baptized at once, retaining her second husband. Whereas, if a *Christian woman* married to a Christian man acts in a similar way, she is excluded from Communion during the lifetime of her first husband, unless she be in immediate danger of death. And the contrast is made all the stronger by the fact that the Christian woman is supposed to contract the second marriage in consequence of the *adultery* of her first husband, whereas in the case of the husband of the catechumen nothing is said of adultery, but he is described as having been guilty of *desertion*. Every one, I suppose, admits that, if there is to be divorce, adultery is a more cogent excuse for it than mere desertion. And yet at Elvira a catechumen's re-marriage after desertion was permitted; a Christian's re-marriage after the husband's adultery was severely punished, and was practically treated as null and void. In other words the marriage of unbaptized persons was held to be capable of dissolution, Christian marriage was treated as indissoluble. Hefele arrives at the conclusion that the Council of Elvira was held in the year of our Lord 305.

There is a passage in the commentary of *St.*

Ambrose on St. Luke xvi. 18, which notwithstanding its obscurity ought to be quoted. Not having at the present moment access to the original, I will give Mr. Keble's translation, as I find it in his 'Sequel to the argument against immediately repealing the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble : ' (Oxford, 1857, pp. 81-85). St. Ambrose says :— ' Some think that every marriage is of God : mainly relying on the text, " what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." If then every marriage is of God, every marriage is such as cannot lawfully be dissolved. And how said the Apostle, " But if the unbelieving depart let him depart ? " Here, on the one hand he hath given a signal expression of his disgust at any cause of divorce finding room among Christians ; and on the other hath indicated that not every marriage is of God. For not by God's judgment are Christian women united unto pagans.' A little further on, St. Ambrose, speaking of our Lord's statements about the Mosaical law of Divorce, says :— ' This place shows that what is written because of human frailty is not written by God. Whence also the Apostle says, " I command (not I, but the Lord) that the wife depart not from her husband." And presently, " To the rest speak I, not the Lord : if any brother have an unbelieving wife, and he leave her." So that when the marriage is mixed, there is no law of God. And he added, " But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart." The same Apostle in the same passage both declared that it was no part of God's law for any marriage to be

dissolved, and also (neither himself giving a precept, nor implying any warrant for desertion) he simply took away all blame from the deserted party.' Here St. Ambrose clearly lays down that mixed marriages are not of God, and that consequently they are capable of being dissolved. He thinks that to show God's esteem for the principle of the indissolubility of marriage, the warrant for the dissolution of mixed marriages was uttered by the Apostle and not by our Lord; just as a little before he had pointed out that the Jewish law of divorce was permitted by Moses, and not commanded by God. Both the Mosaic permission of divorce and the Apostolic permission of the dissolution of mixed marriages when the unbelieving partner departs are concessions to human frailty; they in a measure derogate from the original paradisaical law of marriage, given by God Himself; and yet both the Mosaic and the Apostolic permissions stand good, the one for Jews and the other for Christians. It seems perfectly clear to me that St. Ambrose allows the deserted Christian partner to re-marry. [N.B.—The whole passage should be studied].

The testimony of *Ambrosiaster* naturally follows on the testimony of St. Ambrose. The passage which I shall quote is specially important, because during the Middle Ages it was the great patristic authority bearing on the matter, which was quoted by almost every writer who touched on the subject. During those ages the passage was usually ascribed to St. Ambrose, but sometimes to St. Gregory the Great. It is

not certain who Ambrosiaster was. St. Augustine calls him 'Sanctus Hilarius.' But he was certainly not St. Hilary of Poitiers or St. Hilary of Arles. Most probably he was either Hilary the Deacon, or Hilary Bishop of Pavia, and there appears to be no doubt that he wrote in the second half of the fourth century. Mr. H. B. Swete says of him:—'The writer known as Ambrosiaster, who, whatever his real name and position in the Church, stands in the forefront of ancient Western expositors . . . is an acute observer of the words and the drift of the sacred text, and follows the historical rather than the allegorical or mystical method of interpretation.' In his commentary on 1 Cor. vii. 15, Ambrosiaster says:—' "*Quod si infidelis discedit discedat.*" *Propositum religionis custodit, præcipiendo ne Christiani relinquunt conjugia: sed si infidelis odio Dei discedit, fidelis non erit reus dissoluti matrimonii. Major enim causa Dei quam matrimonii. "Non est enim frater aut soror servituti subjectus in hujusmodi."* Hoc est, non debetur reverentia conjugii ei qui horret Auctorem conjugii; non enim ratum est matrimonium, quod sine Dei devotione est: ac per hoc non est peccatum ei, qui dimittitur propter Deum, si alii se junxerit. Contumelia enim Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii circa eum, qui relinquitur, ne accusetur alii copulatus. Infidelis autem discedens, et in Deum et in matrimonium peccare dignoscitur; quia noluit sub Dei devotione habere conjugium. Itaque non est ei fides servanda conjugii, quia ideo recessit, ne audiret auctorem esse Christianorum Deum conjugii. Nam si Esdras dimitti fecit

uxores aut viros infideles [cf. iii. Esdras, cap. ix], ut propitius fieret Deus, nec iratus esset, si alias ex genere suo acciperent; non enim ita præceptum his est ut remissis istis, alias minime ducerent: quanto magis si infidelis discesserit, liberum habebit arbitrium, si voluerit nubere legis suæ viro? Illud enim non debet imputari matrimonium, quod extra decretum Dei factum est; sed cum post cognoscit et dolet se deliquisse, se emendat ut veniam mereatur. Si autem ambo crediderint, per cognitionem Dei confirmant conjugium:’ (St. Ambrosii Opp., ed. Ben., Paris, 1690, Tom. ii, Appendix, col. 134).

It is strange that *St. Augustine*, who has written so much on the subject of marriage, seems never to have discussed the meaning of 1 Cor. vii. 15. He does however lay down principles which support the opinion that in the case, which we are considering, the marriage is capable of being entirely dissolved. For he teaches that there are two benefits which are common to all marriages, Christian and non-Christian; but he says that there is a third benefit peculiar to the marriage of Christians. He sums up the two universal benefits of marriage by the words ‘*proles*’ and ‘*fides*,’ and the peculiarly Christian benefit he connects with the word ‘*sacramentum*.’ And he seems to identify the idea of indissolubility with the idea of sacramentality; thus teaching by implication that non-Christian marriages are capable of being dissolved. Thus in his ‘*De Bono Conjugali*,’ cap. xxiv. (ed. Ben., vi. 337), he writes:—‘*Bonum igitur nuptiarum per omnes gentes atque omnes homines in causâ generandi est,*

et in fide castitatis: quod autem ad populum Dei pertinet, etiam in sanctitate sacramenti, per quam nefas est etiam repudio discedentium alteri nubere, dum vir ejus vivit'. (Compare capp. vii. and xv. of the same treatise). Again in his treatise 'De conjugiiis adulterinis' (Lib. i. cap. 13, Opp., ed. Ben., Tom. vi, col. 395) there is a passage even more directly pertinent to our subject. He is proving against Pollentius that St. Paul's advice to the Christian partner to co-habit with the unbelieving partner (1 Cor. vii. 12) is not an apostolic *command*, but an apostolic *counsel*: and he says:—'Cur ergo non expediat etiam infideles conjuges dimitti a fidelibus, causa evidenter expressa est. *Non enim propter vinculum cum talibus conjugale servandum sed ut adquirantur in Christum, recedi ab infidelibus conjugibus Apostolus vetat.*'

Still keeping to the Latin portion of the Church I quote next the Penitential of our own *Theodore of Tarsus* Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668–690). As Theodore spent sixty-six years of his life in the East, and as in his Penitential there are frequent references to Eastern authorities, although it was compiled for Christians in the West, it may perhaps be taken as a witness to the practice of the Church of the seventh century both in the East and West. In the 12th section of the Second Book of the Penitential occur two Capitula, which are numbered by Haddan and Stubbs 17 and 18 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 200), and which bear on our subject. In the 17th, Theodore is represented as saying:—'Si quis dimiserit gentilis gentilem uxorem,

post baptismum in potestate eis erit habere eam vel non habere.' This decision shows, I think, that Theodore recognized the dissolubility of non-Christian marriage. The 18th Capitulum is worded as follows:— 'Simili modo, si unus eorum baptizatus erit, alter gentilis, sicut Apostolus dixit, "Infidelis, si discedat, discedat," ergo cujus uxor est infidelis et gentilis et non potest converti, dimittatur.' Here one should note that 'dimittere uxorem' is a technical Latin expression for divorcing a wife; and the divorce permitted by Theodore must, I think, be understood to be a divorce *a vinculo*; for the very next Capitulum, the 19th, allows a Christian husband, who has been deserted by his Christian wife for five years, to marry again; and the 20th allows a Christian husband to marry again after one year, if his Christian wife has been taken captive in war and cannot be redeemed. Any one, who held such very lax views about the perpetuity of the bond of Christian marriage, must necessarily have allowed re-marriage to the new convert, in the case of his being deserted by his unbelieving partner. Mr. J. W. Lea, in his admirable Essay on 'Christian Marriage and its Enemies in England,' p. 36, n. 2 (Skeffington & Son, 1881), makes the judicious observation that 'some of the provisions of this famous Penitential are certainly peculiar, and show how far Evangelical doctrine had already yielded to the strain of those semi-barbarous and still partially heathen ages.' This fact must prevent our accepting as precedents such decisions as those embodied in the 19th and 20th

Capitula ; but, as the doctrine of the 18th Capitulum is in harmony with the general consensus of the Fathers, it may be fairly quoted as showing that the traditional teaching was retained in the dark period of the seventh century.

When we come to the age of the schoolmen, it is important to observe that *Hugh of St. Victor*, who died A.D. 1142, discusses the meaning of 1 Cor. vii. 15, and pronounces in favour of right of re-marriage. Hugh's decision must have been published before the appearance of the Sentences of Peter Lombard and the Decretum of Gratian, and he may therefore be considered to be a perfectly independent witness. His treatment of the subject in his treatise 'De Sacramentis Fidei' (Lib. ii, Paris xi, cap. 13, Jom iii, pp. 298, 299 Opp., ed. Venet, 1588) is full and singularly fresh. He holds that the converted partner is free to contract another marriage, whether the unbelieving partner is willing or whether he is unwilling to co-habit, although in the former case he thinks that it is more perfect to recognize the continuance of the original marriage.

In the middle of the twelfth century *Gratian* and *Peter Lombard* published the two works mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and the conclusions laid down by them governed the Schools of theologians and canonists throughout the Middle Ages. They both agree in allowing re-marriage, when the unbelieving partner refuses to co-habit. Van Espen, commenting on Gratian's discussion of the subject, says :—'Sententiam Gratiani sequuti sunt uno

consensu Theologi et Canonistæ : quin et ipsi Romani Pontifices eam in omnibus adoptarunt, uti videre est in Decretalibus Clementis III et Cælestini III, quæ exstant sub titulo de "conversione infidelium" in secundâ collectione apud Antonium Augustinum ; et quod notandum, sequuti Gratianum, verba Ambrosii [? Ambrosiastri] tribuunt S. Gregorio. Similiter et Innocentius III sententiam Gratiani adoptavit in Cap. de Divortiis : ' Cf. Van Espen, Brev. Comm. in 2m Partem Gratiani (Opp., ed. Lovan., 1753, Tom. iii, pp. 630, 631).

The Papal decisions mentioned by Van Espen are embodied in the Canon Law and are to be found in the Collection of Decretals published by Gregory IX (Lib. iv, Tit. xix, De Divortiis, capp. vii, viii, 'Quanto' and 'Gaudemus'), and in the 'Decreti' Secunda Pars, causa xxviii, quæst. 2, 'si infidelis.' [Vol. i, p. 946, and vol. ii, p. 695, ed Lips., 1829].

On account of the far-reaching effect of the Decretals of the great legislator, *Innocent III*, I will quote passages from the two chapters, 'Quanto' and 'Gaudemus,' which chapters are in fact two of Innocent's decretal letters. The first letter, 'Quanto,' was addressed to the Bishop of Ferrara, and the second letter, 'Gaudemus,' was addressed to the Bishop of Tiberias. They are printed in the 'Prima Collectio Decretalium Innocentii III.,' which is appended by Baluzius to the first volume of his edition of the eleven books of Pope Innocent's Epistles (Ed. Paris, 1682, i, 603-5). The first letter 'Quanto' is also printed in a rather more accurate form at p. 365

or the same volume. It is there numbered as the 50th Epistle of the second Book. In the letter to the Bishop of Ferrara Innocent says:—‘ Si alter infidelium conjugum ad fidam Catholicam convertatur, altero, vel nullo modo, vel saltem non absque blasphemiâ Divini Nominis, vel ut eum pertrahat ad mortale peccatum, ei cohabitare volente, qui relinquitur ad secunda, si voluerit, vota transibit. Et in hoc casu intelligimus quod dicit Apostolus, “ Si infidelis discedit, discedat, frater enim et soror non est servituti subjectus in hujusmodi ” et Canonem in quo dicitur quod contumelia Creatoris solvit jus matrimonii circa eum qui relinquitur Nam etsi matrimonium verum quidem inter infideles existat, non tamen est ratum : inter fideles autem verum quidem et ratum existit.’ This letter was written in A.D. 1212. I have no doubt that the ‘ Canon,’ to which Innocent refers, is simply the extract from Ambrosiaster, as he found it incorporated into the Decretum of Gratian. Janus (*The Pope and the Council*, Eng. trans., p. 150) says:—‘ As early as the twelfth century, in quoting a passage from Gratian, the Popes used to say, it was “ in sacris Canonibus,” or “ in decretis ”.’

In his Epistle to the Bishop of Tiberias, Innocent adds the following caution:—‘ Quod si conversum ad fidem et illa conversa sequetur, antequam propter causas prædictas legitimum ille ducat uxorem, eam recipere compelletur.’

After tracing down the permission to contract another marriage, until we have seen it formally

incorporated into the Canon Law, it seems needless to give quotations from later writers of the Latin Church. I may mention, however, that the question is discussed by *St. Thomas* in his Commentary on 1 Cor. vii. 15 and also in his Treatise on the Sentences (Lib. iv, dist. 39, § 5), as well as in the 'Summa.' It is also discussed by *Benedict XIV.* in his 'De Synodo Diœc.' Lib. vi, cap. iv, §§3 et seqq., and in Lib. xiii, cap. 21.

The only note of discord, which I have chanced to light upon, in the midst of the general *consensus* of Latin writers, occurs in the later struggles of the Jansenist party in France. I have no reason to suppose that the great Jansenists of the seventeenth century held any peculiar views on the matter. Van Espen, himself a Jansenist, gives no sign of there being any controversy in the Church touching the question. But the later Jansenists of the eighteenth century were, as a rule, a very degenerate race, and seem to have been possessed with a spirit of faction. I have not been able to investigate the matter, but the following is a notice of the controversy by Martinet, who, it should be noted, is a strongly Ultramontane writer. In his 'Institutiones Theologicæ,' Tom. iv, p. 562 (Ed. Paris, 1859), he says that the discussion arose 'occasione Judæi conversi. Hic enim, desertus ab uxore infideli, cum a novis nuptiis prohiberetur sententiâ Curiaë Episcopalis Suessionensis, Jansenii partibus deditæ, appellavit senatum Parisiensem, qui ipse, Janseniano veneno imbutus, sententiam Suesionensem confirmavit, an. 1758. Hanc victoriam

factio [sc. Janseniana] celebravit multitudine scriptorum, in quibus avita doctrina impugnabatur, veluti aliena Scripturis venerandæque antiquitati.' I ought to add that Martinet (p. 566, note 1) mentions that the very learned Cardinal de la Luzerne (Instruct. sur le Rituel, n. 670) defended the opinion which the Episcopal Court at Soissons and the Parliament of Paris had made their own. I have searched in the Bodleian Library, but Cardinal de la Luzerne's 'Instructions sur le Rituel' seems not to be there. He was a strong Gallican, and might feel bound to defend the decision of the Parisian Parliament.

As regards the law and practice of England, Dr. Walter Phillimore, the Chancellor of Lincoln, writes to me to say that he cannot find that the question has ever been discussed. When one remembers that until the seventeenth century England had no possessions in heathen countries, and that the Jews were expelled from the kingdom by Edward I, and were not re-admitted until the time of the Commonwealth, this curious fact becomes intelligible. I should suppose that during all the time of the expulsion of the Jews, no marriage was recognized as legally valid, which had not been celebrated according to the forms of the Established Church.

Dr. Phillimore goes on to say :—' But is it not possible that a preliminary question arises, whether the law of England would think there was any need of a divorce? Apparently it would not, if the heathen marriage were polygamous. Lord Penzance, sitting in the Divorce Court, in the case of *Hyde v. Hyde* and

Woodmansee (Law Reports 2 Probate and Divorce p. 130) in a judgment well worth looking at, refused so far to recognize a Mormon marriage as to grant a divorce from it, saying that such a marriage was not in the Christian sense, or in the sense understood in his Court a marriage at all. He thought it made no difference that in the case in question there was actual monogamy as there might have been at any time polygamy.'

In speaking of the silence of English authorities, one must, of course, except the statements of Abp. Theodore of Canterbury, which have been already quoted. It is also quite possible that a more searching investigation might bring to light English precedents of the thirteenth century. One would think that cases must have arisen before the expulsion of the Jews. Great efforts were in those days made to convert them, and Henry III. erected a college in London for the reception of Jewish converts.

Passing from actual practice and authoritative legal decisions to the opinions of post-Reformation English theologians, I find that *Thorndike*, in his treatise 'Of the Laws of the Church,' which constitutes the third Book of his 'Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England,' (chap. xiii., §§ 12-19, Works, A.C. Libr. Ed., 1852, Vol. iv., pp. 287, etc.) discusses the question,—'Why converts married before conversion [are] not bound according to St. Paul to stand to those marriages.' Thorndike says that 'by Moses' law the marriages of Jews with idolaters were void and unlawful to be used, as we see by Ezra ix., x., Nehemiah x. 30; on the other side that in the Roman Empire

the wife as well as the husband had power to divorce herself and to dissolve wedlock : which is argument enough, how far they were from being the marriages of Christians. Whereupon I say, that, the marriages of pagans not being made upon the same ground as the marriages of Christians (which is the mutual interest [sic] in one another's bodies), as it is no marvel, on one side, that St. Paul obliges them not to part as Moses did (because those, that were not tied by law, might, for the particular love they had to their wives turned Christians, tie themselves to them alone ; and upon those who did so, the wives had great advantage to draw them to Christianity, as he alleges), so it is evident, on the other side why he allows them to part ; to wit, having no confidence of that faith in wedlock from them, which Christians of necessity profess' (p. 288). A little further on in the same chapter, Thorndike says that ' St. Paul is not well understood by them, that would have him to extend that cause of divorce which our Lord had delivered, unto the case of desertion upon the conversion of the other to the faith. For if the premisses be true, it is not a divorce which St. Paul allows, but nullity which he pronounces, of those marriages which stand not upon profession of that interest in one another's bodies which Christianity requires' (p. 290). It is clear that Thorndike, since he holds that St. Paul in 1 Cor. vii. 15 makes a declaration of nullity in the case of the unbeliever departing, allows the new convert to contract a fresh marriage.

I have already referred to the present *Bishop of*

Lincoln [Wordsworth] as deciding in favour of the right of re-marriage. On the other hand *Mr. Keble* in his 'Sequel' seems to write as if he thought that St. Paul allows of a separation only, without any right of marrying again. I hardly think that Mr. Keble can have realized what a *consensus* of Catholic authority there is in favour of the idea that St. Paul permits of a divorce *a vinculo* in this case. I have not happened to come across any other discussion of the matter in authoritative English writers.

I now proceed to consider the witness of the Eastern Church. And before examining quotations from individual Fathers and Councils, it will be well to recall the fact that from the time of the Establishment of the Church by Constantine and his immediate successors a tendency manifested itself in the Eastern Church towards a relaxation of the strictness of the Gospel law concerning Christian marriage. In practice, Christians were in many cases allowed to contract a second marriage after divorce, during the life-time of their former partner, although that partner was also a Christian.

In the Ante-Nicene times this relaxation had been countenanced by 'certain governors of the Church,' as Origen puts it, 'contrary to what was enacted and written from the beginning,' [cf. Origen in St. Matt. xix., §§. 16-24, quoted by Keble in his 'Sequel,' p. 22], but nevertheless it seems clear that the general practice and teaching of the whole Church, both in the East and West, was during those times adverse to such a proceeding.

But in the fourth century what had been an exceptional irregularity became the common rule in the East. It was in the East that the Arian troubles were most felt, and one consequence of those troubles was the disorganization of ecclesiastical discipline. Worldliness and laxity were the natural concomitants of heresy. And so it came to pass that the Church's teaching about the indissolubility of Christian marriage was in practice modified, so as to clash as little as possible with the civil laws which recognized divorce *a vinculo* for all subjects of the Empire, Christian and non-Christian alike. One can see proofs of this relaxation in what are called St. Basil's Canons, which are contained in his three Canonical Epistles to Amphilochius of Iconium : (Opp. St. Basilii, ed. Ben., Paris, 1730, iii, 268-276, 290-297, 324-330). The Benedictine Editors in their note to the seventy-seventh of these Canons (p. 329) come to the conclusion that St. Basil allowed under certain circumstances a Christian marriage to be dissolved by a divorce *a vinculo*. But it should be observed that St. Basil in the course of these Canonical Epistles points out more than once that the existing custom of the Church did not come up to the strictness of our Lord's legislation in the Gospel.

The witness of St. Epiphanius agrees with that of St. Basil (Opp. ed. Petav. i. 497, Hær., lix. 4), but he seems to acquiesce in the relaxation of the Gospel law, whilst it is clear that St. Basil protests mentally against all departure from that law.

Mr. Keble thinks that probably St. Asterius of

Amasa held the view that marriage was altogether annulled by the wife's adultery (Sequel, p. 59).

As may be supposed, a tendency to laxity which had made such way in the fourth century as to be accepted in practice by such men as St. Basil, St. Epiphanius and St. Asterius, was not likely to be diminished in the less enlightened ages which followed. Accordingly we find that the position laid down in St. Basil's Canonical Epistles was synodically confirmed by the Council in Trullo in its eighty-seventh Canon, and was thus made authoritative throughout the whole Eastern Church. This took place in A.D. 690. But a further door of laxity was opened. The thirty-fifth Canon of St. Basil, and the eighty-seventh Trullan Canon which is founded on it, speak of a woman separating from her husband 'unreasonably' (*ἀλόγως*); and the Trullan Canon distinctly implies that, if the woman leaves 'reasonably,' there will be room for divorce *a vinculo*, and she will be able to contract legitimately another marriage. The Greek Canonists, commenting on this Canon, (as for example Balsamon), defined 'unreasonable' causes to be exclusively such causes as were disallowed by the secular laws, as interpreted by the secular judges. Thus in the East the discipline of the Church was at length harmonized with the semi-pagan legislation of the State by a complete subordination of the former to the latter, so far at least as the subjects of marriage and divorce were concerned.

I have thought it well to point out this terrible relaxation of the law of matrimonial indissolubility

which gradually prevailed in the East, because it is only by realizing the attitude of the Eastern Church towards the dissolution of Christian marriages, that we shall be able securely to interpret passages from Eastern writers bearing on the dissolubility of non-Christian marriages.

One other preliminary matter needs to be considered. I have not been able to discover any Greek words exactly equivalent to the terms,—‘divorce *a vinculo*,’ and ‘divorce or separation *a mensâ et toro*.’ I am inclined to doubt whether in Post-Nicene times the Eastern Church ever recognized any divorces except divorces *a vinculo*. The Roman civil law permitted remarriage in all cases of divorce, [see the Article on ‘Marriage’ in Smith and Cheetham’s *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1113, and also the Article on ‘Divortium’ in Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 349], and the Christian Emperors made no change in this matter; and although I do not for a moment suppose that the great Eastern Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries allowed divorces for all the various causes enumerated in the Civil Codes, yet in those cases in which they did allow divorce, as for example in the case of adultery, they, or at least some of them, seem to have accepted the doctrine of the lawyers that by divorce the bond of matrimony is dissolved, and that consequently the innocent party is free to marry again. There are two Greek words used to signify divorce in the civil laws and in the writings of the Canonists, *viz.* *διέσσιον* and *διαζύγιον*. They seem

exactly to answer to the two Latin words, 'divortium' and 'repudium.' Originally *διέσιον* and 'divortium' signified the dissolution of *marriage*, while *διαζύγιον* and 'repudium' signified the breaking up of a *betrothal*. But in the later practice both *διαζύγιον* and 'repudium' were also used to signify the divorce of married persons: [see the Article on 'Divortium' in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and see also the express statements of Balsamon in his Commentary on the thirtieth chapter of (? the *Nomocanon* of) Photius]. This later use of the word 'repudium' must have commenced at least as early as the second century of our era, since we find that St. Justin Martyr, ii. *Apol.* § 2, when speaking of a wife divorcing her husband, calls the divorce a '*ῥεπούδιον*'. Balsamon (*loc. cit.*) says of *διαζύγιον*, that it is called *παρὰ Λατίνους* '*ῥεπούδιον*.' However, both in its earlier and later use, the betrothed or married parties who had obtained a *διαζύγιον* were free to betroth themselves or marry again.

I am afraid that I have had to write a very long introduction to a very small array of Eastern authorities. The only excuse that I can make is, that it seemed to me that without some such introduction the meaning of these few quotations, which I am about to put down, would have remained uncertain.

I must begin by saying that I have not succeeded in finding anything which bears directly on our subject in either St. Chrysostom or Theodoret. Estius refers to St. Chrysostom as an authority for allowing the Christian partner to re-marry, and Martinet quotes a

passage from his Commentary on 1 Cor. vii. 15, as if it plainly taught that the 'vinculum' of these marriages may be dissolved; but I cannot help thinking that these writers are mistaken. The passage quoted by Martinet seems to me to pass by the subject altogether, perhaps because the congregation, to whom St. Chrysostom was preaching, was one for whom the introduction of such a subject would have been inappropriate.

The earliest purely Eastern authority bearing on the meaning of 1 Cor. vii. 15, which I have discovered, is the seventy-second *Canon of the Council in Trullo* (A.D. 690). It runs as follows:—'It is not lawful for an Orthodox man to be joined to a heretick woman, nor for an Orthodox woman to be united to a heretick man. But if it shall appear that anything of this kind shall have been done, the nuptials must be held to be cancelled and the unlawful marriage must be dissolved (ἀκυρον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸ ἄθεσμον διαλύεσθαι συνοικέσιον). For it is not right that things which will not mingle should be mingled, nor that the wolf should be conjoined to the sheep, nor the lot of sinners to the party of Christ. But if any one shall transgress this our decree, let him be deprived of communion (ἀφοριζέσθω). But if any who are still unbelievers and not yet reckoned among the flock of the Orthodox have been joined to each other in lawful marriage, and afterwards one of them, choosing that which is good, shall come to the light of the truth, but the other shall remain in the bonds of error, being unwilling to gaze at the divine rays,

and if it shall please the unbelieving woman to cohabit with the believing man, or *vice versâ* the unbelieving man to cohabit with the believing woman, let them not separate from each other, according to the teaching of the holy Apostles; "for the unbelieving man is sanctified by the woman, and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the man." (Labbe and Cossart: Concilia, ed. Venet., 1729, tom. vii., col. 1380). The strict letter of this Canon seems to omit the particular case which we are investigating, for the first half of the Canon decrees the nullity of all mixed marriages contracted between Catholics and heretics; that is to say, it constitutes heresy in one of the parties an *impedimentum dirimens*; and the second half of the Canon requires a newly converted Catholic to continue to cohabit with his unbelieving partner, if that partner is willing to live with him; but the Canon gives no explicit direction as to what is to be done, if the unbeliever 'departs.' Nevertheless I have no doubt that Balsamon has rightly interpreted the meaning of the Canon, when he adds, as a gloss on its second division, that if the unbelieving partner 'wishes to be divorced (*διαζυγήναι*), thenceforth the marriage shall be dissolved, (*ἀπεντέθην ὁ γάμος διασπασθήσεται*).' In his comment on the first half of the Canon, Balsamon had used the word *διασπᾶσθαι* for a complete cancelling of the marriage, saying that a mixed marriage is to be cancelled, as having no real existence, (*διασπᾶσθαι τὸ συνοικέσιον ὡς ἀνυπόστατον*): so there can be no doubt that when he uses *διασπᾶσθαι* again, in his gloss on the second part of

the Canon, he means to say that, if the unbelieving partner wishes to be divorced, thenceforth the marriage shall be dissolved *quoad vinculum*.

As I have already said, Balsamon's interpretation or gloss seems to me to be clearly right, for if the Fathers of the Trullan Council had intended the new convert to remain unmarried, in the case of the unbeliever departing, they would surely have made an explicit statement to that effect. The whole Canon treats of mixed marriages. Ordinarily mixed marriages are to be cancelled: but one exception to this rule is admitted; the marriage is allowed to stand good, when it was contracted by two persons external to the Church, whereof one has now been admitted within the fold, and the other, though abiding in unbelief, is willing to fulfil all the duties which flow from the union. The Canon seems to contemplate only two alternatives, either divorce *a vinculo*, or the full continuance of the marriage relation. The third alternative of separation *a mensâ et toro* seems not to have occurred to the mind of the legislators.

Or we may look at the Canon from another point of view, and yet arrive at the same result. The Canon is a witness, as I shall prove in the next paragraph, that the Eastern Church was even more opposed to mixed marriages than the Western Church. And therefore since the Western Church, which refused to allow divorce *a vinculo* for adultery, nevertheless did allow it in the particular case of mixed marriages which we are considering, it must be supposed that the Eastern Church which permitted

divorce *a vinculo* for adultery, and which held mixed marriages in general in greater abhorrence than was the case in the West, would *a fortiori* agree with the West in allowing complete divorce in the case before us.

It is easy to show from this Canon that mixed marriages were treated more severely in the East than in the West. Both East and West, following the teaching of St. Paul (2 Cor. vi. 14, and 1 Cor. vii. 39), have always from the earliest times dissuaded and prohibited marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics. Nevertheless, at first, though illicit, they were not considered to be invalid. But at least from the beginning of the twelfth century, the Latin Church has treated marriages contracted between Catholics and unbaptized persons as being absolutely invalid. The West however has never gone so far as to invalidate marriages contracted between Catholics and baptized heretics.¹ As St. Thomas (in IV Sentent., dist. 39 qu. i., art. i., ad 5) says:—‘Si aliquis fidelis cum hæreticâ baptizatâ matrimonium contrahit, verum est matrimonium, quamvis peccet contrahendo.’ But here, in this seventy-second Trullan Canon, the Eastern Church, as early as the seventh century, absolutely annuls all marriages contracted between Church people and heretics. This is surely a convincing proof of my position that mixed marriages have been treated with greater severity in the East than in the West.

¹ This essay was written before the issue of the *Ne temere* Decree.—Ed.

I now pass to the witness of the two commentators, Œcumenius and Theophylact.

Œcumenius: Bishop of Tricca (circa 995), apparently quoting Photius, says in his Commentary on 1 Cor. vii. 15 :—‘ A believing man or woman is not bound by the same constraining tie (οὐκ ἔχει ἀνάγκην τοιαύτην) to unbelievers, as he is to believers. For in this latter case it is not lawful for those who are united together to separate from each other for any reason saving for the cause of fornication. But in the former case, if it shall seem good to the unbelieving party to cohabit with the believer, it is right not to dissolve the marriage (δεῖ μὴ λύειν τὸ συνοικέσιον) ; but if the unbeliever shall quarrel (or ‘rebel’—*στασιάξῃ*), the believer is not under any compulsion which would hinder his being separated (*χωρισθῆναι*) ; but since she dissolves the marriage, he also is free to separate.’ The passage is not perfectly clear ; but there can be no doubt that it allows the same sort of divorce to be effected in this case, as is allowed to the innocent party after separation on account of adultery ; and considering the late date of Œcumenius, I feel morally certain that in the case of adultery he would have allowed a divorce *a vinculo* ; so that I conclude that he allows the same in the case which we are investigating.

Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria (circa 1077), in his Commentary on 1 Cor. vii. 15., says :—‘ If he quarrels (*μάχεται*) with thee, because thou dost not share his unbelief, be divorced (*διαζύγηθι*) For it is better to be divorced

(ἀπαλλαγῆναι, see Liddell and Scott, s.v.) than to quarrel. For a state of quarrelling is not in accordance with the Divine Will: "for in peace hath He called you." So that if he quarrels, he affords a cause of divorce (τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ διαζυγίου).' A little before, Theophylact had made statements implying the nature of the quarrels which he had in his mind. He had said:—'As for example, if he should order you to share in his unbelief, or else to depart from the marriage, then depart. For it is better that the marriage should be dissolved, than godliness (βέλτιον γὰρ τὸν γάμον ἢ τὴν ἐνσέβειαν λυθῆναι).' Theophylact's statements seem to me to be perfectly free from ambiguity. He uses in reference to this matter the technical word διαζύγιον, which, as we have seen, answers to the Latin 'repudium,' and so implies divorce *a vinculo*.

I have no doubt that if one were to make a careful search into the writings of the Greek Canonists, Zonaras, Balsamon, Harmenopulus, etc., one would be able to collect many passages illustrative of our subject. As we have not got them in our library here, I have had no opportunity of really investigating them. In a very cursory search into *Balsamon* I came across the comment on the seventy-second Trullan Canon which I have already quoted (p. 19), and which shows clearly that in his view the newly converted Christian would have a right to contract a second marriage, if he were deserted by his unbelieving partner. Further on in his comment on the seventy-second Canon Balsamon gives an actual instance of

the cancelling of marriage in accordance with the Canon. He says:—‘And this actually happened in the time of the most holy Patriarch, the Lord Theodotus, for one of the imperial trumpeters (*βασιλικὸς βυκινάτωρ*), after he had been baptized, was by the decree of the Patriarch divorced (*διεζύγη*) from his unbelieving wife, since notwithstanding all her husband’s persuasion she could not be induced to receive baptism.’ The Theodotus here mentioned was Patriarch of Constantinople in the time of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (circa 1150). Balsamon himself became Patriarch of Antioch about A.D. 1186.

If one considers the conservative tendencies of the later Eastern Church, it seems most unlikely that any alteration of discipline in connexion with these marriages should have taken place since the time of Balsamon.

On the whole it seems clear that the Eastern and Western Churches, by their practice, and by the unopposed teaching of some of their principal writers, bear witness in favour of the opinion that under the circumstances described in the Case the repudiated Christian is at liberty to contract another marriage during the life-time of the non-Christian partner.

This witness of the Church confirms me in my belief that the ordinary interpretation of St. Paul’s injunction in 1 Cor. vii. 15 is correct; and if so, the opinion set forth in the Resolution of the Question must stand good, so far as it refers to the supposition (*b*), and therefore also *a fortiori* so far as it refers to the supposition (*a*).

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