

OSCAR CULLMANN: HEILSGESCHICHTE THEOLOGY

by

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PREFACE

In German the word Heilsgeschichte bears the double sense of "saving history" and "history of salvation."¹ In our day it is widely used to refer to those saving acts of God in human history which are recorded in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and to the redemptive character of that history as such. The term points to the fact that salvation is connected with the action of God rather than with abstract theological propositions about him. "History" in this context refers primarily to the revelatory events of biblical history with its center in the Christ-event. In a secondary sense all history is Heilsgeschichte, that is, its ultimate meaning must be understood and judged in terms of the continuous work and purpose of the same living and acting God, the Father of Jesus Christ, who once made himself uniquely known in his saving actions recorded in the Old and New Testament.

The Heilsgeschichte theology regards the biblical proclamation of God's action in history not as mythology, not as a pre-scientific way of announcing existential truth, but as ultimate and factual truth. Since the action of God, precisely because it is God's action, is not accessible to man's scientific inquiry, the truth of the biblical proclamation is not verifiable by the techniques of scientific historical investigation. For instance, Heilsgeschichte theology does not claim to demonstrate

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the historicity of the resurrection of Jesus by means of scientific historical research. Belief in God's action in Christ remains faith and will never become scientific explanation. But it is not a faith based on mere credulity; reputable historical attestation to the resurrection of Christ rests on the testimony of those apostolic witnesses who saw the Risen Lord.

A distinguished exponent of the Heilsgeschichte theology is Professor Oscar Cullmann of Basel and the Sorbonne. According to the famous French theologian, Jean Danielou, S.J., Professor Cullmann's study in Heilsgeschichte theology, Christ and Time, possesses the merit of having assembled everything that the NT has to say about the meaning of history. Cullmann's viewpoint on Heilsgeschichte may be capsulized thus: all Christian theology is Christology, and all Christology is Heilsgeschichte. He rejects entirely Bultmann's view that the theology of the NT is a mythology and that the NT kerygma must be demythologized to clarify its meaning.² For Cullmann, the question about Jesus was answered by early Christianity in terms of a series of real facts; the events of the life, work and death of Jesus of Nazareth and the experience of his presence and continuing work beyond death within the fellowship of his disciples.³

The Heilsgeschichte school's central affirmation is the factuality of God's action in the events to which the Bible

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testifies.⁴ In biblical faith everything depends upon whether the central events actually occurred - the whole basis of faith is destroyed by rejection or even indifference to the historicity of these facts.⁵ Cullmann regards indifference to history as the arch-heresy, docetism.⁶ While historical research cannot prove that God acted in history, it can strengthen our confidence that it is reasonable to believe that he did so act.⁷ History points to faith; and faith points to history as the place of God's revelation to men. The biblical history is itself kerygmatic; it bears the witness of those who saw and believed. It is not mythical, but real flesh-and-blood history. It is the "scandal" of the biblical witness, as it is the scandal of the Incarnation that the Eternal should have become historical and therefore the historical should become the bearer of the eternal Word who became flesh.⁸

In Cullmann's view, all Heilsgeschichte, or redemptive history as we will refer to it in the body of this study, leads into Christ and moves out from Christ in a single unrepeatable process. From Heilsgeschichte, the early Church's Christology received its characteristic structure as the center in a real history.⁹ By careful analysis of the titles accorded to Jesus in the NT, Cullmann shows that the early Church was founded upon the words and deeds, the self-consciousness and vocation, the passion and death, of Jesus himself, the historical figure

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delineated in the Gospels. It was, however, only in the light of the Easter experience and the power of the Spirit in the Church that the NT understanding of the person and work of Christ was finally formulated.

Even such a brief exposition of Cullmann's position points to the centrality in his thought of the whole question of history. If there is one over-arching category of thought in his writings, it is that of history. Moreover, since the publication of Christ and Time, Cullmann's position has aroused the comment and criticism of contemporary theologians. In view of the present importance of this question of the significance of time and history in the light of Christian revelation we have elected to probe into and clarify as far as possible the position of one of the leading Heilsgeschichte theologians of our day - Oscar Cullmann.

CHAPTER I

THE NOTION OF REDEMPTIVE HISTORY IN PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

In his book, Christ and Time,¹ Oscar Cullmann proposes to investigate as the basic presuppositions of all NT theology the NT concept of time and history. According to his thesis, the chief aim of the Primitive Christian consideration of history is a Christocentric one. Clearly discernible in the NT writings, Cullmann contends, is the attempt to relate a definite number of events, some of which happened before Christ, some of which happen after Christ, in relation to that event which is central and primary, the work of Christ. The very nature of the historical work of Jesus, regarded as the full expression of the divine revelatory action, requires one to combine the remainder of divine revelatory action with it on one unified line to present a single biblical history.

The temporally connected historical series which results is a special process extending the length of the time-line, which Cullmann refers to as the Christ-line or Christ-process. Included on the same temporal Christ-line in a cosmic extension of history is the divine creation; the historical events centering around the mission of the people of Israel; the activity of Jesus and the apostles; the primitive Church; and the end of days. Deriving from this concept of a historical process,

connected, unified, and rendered meaningful by its relation to Christ, the Christian concept of time as the scene of redemptive history² is seen by Cullmann as unique, because it conceives of salvation as bound to a continuous time process which embraces past, present and future.

In the narrower sense, redemptive history, building on divine revelation and the original fall of man into sin as its presuppositions, is described by Cullmann:

The God who is Love in his mercy removes the curse resting on man and brings about a further time process which removes the curse of sin and death, reconciles man with himself, and likewise brings the entire creation to a new creation in which death exists no more.³

God reveals himself in a special way and effects salvation in a final way within a narrowly limited but continuing process, and from the line of this process he controls the whole of history and happenings in nature. And Christ is the mediator of the entire process of the divine revelatory action, cosmic as well as historical, since in the Primitive Christian view the subject of God's revelatory action always pertains to Christ. Wherever God has revealed himself and will yet reveal himself from the creation on to the full realization of the new creation of the new creation in the parousia the Word who became flesh at a definite time must be at work.

Against the thesis of Rudolf Bultmann, Cullmann insists that redemptive history is not an external framework which the Christian faith can discard, or a myth of which NT revelation can be unclothed.⁴ But neither must we approach the NT with a philosophical concept of time, for then we will surely suc-

cumb to reinterpreting the NT in terms of our own presuppositions, as he feels Karl Barth has tended to do with the concept of time.⁵ Rather, Cullmann insists, at the heart of all NT theology we will find redemptive history. In the remainder of this chapter we will present and examine the main elements which Cullmann brings forth to support his position that the NT conceives of the process of time and history as redemptive history.

NT Time Terminology and Redemptive History

Evidence that the NT writings for the first time give to all revelation an essential anchorage in time and point to the emphatically temporal character of Primitive Christian faith is discoverable in the significance of the time terminology used in the NT.⁶ The two terms which serve to characterize that time in which redemptive history occurs are "kairos" and "aion."

A kairos is a point of time that has a special place and fixed content in the execution of God's plan of salvation.⁷ In fact, the realization of the divine plan of salvation is bound to such time points or kairoi chosen by God and because of this, this plan forms redemptive history. The principle of divine selection of the kairoi is solely the "sovereign divine power" (Acts 1:7; I Thess. 5:1).⁸ The importance of the notion of kairos is evident, for the redemptive line itself arises by the joining of past, present and future kairoi. The time of the Christ-event is seen both by the Church (Tit. 1:3) and by Christ himself (Matt. 26:18; Jn 7:3) in the role of a

kairos central in its significance for redemptive history. For the believer in the period of the Primitive Church, the early part of the present period, there is a divine kairos (I Pet. 4:17; Col. 4:5; Eph. 5:16). The kairoi of I Tim. 6:14-15 refer to happenings of the still future stages of redemptive history. The decisive moment of the eschatological drama is a kairos (Rev. 1:3; 11:18). Cullmann finds indication that these kairoi of the past, present and future are to be joined from his reading of I Tim. 2:6 in conjunction with I Tim. 6:14-15.

In Cullmann's estimation, "day" and "hour" are the next most important terms used in the NT to express the same idea as kairos. Judaism's "day of the Lord" was seen by Primitive Christianity as beginning with the eschatological drama in the future; in this light Cullmann reads Mk. 13:32.⁹ In numerous passages in the Gospel of John, Christ speaks of his "hour" with reference to the central hour in the Christ-event, his death. The emphatic "now" so frequently used in the NT stresses the fact that "the present period of the Apostolic Age belongs in an outstanding way to the redemptive history and is thus distinguished from all other times" (Col. 1:26).¹⁰ Cullmann sums up the importance of these terms which characterize the decisive stages of time individually in their separate significance:

. . . these expressions refer to moments or at least to sharply defined periods of time in the past as well as in the present and future. God chooses these moments or periods of time for the realization of his plan of salvation, and does so in a way that the joining of them in

the light of this plan forms a meaningful time line.¹¹

The importance of the NT term aion roots in the fact that it provides the framework for the history of redemption.¹²

Meaning "period of time" or "age", aion functions in the NT to signify both an exactly defined period of time and an undefined and incalculable duration, which, Cullmann explains, we translate as "eternity." The following schematic survey drawn up by Cullmann of the temporal sense¹³ of the word aion in its uses both in the singular and the plural is intended to demonstrate that only the simple rectilinear conception of unending time can be considered as the framework of the NT history of redemption:

1. Time in its entire unending extension, which is unlimited in both the backward and the forward direction, and thus is "eternity."¹⁴

2. Limited time, which lies between creation and the eschatological drama, and thus is identical with the "present" age, "this" age.¹⁵

3. Periods of time that are limited in one direction but unlimited in the other, and specifically:

a. The period to which the phrase, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ "out of the age," points back, that is, the time that lies before the creation. On the side of creation it has an end and so a limit; but in the backward direction it is unlimited, unending, and only in this sense is it eternal.

b. The time that extends beyond the end of the present age ($\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\upsilon$, the "coming age"). It thus has in the so-called eschatological drama its beginning and so a limit; but in the forward direction it is unlimited, unend-

ing, and only in this sense is it eternal.¹⁶

In connection with the Present Age described under point two above, Cullmann makes some observations of importance for our subject. He sees Gal. 1:4 as characterizing this age as evil. With what is this evil character linked? With the time quality as such? Standing at the beginning of this period of time as an event with a determinative role is the fall of man into sin. Now, the fall did not create the time category, but it did involve the powers of evil in the course of events that fill this age; this, says Cullmann, is the meaning of the Galatians passage. Moreover, the Coming Age, Cullmann insists, does not mean timelessness in the Platonic and modern philosophical sense where it stands in contrast to time; it is not already present as eternity, but is distinguished from the Present Age as future is from present. The course of events to fill this age is marked by the conquest of evil powers.

In summary then, what is the significance of the terms for time in the NT as Cullmann believes Primitive Christianity understood them? Time in its unending extension as well as in its individual periods and moments is both given and ruled by God.¹⁷ Time, rather than viewed as a problem, is seen as the natural presupposition of all that God causes to occur. The extent to which God's acting is bound up with time is indicated by the fact that Christ, the divine revelatory Word himself, the mediator of all divine action, is so fully and closely connected with endless divine time that his nature is described in time terminology: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and today

and into the ages (Heb. 13:8; see also Rev. 1:17; 2:8; 22:13).

Primitive Christian Linear Concept of Time

According to the Primitive Christian concept of time reflected in NT terminology, time is not something hostile to God that he must overcome, but rather it is the instrument he uses to reveal his working for the redemption and salvation of man. Basing his conclusion on the mention in the NT of a "beginning" (ἀρχή) and an "end" (τέλος), Cullmann contends that the symbol of time for Primitive Christianity is the upward sloping straight line, a rectilinear conception of time.¹⁸ The importance of this concept is that

it is precisely upon the basis of this rectilinear conception of time that time in Primitive Christianity can yield the framework for the divine process of revelation and redemption, for those kairoi which God in his omnipotence fixes, for those ages into which he divides the whole process. Because time is thought of as an upward sloping line, it is possible here for something to be "fulfilled"; a divine plan can move forward to complete execution; the goal which beckons at the upper end of the line can give to the entire process which is taking place all along the line the impulse to strive thither; finally, the decisive midpoint, the Christ-deed, can be the firm hold that serves as guidepost for all the process that lies behind and for all that lies ahead.¹⁹

The rectilinear symbol of time, as conceived by Cullmann, provides the framework for understanding the redemptive process, a goal-directed process with the Christ-deed as guidepost for all that precedes and follows it. We must take into account the further fact that Primitive Christianity was able to view, in a much more consistent way than was possible in the OT, the line of redemptive history. In a preparatory way the viewpoint of redemptive history is discoverable in the OT. In the

NT the present time between the resurrection and the parousia can be drawn into the redemptive process in a special way, because it has as its basis a fixed orientation to an event of the past, the death and resurrection of Christ, which is regarded as the decisive mid-point of the entire line of revelation. It is only in the light of the fulfillment which has taken place in time, in Christ's death and resurrection, that redemptive history can be constructed into a straight and complete line.

From the very beginning, Cullmann explains, the debate with Hellenism brought about by the dissolving into metaphysics of the Primitive Christian concept that the history of redemption is bound to the upward sloping time line was the great problem of Christian theology.²⁰ The first apostasy from the Primitive Christian understanding of time is Gnosticism, an un-biblical concept of time traceable back to Greek philosophical thought. In all Gnostic systems the following three biblical positions are given up:

1. The Old Testament, both in its explanation of history as the creative action of God and in its claim that the history of Israel constitutes a redemptive history.

2. Docetism, which is not exhaustively presented in the theory that has given the name to this heresy, the theory according to which Jesus possessed only the semblance of a body but had no actual human body; its chief distinguishing mark is its rejection of the judgment that redemptive history passes on the quite ordinary particular historical event that occurred in the incarnate Christ (sic), and that includes the ~~the~~ ~~offensively~~ ~~ordinary~~ fact of

the death on the cross. Thus here also we have to do with the denial of the redemptive significance of an event that occurred in time.

3. Rejection of the Primitive Christian eschatological expectation, whose characteristic distinction in terms of time between the present and the future age is replaced by the Greek metaphysical distinction between this world and the timeless beyond.²¹

As far as Cullmann is concerned, whoever takes Platonic Greek philosophy as his point of departure, whether it be the older Gnostics or the moderns with their philosophical feinterpretations of the NT, must set aside revelatory and redemptive history in its entirety.²²

It is to the great merit of Irenaeus, thinks Cullmann, that as early as the second century he recognized the radical divergency of Greek and biblical thinking on the concept of time. In his fight against Gnosticism, he clearly recognized that the Christian proclamation stands or falls with the redemptive history. For him, the historical work of Jesus Christ as Redeemer forms the mid-point of a line which leads from the Old Testament to the return of Christ.²³

Cullmann is very much concerned with the fact that the Christian Church and Christian theology quite commonly distinguish time and eternity in the Platonic-Greek manner, that is, eternity as timelessness and time as the copy of eternity so understood.²⁴ Against this position, he insists that Primitive Christianity knew nothing of timelessness. The NT term,

ation, was used to apply to both everlasting continuing time and to limited time; a fact which expresses

that eternity, which is possible only as an attribute of God, is time, or, to put it better, what we call "time" is nothing but a part, defined and delimited by God, of this same unending duration of God's time.²⁵

Eternity, then, is nothing but the succession of the ages; both time and eternity share this time quality - there is no qualitative difference between the two. Even, Cullmann points out, Primitive Christianity knows nothing of a timeless God, for the "eternal" God is he who was in the beginning, is now, and will be in all the future, as Rev. 1:4 expresses it.²⁶ Nor on the other hand is the time quality "in its essence something human which first emerged in the fallen creation,"²⁷ nor is it bound to the creation.²⁸

The very recognition in the NT of not two, but three ages, points, Cullmann thinks, to the lack of conception of any dualism between time and eternity:

1. The age before the creation, in which the revelatory process is already being prepared in the divine predestination and in the Logos, who is already with God.

2. The "present" age, which lies between the creation and the end.

3. The "coming" age, in which the eschatological drama falls. The first and the third by no means coincide. In the first, the creation is not yet present; it is only being prepared. In the third, the first creation is replaced by the new creation. All this can take place only in a time framework that continuously moves straight forward; it cannot occur

in the framework of a dualism between time and timeless eternity.²⁹

God's Lordship over Time

In this section we will first explore the relationship of God and time as Cullmann describes it, then search out the manifestations and significance of God's Lordship over time.³⁰

Evidence that the endless time line, in its unlimited form, is only God's own line is seen in the text, I Tim. 1:17, which speaks of God as "King of the ages." Eternity belongs to God: He alone can conceive, survey and control it; He alone is superior to time and can rule it, as the text I Cor. 2:7 is used by Cullmann to indicate. Eternity is an attribute of God,³¹ while time is nothing but a part, defined and delimited by God, of this same unending duration of God's time. The endless character of the time of God can be grasped by him alone; all we can do is express this fact by saying that "for God the standards for measuring time are different" (2 Pet. 3:8).³²

As mentioned in I Tim. 1:17, God is Lord over the ages. How does he manifest His Lordship? He alone knows the kairos of his redemptive action and the day and the hour, which are not known by "the angels in heaven" or even "to the Son" (Mk. 13:32). With God there is pre-existence and predestination on the one hand, and, on the other hand, an event of the future can, in accordance with his mind, already be anticipated. Man's own election and predestination is already

present from the beginning in the foreordination of God (Rom. 8:28f., II Thess. 2:13). While God is superior to time, he nonetheless rules over it and controls its stages; man, in the attainment of salvation is completely bound to these stages in time through which God manifests his Lordship: divine foreordination - Christ's atoning death - the final glorification.

The Son, who carries out the work of redeeming men spoken of in I Cor. 2:7, is with God from the beginning (Jn. 17:24) and is "foreknown" before the foundation of the world (I Pet. 1:20) as the sacrificial lamb; in the creation of the world its Redeemer participates. Christ functions, Gullmann explains, as the bearer of God's Lordship over time by reason of his revealing and redeeming work, even though, in his incarnation, Christ does not share in God's knowledge concerning the kairoi.³³ In Christ the entire redemptive line can be surveyed; where he acts the future process is already determined. He is victor already over Satan's Kingdom (Luke 10:18; Mt. 12:28); death has lost its sovereign power in the presence of Jesus, as shown by his raising Lazarus and the Nain youth from the dead. The significance of the divine Lordship is succinctly stated:

The Lordship of God over time, as it becomes manifest on the one hand in predestination and pre-existence and on the other hand in the Christ-event, signifies nothing else but that he, the Eternal One, is in control of the entire line in its endless extension. It means therefore that in the action of Christ the entire time line is influenced in a decisive manner, and that in the central event of Christ the Incarnate One, an event that

constitutes the mid-point of that line, not only is all that goes before fulfilled, but all that is future decided.³⁴

It is precisely because, as the Synoptics present it, the future is already fulfilled in Christ's person and is yet still awaited, that there is a tension in the relation between the present age and the coming age. Cullmann takes pain to point out that this tension does not rise out of the disillusionment of the early Church over the delay in the parousia, but stems rather from its faith in the divine Lordship over time.

In the further development of redemptive history in the new time phase after the mid-point, the Christ-event is revelatory of the divine Lordship over time as a whole. Citing such passages as Rom. 8:23, II Cor. 1:22, Acts 2:16ff., and Acts 1:6ff. to substantiate the fact that the Holy Spirit is nothing else than the anticipation of the end in the present, Cullmann makes the link that the Church itself is included in the divine Lordship over time and takes part in it, since the Church is the place where the Holy Spirit is active (Acts, ch 2). The Church now lives in the unique relation of tension between present and future which rests upon faith in the divine Lordship, by reason of the Holy Spirit who is powerful in the Church and signifies the anticipation of the end.

In the focal action of the Primitive Christian service of worship, the solemn meal in which Christ is present with his people, Christ grants to the assembled congregation a

survey³⁵ of the interconnection of the entire redemptive process, and thereby lets the Church share in the fruits of this process. One of the means for accomplishing this, the solemn meal in the present looks backward to the Last Supper of the historical Jesus and the Easter meals of the Risen One with his disciples and forward to the messianic meal at the end. Another means is the ancient liturgical prayer "Maranatha," a prayer both for the coming of the Risen One into his assembled congregation and for his coming at the end, as prefigured by his present coming to the service of worship. Significant for the concept of the Lordship of God over time as proposed by Gullmann is, then, the fact that in the worship of God there (now) takes place each time that which only at the end of the times forms the conclusion of the redemptive history, when God is "all in all." Even the "Lord's Day," the Christian day of worship commemorative of the day of the resurrection of Christ points to the day of the Lord "yōm Yahweh," which is expected in the end time.

The Lordship of God over time relates to the individual believer in the area of his sanctification. For the believer shares in the anticipation of the future: on the basis of the Holy Spirit and by faith in the work performed by Christ, man is that which he will become only in the future; he is already sinless and holy, although this becomes reality only in the future. The disciple of Christ experiences the Lordship of God over time by means of his faith in the Christ-event which permits him to "taste the powers of the future world" (Heb. 6:5) without in any way derogating from the importance

of the development of the redemptive process in time precisely in its time quality.³⁶ Another way in which the divine Lordship over time becomes a reality for the believer is through the survey which the Holy Spirit permits him to make of what takes place along the entire redemptive line. Not that the believer is permitted to share in any mastery of the schedule of the redemptive process: this knowledge is reserved for God alone (Acts 1:7).³⁷ But the possession of the Holy Spirit, as a result of the revelation which "now" is made to those who believe in Christ, enables the believer to grasp the connection between what happens in the past, the present, and the future. Despite the inability of the believer to survey the individual kairoi of the future, he can know how the process proceeds and comes to its fulfillment and recognize the division of time on the basis of the fixed point at which Christ appeared in history. Among the NT passages cited to substantiate these conclusions are Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:26; Rom. 16:25f.; Tit. 1:2f.; and I Pet. 1:20; to Cullmann they indicate that "the redemptive plan (*οἰκονομία*) of the mystery which before times eternal was hidden in God" is "now revealed to his saints to whom he willed to make it known."³⁸

In order to draw together the various facets of this discussion on the nature of God's Lordship over time, we include here a summary which Cullmann himself makes of his position:

God alone rules over time, for he alone can survey it in its entire extension, and measure it with measures which are as different from ours as the duration of a day is different from a thousand years.³⁹ He as Lord over time can "compress" it (I Cor. 7:29: "the kairos

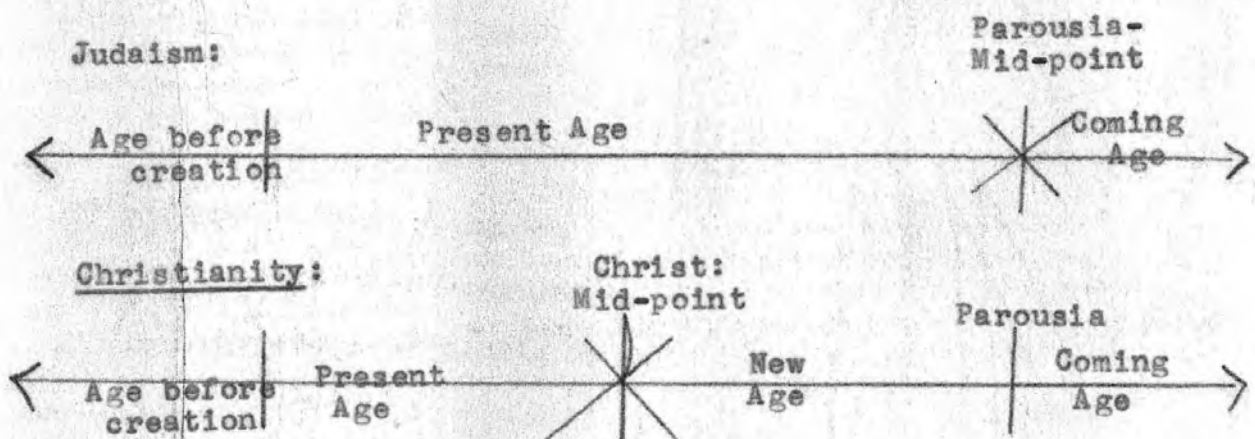
is shortened"), inasmuch as he determines the duration of the different periods of time, the "ages." He, accordingly, in the exercise of this Lordship over time, can "shorten" the days, as it is said in Matt. 24:22. He alone fixes the terminal points of his kairoi. Although he mediates to believers in Christ the revelation of the decisive occurrence which has already taken place on the cross and in the resurrection, he does not permit them to overleap the stages of that process in the same way in which he himself controls time in its endless and immeasurable character; he does not permit them to do this either by their action or by their knowledge of the dates. He does, however, permit them, on the one hand even now to "taste the powers of the future world" (Heb. 6:5), and so even now to experience as something working in themselves that which happens in the future but is now by God's act anticipated; he permits them, on the other hand, to grasp the redemptive process in its large stages and in its entire direction, and above all to recognize that through Jesus Christ, his cross and his resurrection, something decisive has happened with reference to the division of time, although time, even redemptive time, still proceeds in its normal calendar course.⁴⁰

Centrality of Christ's Incarnation and Work

In The Christology of the New Testament,⁴¹ Oscar Cullmann found that the principle of Heilsgeschichte, or redemptive history, was dictated to him by the material itself as that ordering principle which actually corresponds to the innermost nature of all NT Christology. Consequently, his study resulted in the understanding of Christology as a redemptive history which extends from creation to the eschatological new creation, the center of which is the earthly life of Jesus.⁴² In Christ and Time where Cullmann is investigating the NT conception of time and history as the basic presuppositions of all NT theology, it seems we find the inverse process; the study of the NT concept of time and history inexorably leads to Christ as the principle of unity and intelligibility, the interpreting mid-point of the process of redemptive history.

The exploration of the centrality of Christ and his work for redemptive history will be considered under three points: first, the new division of time based on Christ's work at the mid-point of redemptive history; secondly, the redemptive line as a Christ-line; and last, the uniqueness of the Christ-deed at the mid-point.⁴³

For the Primitive Christian Church, the mid-point of the redemptive process was already reached in the historical life and work of Jesus Christ, already in the past. This position, advanced in the NT writings, constituted a shifting of the center of time from the future coming of the Messiah, the position which Judaism continued to hold, to a past event anchored in the life and work of Jesus. While both Judaism and Primitive Christianity agreed on the upward sloping linear symbol for redemptive history and both held the three-fold division of time into the age before creation, the present age between creation and the parousia, and the coming age after the parousia, they were, from the time of Christ, irrevocably split in their concept of the division of time as based on what they considered the center of time:



For Jesus himself saw his coming as signifying that the mid-point of the redemptive process was reached in his lifetime. He points to it when he explains the exercise of his calling by the quotation from Isaias, "The blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and to the poor the Gospel is preached" (Matt. 11:5). Certain incidents in Christ's life also point to this: he sees Satan as already fallen from heaven; he already expels demons "by the finger of God"; he heals the sick, and checks the power of death by raising the dead; he forgives sins; and explains that the Kingdom of God has already come (Matt. 11:5) though he insists on the future character of his Kingdom at the same time. The latter fact Cullmann believes is explained by the fact that time is divided anew in Christ, it has received a new center. While the center is reached, the end is still to come, much in the fashion that a war can continue after the decisive battle has been fought. The result of recognizing a new division of time leads to consciousness that

the revelation consists precisely in the fact of the proclamation that that event on the cross, together with the resurrection which followed, was the already concluded decisive battle.⁴⁴

Despite the fact that the decisive battle of Christ's death and resurrection signifies a victorious conclusion, military skirmishes will occur, Cullmann assures us, as long as the "armistice" is still to be signed; this solution is proposed, not by the non-occurrence of the parousia" where Martin Werner locates it⁴⁵ but by the

positive conviction that the mighty Christ-event has given a new center to time . . . in the faith that the fulfillment has already taken place, that it is no longer the parousia but rather the cross and resurrection of Christ that constitute the middle point and meaning of all that occurs. The entire process that develops in time finds in these events its middle point, first of all in a pure time sense, but then also for purpose of orientation, that is, of giving meaning to the whole. Since the juxtaposition of "already fulfilled" and "not yet fulfilled" is already present with Jesus, it is clearly impossible to represent the Primitive Christian solution, in contrast to the eschatological attitude of Jesus himself, as a "solution inspired by embarrassment."⁴⁶

Gullmann is convinced that any proposed basis for "consistent eschatology" in the NT is refuted by the conclusion flowing from the foregoing explanation of the central role of Christ's work in redemptive history. In Jesus there is already present a juxtaposed "already fulfilled" and "not yet fulfilled"; hence it is impossible to represent as the Primitive Christian solution to the time tension between present and future an embarrassment at delay of the parousia. This position is, in fact, in contrast to the eschatological attitude of Jesus himself.⁴⁷

The Christ-event constitutes the new center of time, primarily in a chronological sense, but also orients the whole process of redemptive history by giving meaning to it.

The intensity characteristic of Christian hope is to be understood from the point of view of the Primitive Christian shifting of the center of time to the status of an already occurred fact. Hope for the final victory is supported by faith in an already concluded decisive battle. In fact, faith that the redemptive event has already occurred and been completed is the prior ground and produced the NT expectation of the imminent end. The theologically important point in the

preaching of the nearness of the Kingdom of God is not the limitation that this imminent end will come within a generation - though this is actually indicated in the NT, Cullmann admits - but rather "the implicit assertion that since the coming of Christ we already stand in a new period of time and therefore the end has drawn nearer."⁴⁸ The error in the Primitive Christian concept that the Kingdom of God would come in a matter of decades⁴⁹ is explained by Cullmann on a psychological basis: just as we tend to explain the hasty determinations of the date of the end of the war when once the conviction is present that the decisive battle has occurred.

Cullmann takes great care to emphasize in his discussion of the significance of the mid-point⁵⁰ that it is to be regarded primarily in a chronological manner as a mid-point in time; that which lies before it really precedes it while that which lies at a later point is equally a process unfolding in time to the end with every day (Rom. 13:11). But the mid-point functions in another area of great importance⁵¹ that of giving meaning to the whole. As Cullmann describes it, light from this center illuminates the entire line forward and backward. It falls on the future return of Christ, on the time of the Church, on the history of Israel, on the creation and time before creation.

In the Primitive Christian revelation, the Christ who returns at the time of the eschatological drama receives his light only from the Crucified and Risen One. Only where the Christ who died and rose forms the center do we have Christian

apocalyptic; this is in marked contrast to the Jewish apocalyptic which focuses its center at a still future Messiah's coming.

On the line extending backward from the mid-point, Primitive Christianity understands the history of Israel Christologically, that is, in reference to the historical Jesus of Nazareth; and the meaning of this history is connected with redemptive history (Acts 7:2-53). In Judaism, the "Old Testament witness to Christ"⁵² existed only as a reference to the coming Messiah.

Light from the center falls upon time before creation and upon creation itself. The entire time before creation is now regarded as preparation for the redemption in Jesus Christ; for in this time God has already chosen his own (Eph. 1:4) and the Logos who later becomes flesh is already with him (Jn. 1:1ff.); in this time the entire divine mystery of salvation whose active agent is Jesus Christ is already hidden in God's counsel down to the last detail of the destiny of the Gentiles (Eph. 3:8f.). The mediator of creation itself is the same Christ who is to redeem the world (Col. 1:16-20) from the sin into which it will fall. For this reason Adam is called the first Adam and Christ when he comes is seen as the second Adam (Rom. 5:12ff., I Cor. 15:45ff.).

The revelation given to believers in our own section of time that Christ is the mid-point of the process permits us to recognize that the divine Lordship over time becomes visible in Christ in whom there is an anticipation of the end, in

whom before his incarnation there is his pre-existent working - for all that takes place is gathered up in this mid-point of time, as Eph. 1:10 indicates. It is also important to understand that the present stands not in a "new time" created after Christ, but in a new division of time.⁵³ We are already redeemed through Christ, we already have the Holy Spirit who is characteristic of the new section of time, even as the sin characteristic of the pre-parousial period is still present. That sin is not eliminated, despite the fact that the Spirit is already at work, is connected not with time itself, but with the division of time, and is, in Cullmann's words, "definite proof that it is a 'redemptive necessity' for time itself to continue in order to carry the redemptive history to its goal."⁵⁴

Since in Christ time has reached its mid-point, the time has come in which this is preached to men; in the new division of time men are able to believe this mystery and thereby understand time in a Christian way by taking Christ as the center.

Redemptive Line as Christ-line

How did the first Christians learn to understand the redemptive process? The starting point for this understanding Cullmann instructs us, was the mid-point as a point of departure in both the forward and backward direction of the divine plan of salvation.⁵⁵

In order to show clearly that the entire redemptive line is actually constructed from the mid-point, Cullmann has prepared a schematic chronological survey of it:

1. Christ is foreordained as mediator before the foundation of the world (Jn. 17:24; I Pet. 1:20).

2. Christ is mediator in creation itself (Jn. 1:1; Heb. 1:2, 10ff., I Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16). An indication of this is the commanding role ascribed to man in creation, since the mediator of creation is the same one who as man, as "Son of Man" is to carry out on earth the decisive work of salvation.

3. The election and history of the people of Israel is a witness to Christ which reaches its fulfillment in the work of the Incarnate Christ (sic).

4. Christ's role as mediator continues in the present redemptive moment of the Church, his earthly body, from which he exercises over heaven and earth the Lordship committed to him by God. This Lordship is invisible except to those who have faith (Mt. 28:18; Phil. 2:9ff.).

5. Christ is mediator at the end when he returns to earth; this mediatorial function is also linked to the entire redemptive process. On the basis of Christ's work the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit will transform all created things, including our mortal bodies; sin and death will exist no longer in the new heaven and new earth which will come into being when Christ's role as mediator is fulfilled, when he will "subject himself to him who subjected all things to him, in order that God may be all in all" (I Cor. 15:28). This marks the end of the line which began with creation.

From the beginning on to the end, then, the redemptive line is a Christ-line. For this reason Cullmann believes he is justi-

fied in captioning his study of Heilsgeschichte theology "Christ and Time."

Though in the Primitive Christian writings the redemptive line is never sketched in this systematic-chronological way, it is everywhere the presupposition from which understanding of these writings flows. Cullmann contends both that the entire NT presupposes an unified conception of the redemptive process and that this process is the ultimate theme common to all the Primitive Christian writers. He finds that the redemptive process in its various aspects and in all its theological and ethical issues is unfolded in the individual writings of the NT. Cullmann draws his evidence for this assumption from the scriptural writings themselves. Insisting that the aim of all Primitive Christian preaching is to assign to every concrete happening in the Church its place in the entire redemptive process, he points to such passages as the Pentecost sermon of Peter to illustrate his point. Therein Peter explains that the final period, the "last days," have been inaugurated (Acts 2:17); the Spirit-prompted speaking with tongues, seen in connection with the prophecy of Joel, indicates this. Other instances are cited from the Pauline epistles, which, Cullmann suggests, continually point to this line. Romans, ch. 9-11, is devoted to the election of the people of Israel; Galatians, chs. 3:6 to 4:7, carries the Abraham-Christ-Church line through, while in Romans 5:12 the Adam-Christ line is stressed. The apostle Paul, in a discussion of his calling to apostleship, fits it into its perspective in the redemptive line.

A study of the entire outline of the Gospels reveals that they report the life of Jesus only in the interest of fitting it into its place in the redemptive history:

1. Mathew begins with a genealogy going back to Abraham and terminating with Jesus; this is an indication that Christ is seen as the fulfillment of the entire history of Israel.

2. Luke's genealogy leads back to Adam, and thereby establishes a line from creation to Jesus.

3. Both Mark and Luke place the figure of John the Baptist at the beginning of their Gospels; John points both forward and backward.

4. In John's Prologue he deliberately uses the Genesis expression "in the beginning" to show that he who took part in the creation of all things is the same One who later became flesh; also, as a whole this Gospel proposes to trace back the line from the Christ present in the Church to the history of the historical Jesus.

5. Mathew closes his Gospel with a forward look to the world's end.

In the very teaching and work of the historical Jesus another indication is found. For Christ's mission is understandable only on the basis of his consciousness that he was fulfilling the twofold role of Suffering Servant of God and the returning Son of Man. In the execution of these two roles Jesus carries out God's redemptive plan, which to us is redemptive history:

1. In his role as the Suffering Servant of God, Jesus fulfills the meaning of the history of Israel. The meaning is explained by the principle of representation which will be explained in a later section of this chapter.

2. In his role as the "man," the "second Adam" toward whom the creation of man in the image of God had moved, the Son of Man coming upon the clouds completes God's work of creation.

3. After Jesus, redemptive history continues as a history in time. This is shown by Jesus' words which presuppose redemptive history as an irreplaceable foundation: "The Law and the prophets until John; from then on the Kingdom of God" (Lk. 16:16).

The earliest confessional formulas in the NT, by their nature short summaries of central points of Primitive Christian preaching, are confirmatory that the redemptive line in the NT is really the Christ-line. The overwhelming majority, Cullmann finds, are completely Christological and stated in terms of redemptive history: I Cor. 12:3; I Jn. 2:22; Acts 8:37; I Jn. 4:15; Heb. 4:14; Rom. 1:3f.; Phil. 2:6ff. Only a small number of them mention both Christ and God the Father.

A later systematization of the creed is marked by placing at the very beginning of the creed "God the Father, the Creator of heaven and earth." Primitive Christianity's first confessional formulas, therefore, teach us quite clearly that the first Christians did not derive their faith in Christ from their faith in God the Father and Creator, but rather, regarded this faith in the creator entirely in the line of the Christocentric line of salvation. In a similar manner,

the original summaries of the faith connect forgiveness of sin with Christ, whereas in the later three-part confession, they become disconnected.

The oldest two-part formula, I Cor. 8:6, mentions the "Father from whom are all things and we to him" and "Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him." In this passage, creation is treated in relation to both the Father and Son; as yet their functions are not separated, with the exception that it says from and to the Father; while concerning the Son, it says through him. Christ, as mediator of men is likewise mediator of the entire creation: this corresponds to the role man plays in creation.

The Father and the Son belong to the one and same line of divine action and indeed along its entire extension. Both Ignatius of Antioch in his Letter to the Trallians, ch. 9, and Polycarp, in his Letter, ch. 2:1, describe the Father as the one who raised up Christ, giving him the closest connection with the Christ-event, which is the mid-point and unifying factor in the process of redemptive history.

Uniqueness of the Christ-deed

Flowing from the establishment of the continuity of the redemptive line is the result that the events of which this line is constituted are unique in character and forever decisive. While every point of time and every period of time belonging to this line has its own decisive value for redemptive history, the kairos at the mid-point is uniquely significant among the other kairoi making up this process.

On the one side, this unique and "once for all" quality attaches to every point of the redemptive history; on the other side, the redemptive happening at the mid-point is unique and "once for all" in a special way.⁵⁶

The Greek word "ἐφάπαξ" in the NT is applied primarily to the historical redemptive deed of Jesus Christ; Cullmann cites as evidence for this point these texts: Rom. 6:10; Heb. 7:27; 9:12; 10:10. A synonymous term, the word "ἅπαξ" is found in such passages as Heb. 9:28 and I Pet. 3:18.

The results of the historical redemptive deed of Jesus Christ are recognized as decisive in Heb. 10:10 and 10:2. In Heb. 6:4, where the word "ἅπαξ" is used in connection with the unrepeatable character of baptism as given "once for all," we find mention made also that even after Christ's uniquely decisive deed, there are still decisive deeds with a uniqueness of their own. They have this characteristic precisely insofar as they are grounded in the unique deed of Christ.

The nature of the uniqueness of the Christ-deed involves the relationship of history and prophecy⁵⁷ as clarified by the use of the NT term "ἐφάπαξ". In the NT, this word can have simultaneously the double meaning of "simply once as a historical happening" and "decisively unique for the salvation of all men and all times" that is, "once for all." The happening which is designated as the mid-point of a specific history within which salvation is effected is concentrated in a very few years which for Primitive Christianity are in the very recent past. For the early Christians, their proximity in time and space rendered it difficult to believe these events redemptive for all men and for creation in its

entirety. Illustrative of this are questions such as Nathaniel's "What good thing can come out of Nazareth?" (Jn. 1:46). The difficulty of belief in Christ which faced those Jews who knew "whence he came" (Jn. 7:27) and who his parents were is also unmistakable. The transfer of the mid-point from the eschatological future, where it was only the object of prophecy, to the immediate past as a historically confirmable fact explains how much more difficult was the faith asked of the first Christians as compared to that asked of the OT Jews.

Precisely in its failure to respect the historically unique character of the redemptive deed of Christ lies the common root of the two main formulations of docetism. Docetism is, Cullmann explains, not a heretical system but a heretical approach to Christology, found first, not in Hellenism, but among Jewish Christians whose attitude towards the law demonstrates that the central redemptive event for them is not the atoning death of Christ. The basic errors of docetism touch both the person and the work of Christ. The attack on the nature of his person formulates itself in the special teaching according to which Christ possessed a human body only in appearance. Because this explanation separates Christ's work from his person, it is entirely unbiblical. In the formulation of docetism touching on Christ's work certain events of the NT are selected as normative for salvation while others are expressly rejected, especially the death of Christ. To explain away Christ's

death, two possibilities were advanced: the teaching of Basilides⁵⁸ that shortly before the crucifixion a substitution took place, allowing Jesus to escape the death on the cross; while Cerinthus taught that the Christ first entered into Jesus at the baptism and before the crucifixion left him to fly to heaven.⁵⁹ Regarding these theories, Cullmann says:

The New Testament knows only a Christology in which the work and person of Christ are connected and which thus does not consist of an abstract speculation concerning his nature. . . . The theory of a merely apparent body on the one side, and the arbitrary discarding of historical data on the other side, are only two different means of attaining the same goal, that is, of removing from the center of the redemptive history precisely this offensive and typically unique historical event of the death of Jesus.⁶⁰

Cullmann argues that docetism is not dead today. The quintessence of Primitive Christian preaching, the "once for all" aspect, is put aside in a docetic manner by those modern theologians who in their Christology recognize only certain of the redemptive facts reported concerning Christ in the Gospels, and not others, as theologically normative. They too frequently base their selection on a philosophical idealistic conception of salvation, so that for them the central NT fact of Christ's death is an unintelligible scandal. Cullmann makes haste to clarify that there is a distinction among the facts of Christ's life and states that the criterion for the distinction as to what is central and what is peripheral in Gospel tradition must be derived from the Gospel itself. The only objective criterion for distinguishing are the earliest Christian confessions of faith, wherein the Primitive Christian Church carefully formulated in a brief way only what was central.

Their validity inheres in the fact that they were set up by the early Christians themselves.⁶¹

Notion of Prophecy as Principle of Unity of Historical and Non-historical Elements in Redemptive History

In Cullmann's view complete lack of any historical sense rendered the NT writers a priori remote from distinguishing between history and myth. Due to this factor Primitive Christianity placed myth, saga and history on the same level. In this section we are attempting to outline Cullmann's ideas on how the Primitive Christian concept of the redemptive line must, by its very nature, unite both things, history and myth.⁶² The placing of history and myth together upon one common line of development in time belongs to the essential core of the Primitive Christian concept of salvation. The non-historical character of a myth does not militate against the happening whose account it preserves being temporal in character.⁶³

In searching for a positive principle connecting myth and history on the one redemptive line, Cullmann singles out two factors as providing the positive theological ground for the union. One lies in the concept of prophecy which is related to the "mythical" stories of beginning and end, as well as to the historical sections of Scripture which are history viewed from the prophetic point of view. The other factor concerns the initial process of creation and the eschatological process of the new creation which are spoken of everywhere in Primitive Christianity only in connection with the historical process of the redemptive line, and not as timeless mythology.

The point at which redemptive history as a whole transcends the contrast between its constituent elements, history and myth, is, in the Primitive Christian viewpoint, prophecy. The stories of the beginning and end are prophecy inasmuch as objectively they are only the objects of revelation and subjectively, only the object of faith, with no possibility of determining the facts of these events by human historical procedure. The middle section, on the other hand, open in part to historical testing, is prophecy of a kind that makes historically established facts an object of faith.

The extent of the distinction between the prophecy of the historical middle section and the prophecy of the narratives concerning the beginning and the end is this: the former makes historically verifiable facts the object of faith. For example, no historical testing can verify the main fact that Israel is chosen by God, though many of the facts surrounding the history of the Israelites is open to testing. In the Gospels, too, much can be historically verified, but not the main fact that this Jesus is the Son of God. The book of Acts, the historical account of the working of the Holy Spirit in the Church is, in the final analysis, prophecy; it is impossible to historically establish that the Holy Spirit was at work in the historical events that mark the life of Primitive Christianity. The chief concern of the author of Acts is with this point:

Without the presupposition of a revelation such a presentation of history is meaningless, and the interpretation which it gives of the history, that is, the thing that is the essential in it and that influences

the entire presentation, can only be believed.

We therefore conclude that the entire intention behind the so-called historical narratives that deal with the redemptive history makes of these narratives prophecy, and in this way corresponds in inner character to the nature of the primal and eschatological history.⁶⁴

An additional bond is discovered apart from the general character of the presentation. The historical books contain within the historical narrative individual traits not open to historical verification, such as the virgin birth. These traits, Cullmann declares, are in the same class as the histories of the beginning and end: they are mere prophecy, judged in exactly the same way as are those myths of the origin and end, distinguished from them only by the fact that they are firmly embedded in the midst of the prophetic presentation of facts that are open to historical verification. These are meant to function to throw into relief in a special way the prophetic character of this very history. In the Gospels the connection is so close that it is impossible to distinguish between such individual traits as are prophetically interpreted history and such as are only prophecy; as one whole, the Gospels yield the picture of Jesus the Son of God.

The prophetic element in the so-called historical books thus manifests itself on the one side in the total prophetic interpretation of the entire reported history, and on the other side in the inclusion of purely prophetic individual features which support the total interpretation. It has thereby become clear that from a theological point of view the difference between the historically incomprehensible history of the beginning and end on the one side, and the historically comprehensive redemptive history on the other, is secondary in importance to the confirmation that in both cases the thing ultimately in question is prophecy, is revelation, which appeals not to historical tests but to faith. The essential thing for the understanding of the Primitive Christian conception is not the confirmation that we, in distinction

from the first Christians, know that Adam was not a historical personality in the same sense that Jesus was; what is essential is for us to perceive that the entire redemptive history, in both its historical and its nonhistorical parts, presents a single coherent process which develops upon the same advancing time line, and that on theological grounds this connection, in the view of Primitive Christianity, cannot be dissolved. . . . we have seen that from the mid-point of time the light shines both in a forward and a backward direction. Now this mid-point is itself prophetically interpreted history; Jesus' death and resurrection are conceived as an atoning death for our justification and redemption from sins. Therefore the entire line must have prophetic character.⁶⁵

As we mentioned earlier, the entire line must have in all its parts the character of a development in time, since it gets its light from the mid-point. The primal beginnings is viewed as tending toward this mid-point and the eschatological history as proceeding from the mid-point (Jn:Prologue, and Col., ch 1). Neither, then, are viewed in opposition to the sphere of history. They are never considered at all apart from their time connection with the mid-point.

The chief content of what occurs at the beginning and end concerns the process of creation and nature. Primitive Christianity speaks of these processes throughout the entire NT as based on the solidarity which the NT establishes between man and the whole of creation - a solidarity present already in the OT and late Judaism.⁶⁶

In Primitive Christian preaching the connection between the historical process and the process of nature become so close that actual witnesses of the historical fact of the mid-point can state that they have seen, heard and handled the same One that was from the beginning (I Jn. 1:1).

Moreover, two of the Gospels relate that at the decisive moment when Jesus was crucified the sun became dark and the earth quaked (Matt. 27:51; Luke 23:45).

Man's solidarity with creation is now manifested, in addition to that primitive myth dealing with the subjection of creation under the man made in the image of God and with the sinful fall of man and the cursing of nature, in a historical act, as Col., ch. 19:1 describes. Through his blood Christ has reconciled all things. Creation in the present time between resurrection and return of Christ is already liberated by the decision on the cross, and hence shares in the present waiting of men and even in the "groaning" of the Spirit for the consummation (Rom. 8:21ff.).

Faith in the subjection of the angelic powers at that historical moment of time plays an important role in Primitive Christianity's close linking of prophecy and history:

Since behind all historical present happening there also unfolds the invisible drama where these powers appear, it is clear how on this basis the line of connection with the primeval time and the final time becomes particularly plain: with the primeval time when these powers, "the visible and the invisible," were created in Christ (Col. 1:16); with the end time when they, at least in part, are destroyed (I Cor. 15:24), and are cast into the pool of fire (Rev. 19:20; 20:14). In the present "historical" intermediate period they are at work in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ (I Cor. 2:8); so far as they subject themselves to Christ's Kingdom they also stand behind the legitimate political powers; they are the "authorities" to whom the believers may and should be subject, and of whom Rom. 13:1ff. is probably speaking. Thus Paul can say that the entire struggle is fundamentally a warfare not against men but against invisible powers (Eph. 6:12).⁶⁷

These powers are only spoken of in connection with all that

takes place in time along the redemptive line, and never as metaphysical or mythological powers. They are completely subjected to the history of salvation and have the same center as does that history.

Therefore, Cullmann believes, the prophetic character of all historical utterances concerning salvation is shown through this reference to the angelic powers. Even in the Johannine apocalypse, which is only prophecy and wherein the angels operate in a non-historical framework is filled with historical references to the Roman empire. This indicates that the eschatological drama as well as the initial process of creation is to be thought of as a development in time.

Given this background of the uniform character of the entire redemptive line, Cullmann goes on to distinguish between prophetically interpreted history and the purely prophetic parts of this line as Primitive Christian preaching envisioned it. The mid-point must be history, indeed the very reason why it is the mid-point is that here the incarnation has taken place and reached its climax in the historical death on the cross. The parts that lie closest to the mid-point are both history and prophecy: the history of Israel as preparation, the history of the Christian Church, as the Body of Christ, as expansion, really belong to the incarnation of Christ. It is thus that the primal beginnings and the eschatological drama may be distinguished from the remaining process of revelation: they do not belong in the same measure to the incarnation. But the chief fact is that NT faith ex-

tends the historical incarnation into the primal beginnings and into the history of the last things; because even for these parts the historical Christ-deed is the orienting midpoint. Cullmann sums up this thesis thus:

The Primitive Christian understanding of the history of salvation is correctly understood only when we see that in it history and myth are thoroughly and essentially bound together, and that they are both to be brought together, on the one side by the common denominator of prophecy and on the other by the common denominator of development in time.⁶⁸

Election and Representation as Principles
of Development of the Redemptive Line

Asserting that the presuppositions of the redemptive line are divine revelation, and that act of revolt against revelation, human sin, Cullmann proposes that redemptive history was necessary.⁶⁹ It was necessary, he states, in the sense that the God who is love wills that the curse now resting upon man and thereby upon the entire creation be removed. This God wills to accomplish through the instrumentality of a further time process. In this process God reconciles man with himself and brings the entire creation to a new creation in which death exists no more.

The theological principle determining the development in time of this redemptive process is that of the election of a minority for the redemption of the whole: the principle of selected representation.

First of all, man appears, in the position allotted to him within the creation, as the representative of that creation and, hence, its destiny depends upon him. Demonstrating this latter point are two facts: one, that the entire creation

becomes involved in the curse; and secondly, in the fact that man is lord over creation.

The further development of salvation comes in the next stage of the human drama wherein God chooses out of sinful humanity one people, Israel, and charges her with the responsibility for the salvation of all mankind. Following a principle of progressive reduction, the failure of Israelites as a people to fulfill their mission results in the selection of that "remnant" spoken of by the prophets to represent the people. A still further compression of the "remnant" reduces the representative to one man, who assumes the role of Israel: the historical Jesus of Nazareth who fulfills both the mission of the Suffering Servant of Yahweh and that of the Danielic Son of Man.

Following the appearance of Christ in history, all further development after the center, Christ's resurrection, leads from him as the One, in progressive advance to the many; The way now proceeds from Christ to those who know by faith they are redeemed by Christ's vicarious death, the apostles; from them to the Church, which is commissioned in the present to fulfill for mankind the task of the "remnant," the "people of the saints." From the Church the development advances to the redeemed humanity in the Kingdom of God and to the redeemed creation of the new heaven and the new earth.

From the preceding analysis it is evident that

the entire redemptive history unfolds in two movements: the one proceeds from the many to the One; this is the Old Covenant. The other proceeds from the One to the

many; this is the New Covenant. At the very mid-point stands the expiatory deed of the death and resurrection of Christ. From the facts just established, it becomes still clearer that this is the mid-point. Common to both movements is the fact that they are carried out according to the principle of election and representation.⁷⁰

The present phase of development proceeding from the mid-point is one in which Christ's Body, as represented in the Church, plays a central role for the redemption of all mankind and the entire creation.

Scriptural evidence for the validity of this principle of development of the redemptive line is adduced by Cullmann from these biblical texts: Dan. 7:13ff.; Rom. 5:12ff.; Gal. chs. 3:6 to 4:7.⁷¹

Past, Future and Present Periods of Redemptive History

In our study of each of these epochs of redemptive time, we will be considering two aspects: the relation each has to the Christ mid-point and the unique significance in time each possesses.

The Past Phase

The whole process from the creation to Christ is a redemptive process, Cullmann asserts.⁷² However, before Christ, its straight-line orientation to a historical event is not recognized. The only new feature, viewing the whole process in the light of Christ, is the fact that we are now told that this entire event of the creation is to be interpreted from the mid-point (II Cor. 3:14). The NT authors did not rewrite the story of creation; they only show its relation to Christ (Jn. 1:1ff.; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:2,10).

The nature of the OT witness to Christ was a problem posed early in the life of the Primitive Christian Church. As a result of the reading of selections from the OT in the worship services, the Christian community came to regard the OT as a canon for itself. Cullmann finds the problem already sharply posed in the Epistle of Barnabas; therein, he feels, the OT is approached with a cocetic attitude and practically destroyed by the use of the allegoriaal method.⁷³

As a historical process, the OT course of events has its own significance in redemptive history. Precisely, its distinctive characteristic lies in the fact that it is a preparation for the interpreting mid-point of the entire redemptive process (Rom. 4:24; 15:4; I Cor. 9:10; 10:11). For Cullmann, the very inner justification for preserving the OT is based on the fact that it is a preparation in time for the Christ-event.

The Primitive Christian Church understood the relation of the OT to redemptive history in a way that took into account two important facts: that it speaks in the OT not of the Incarnate Jesus (sic) but of the pre-existent One; and it speaks of the preparation for the incarnation in pre-Christian redemptive history. Correctly understood, the witness of the OT to Christ is the recognition that the entire redemptive history of the OT tends toward the goal of the incarnation. Upon the basis of our knowledge concerning the incarnate and crucified Christ we are to learn how to understand the past events of redemptive history as preparation for the incarnation

and cross. The creation is then preserved as an event, the history of Israel as history. But the whole is interpreted in a prophetic manner so as to point to Christ, an interpretation only now possible because only now in Christ have we gained the criterion for interpreting and orienting the entire process in a concrete way. While even before Christ, there existed a prophetic interpretation of the entire OT process in that the election of the people Israel was revealed, still this election reached its fulfillment only in the historical event of the death on the cross and so in the revelation of the New Covenant. Only now can it be seen how sin and redemption, the theme of all the process, make necessary from the outset this particular process, which has as its goal an incarnate and crucified Christ, and which develops in a time process to the incarnation and crucifixion.

To further clarify the importance of the redemptive line before Christ, Cullmann poses this objection: how can such a temporal development, which is nothing but preparation, continue to have meaning for the actual salvation of the believer in Christ, after the thing prepared has in the meantime been realized in time? We give the explanation in his own words:

The Christ-event at the mid-point . . . is on its part illuminated by the OT preparation, after this preparation has first received its light from that very mid-point. We have to do here with a circle. The death and resurrection of Christ enable the believer to see in the history of Adam and in the history of Israel the prepa-

ration for Jesus, the crucified and risen One. But only the thus understood history of Adam . . . and of Israel enable the believer to grasp the work of Jesus Christ, . . . in connection with the divine plan of salvation. Therefore the OT continues to be actual revelation even for the Christian Church, to which the revelation in Jesus Christ himself has already been given.

To still another question which he poses, Cullmann suggests that the answer is a task for a NT theology to investigate. However, he does suggest the following lines of investigation to the question: how does the OT belong to Christian revelation?

1. From the standpoint of Adam, there is needed a study of the meaning of Jesus' title, "Son of Man," a title which he applies to himself in all decisive passages. As Son of Man, and second Adam, Jesus fulfills the destiny of man created by God.

2. From the standpoint of Abraham, there is needed a study to determine, on the basis of the election of the people of Israel and on the basis of the prophetic designation, conditioned by this election, of a "remnant" and of a Suffering Servant of God, how we are to understand what the vicarious character of Christ's atoning death must signify in connection with God's plan of salvation. As Servant of Yahweh, Christ fulfills the history of his people.

Both these lines of investigation permit us to perceive that the entire history in which Christ effects salvation is connected with human sin.

Another piece of evidence that Primitive Christianity takes seriously the time quality of the OT is made clear through the

lengthening of the time line beyond the mid-point and on into the eschatological future, while recognizing that it is the one and same line (Rom. 11:33).

The Future Phase

Cullmann makes for the future precisely the same confirmation as he did for the past stages of redemptive history.⁷⁵ The peculiar value of the eschatological future inheres in the fact that its a unique occurrence; it has meaning for redemptive history in itself; but, nevertheless, the future is founded upon that one unique event at the mid-point.

The uniqueness of the eschatological future is rooted in the fact that it is that time which brings something entirely new, the end time. Based entirely on Christ's work and absolutely impossible without it, the future will bring, over and above the decision reached in Christ's work, the Πνεῦμα, the Holy Spirit, who lays hold of the entire world of the flesh and matter. Whereas Primitive Christian faith recognized that only Christ's body as yet had risen to a spiritual body, at the end, the Holy Spirit, who already dwells in us, will also "lay hold of our mortal bodies" (Rom. 8:11). The eschatological drama must take place in a setting including earth, because here the new thing that the final completion adds is that the Spirit creates anew the whole of matter which has fallen into the state of sinful flesh. In the pre-eschatological era the Spirit penetrates into the world of the body only temporarily; there is nothing final about the raising of the dead in the NT. Since they are not raised to

live in a spiritual body, they will only have to die again. It is only in a preliminary way in the present that the Spirit in baptism lays hold of the inner man according to the already reached decision. It is only with the eschatological drama that the dead will really rise to live in a spiritual body; only then does a creation emerge in which there is no longer any withering or decay. This completion must take place on earth when the Son of Man will descend to earth; for it is a completion to affect both heaven and earth as these texts indicate: Mk. 13:31; Rev. 21:1ff.; II Pet. 3:13.

In all its uniqueness, the future is still solidly founded on the mid-point. To the mid-point, the future stands related as the fulfillment of the Christ who died on the cross and rose, who is the "end" as the meaning of redemptive history. All hope of the still future resurrection of the body by the Spirit rests solely upon the already completed resurrection of Jesus Christ (I Cor. ch. 15).

Cullmann dismisses the attachment of any theological significance to the question "when?" in regard to the time of the coming of the parousia. He does so on the basis of Christ's answer to that same question addressed to him by the apostles in Acts 1:6. Christ rejects the question and instead refers to the bestowal of the Holy Spirit which will follow upon the basis of what has already occurred.

The concept of Primitive Christianity of the role of the future is to be distinguished sharply from the concept held by Judaism in which it is the end which gives meaning to the whole. The norm is still to come for the latter, while for

Primitive Christianity he who has already come has chronologically and essentially dethroned eschatology. Yet he has done so without diminishing it, but rather by bringing a heightened intensity of expectation for the future, a hope supported by faith in the past.

The future, too, has its own unique significance, a significance determined by the event at the mid-point.

The Present Phase

The problem involved in determining the particular meaning of the present and its connection with the mid-point is a very important and complex one.⁷⁶ Its importance is rooted in the fact that one's evaluation of the post-Easter present is the real test of the correct understanding of the Primitive Christian concept of time and history.

The complexity of the present period stems from the tension between "this age" and the "coming age"⁷⁷ which arises from the mid-point falling in the middle⁷⁸ of the age between the creation and the parousia. As a result, the present of the Church already lies in the new age, and yet is still before the parousia. As a consequence of the tension, the post-Easter present lies in a special relation not only to that mid-point which it has passed, but also to the future. Hence it is the final time before the end (I Jn 2:18), a period of undetermined duration (Acts 1:7). Here, Cullmann insists, one finds the only dialectic, the only dualism present in the NT. There is no dialectic between this world and beyond, nor between time and eternity, but only the

dialectic of present and future.

Determined on one side entirely by the mid-point and on the other side entirely by the future which is still to come, is there any room left for the present to have its own significance for redemptive history? Cullmann first considers three attitudes toward the present which he finds untenable. In his survey of redemptive history, Irenaeus sees everything as hastening from the mid-point to the end and hence, overleaps the present.⁷⁹ Kierkegaard, the exponent of the "contemporaneity" theory, holds that faith transfers us back into the time of the incarnation, the realm of salvation; he presupposes that basically time as redemptive has come to a standstill with Jesus Christ.⁸⁰ Both Kierkegaard and Irenaeus, in the estimation of Cullmann, fail to recognize the post-Easter present as a continuation on in time of the redemptive process. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, tends to absolutize the present through her failure to subject "tradition" to Scripture and hence to observe the necessity of constant orientation to the mid-point event.⁸¹

The Primitive Church bases upon the NT concept of time⁸² its strong consciousness of being the instrument of the redemptive history, which continues to unfold along the same time line. From the viewpoint of redemptive history, each passing moment, when seen from the mid-point, is important in the Church (Rom. 13:11).

Based on his analysis of Mk. 16:42; Mk. 13:10; 9:1; 14:28, Cullmann is willing to grant that Jesus himself assumed

a time interval between his atoning death, which he saw as decisive for salvation, and his parousia. From his study of Matt. 16:18, he concludes that during this intermediate period, Christ must have intended his disciples to play a role. The fact that Christ probably only looked forward at the most to decades, and not to centuries or millennia, is unimportant in Gullmann's eyes inasmuch as it makes no change in the division of the stages of redemptive history.⁸³

Gullmann contends that it was the conviction of the Primitive Church from its first hour that it stood in a segment of time exactly defined and precisely determined in content. This time segment is defined as the time between Christ's ascension and his parousia. One indication of the unity of this segment is found in Acts 1:11 wherein Christ's return is described in a way similar to the manner of his ascension, on a cloud. The factual ground of this unity is located in the Christ-event that fills this segment: the time of the Kyrios Jesus.

The primitive Church saw that the present stage of redemptive history is the period of the Church, the earthly body of Christ. But even in the present period, redemptive history is not simply identical with the events of the present, closely bound as it may be with them. The redemptive line is still only a small line; namely, it is the line of things occurring in the Church of Christ in connection with Christ's present Lordship which constitutes redemptive history in the true sense. The spatial center of Christ's Lordship is the

Church. The kingly rule of Christ and the Church completely coincide chronologically, but not spatially: the rule of the Church extends only to those men who believe in Christ while Christ's kingly rule extends to all men. Like the Church, the Kingdom of Christ has a beginning and an end (I Cor. 15:28). The Kingdom of God will have its beginning only at the end of the revelatory process, when Christ will have subjected all things to his Father.

Primitive Christianity was particularly interested in the redemptive action of the present intermediate period of the Church. To describe the present reign of Christ, Primitive Christianity used the expressions from Psalm 110: "Christ sits at the right hand of God" and "all enemies are subjected to him," in an unusually large number of passages - Cullmann mentions twenty-one.⁸⁴ In the earliest confessions of faith, the Primitive Christians also recognize this present reign of Christ as of commanding importance; this is witnessed to by the fact that the confession "Kyrios Christos" was regularly mentioned therein. The "Kyrios Christos" as the simplest expression of the present Lordship of Christ, was used for many important occasions in the Primitive Christian Church - for worship, exorcism and in times of persecution. The more developed confessions of the first period regularly emphasized that the invisible "powers" (the "enemies" mentioned above in the quote from Psalm 110) are subjected to Christ, in addition to the statement that Christ sits at the right hand of God. These confessions are concerned to give

particular emphasis to the wide scope of the Lordship of Christ as it clarifies the relation between the Church, the body of Christ, and the universal Lordship of Christ. For the Church is the earthly center from which the full Lordship of Christ becomes visible.

Like the entire redemptive history itself, the Church is an object of faith. She is the place where the Spirit, the feature of the eschatological period is already at work as "earnest," as "first-fruits"; miracles typical of the eschatological period already occur in the Church through the Spirit: speaking with tongues and healings of the sick. However, the resurrection power of the Spirit only partially and provisionally repels the power of death in the physical sphere. The opponent of the Spirit, the flesh, still rules; and a manifestation of the time tension in the Church results from the continuance in sin, despite the fact that it has already been defeated by the Spirit.

The highest eschatological miracle of the Church is realized in her worship services. The crown of these services is the Supper celebration in which Christ already returns to the assembly as he will one day come in a way visible to all. This is signified by the prayer of the early Christians "Maranatha!" with its double meaning "come now" and "come at the end." In the Supper celebration, the present's entire situation is concretized in redemptive history. Since the Supper points back to the Last Supper of Jesus before his death, to the Easter suppers eaten by the disciples with the Risen

Christ and forward to the messianic banquet which Christ will eat with his people in the Kingdom of God (Rev. 3:20), its simultaneous and particularly close relationships to both mid-point and end are evident.

The present days are already "the last days" or what Cullmann terms, preliminary signs of the end (Acts 2:16ff.). In its nature the preliminary sign corresponds to the tension character of the intermediate period. The real preliminary signs in the narrower sense are the cosmic catastrophes, wars, persecutions, and final call to the world to repent mentioned in the Synoptic and Johannine apocalypses as the events of the border limit of the present period. Due to the unity of this entire present period can be called a preliminary sign in the wider sense; in this way the first Christians regarded the events of their days.

The one great task assigned to the Church in this period is the missionary preaching of the Gospel, which is looked upon as another preliminary sign of the end. This task is also connected with the double character of the Church, whose activity in redemptive history represents both a task for its members - it is God's redemptive gift to the world - and an eschatological divine grace - since it is composed of sinful men. To the unique character of the present, its importance is that:

this missionary proclamation of the Church, its preaching of the Gospel, gives to the period between Christ's resurrection and parousia its meaning for redemptive history; and it has this meaning through its connection with Christ's present Lordship.⁸⁵

In addition, the uniqueness of the missionary proclamation is completely anchored in the uniqueness of the Christ-event at the mid-point, since it is the preaching of that which happened back there at the mid-point of time. On the other hand, it also shares in the characteristic connection with the future, pointing as it does directly to the time of fulfillment.

To explore Primitive Christianity's concept of the mission as the mark of redemptive history's intermediate but final phase, we need to advert to the fact that the preaching of the Gospel is considered by Cullmann an integral part of the divine plan of salvation.⁸⁶ From this fact issues the clarification that the redemptive line continues on in the present time, for the end will come only when the Gospel shall have been preached to all peoples. Not that all will be converted; the Christian eschatological expectation holds that wickedness will increase in the last time.⁸⁷ During the period of the Church the preaching of the Gospel itself becomes a sign of the end; it is the gracious gift of God which belongs to the unfolding in time of his plan of salvation. From a study based on Mk. 13:10 and Matt. 24:14 Cullmann concludes that the mission is a divine sign along with eschatological woes, since the coming of the kingdom seems to depend not upon the success of this preaching but upon the fact of the preaching.

For Cullmann, the fundamental viewpoint of the faith is that the mission constitutes the real meaning of the present period of redemptive history, the period of the Church:

As is the case with all signs, so also this one of the mission permits of no calendar reckoning and also of no limitation to this or that generation, since it is characteristic of the last period, in which we live, that as a whole it is characterized by "signs." . . . It belongs rather to the nature of the sign that to the very end it appears in every generation that belongs to the present intermediate period in the final phase of redemptive history. From this, however, it follows that the missionary obligation also must fill the entire time that still remains until the unknown final limit, and that every generation must proclaim the Gospel anew to the nations of their time, without being troubled by the question as to whether their ancestors had already had the opportunity to hear it. On the basis of the Primitive Christian conception, therefore, the Church must proclaim the Gospel to the entire world in every generation.⁸⁸

In the light of what we have seen, it becomes evident that Cullmann conceived the Primitive Church as sensitively conscious to the fact that it was the instrument of the divine redemptive activity, that it was participating in a process that is equally a redemptive process as was that which took place before the incarnation and as will be the final period which is still to come. The present is the period when Christ rules invisibly over heaven and earth, but works visibly in and through the Church. His function in every aspect now continues, including his high priestly work: John tells us that Christ intercedes for us with the Father and brings our prayers before him (14:14ff.).

The foundation of the present Lordship of Christ and of our faith in it is the unique mid-point. Although ecclesiastical tradition continues to develop in the Church, it is not of equal importance with that which happened at the mid-point. The situation of the present in redemptive history can only be rightly evaluated in its subordination to the mid-point

in time. This means, from the standpoint of the post-Apostolic Church, in subordination to Scripture, the codification of ancient tradition: the orientation to the center of Scripture is meant to "protect the Church against taking false ecclesiastical developments as redemptive history."⁸⁹

Thus the present, as the past and future, is determined in its meaning by a double characteristic: each phase has its own significance, but only in connection with the work of Christ at the mid-point. The position of the present in redemptive history must, Gullmann asserts, be evaluated only in its subordination to the mid-point in time as represented by Scripture. Yet redemptive history has been advancing continuously ever since Christ's ascension. Our present period has its particular meaning for redemptive history in the Church's task of missionary proclamation of the Gospel.⁹⁰

CHAPTER II

THE RELATION OF REDEMPTIVE HISTORY TO GENERAL HISTORY

Implied in the practice of the last two centuries of numbering both forward and backward from the birth of Christ is the notion that the Christ-event is the temporal mid-point of the entire historical process. The theological conviction underlying this system of chronology, according to Cullmann, is the notion that from this mid-point all history is to be understood and judged: the incarnation and work of Jesus, which is itself history, is, when considered as absolute divine revelation to man, the final meaning and criterion for all history before and after it in both directions.

According to the Primitive Christocentric view of time and history, all that happens is judged on the basis of the work of Jesus Christ. Primarily, the work of Christ is the mid-point and meaning for the slender Christ-line of redemptive history which extends the length of the time line. In a secondary way, for the Christian, this line of redemptive history is the measuring standard for general (or secular) history, for it is entitled to render a final judgment on the facts of general history as well as on the contemporary course of events at any period of time. From this viewpoint general history ceases to be secular.¹

Christian Universalism

Is there any justification, from the standpoint of the

Christian Universalism

Is there any justification, from the standpoint of the NT, for exploring the relationship between redemptive and general history?² That the NT is interested not just in the narrow line of redemptive history but in the entire world process is evidenced in such passages as I Cor. 8:6; John 1:3; Col. 1:16; and Heb. 1:2,10, which bring out the significance attached to Christ's mediatorial activity in creation. Again, the "Kyrios Christos," the primitive confession referring primarily to the present, which expresses Christ's universal Lordship, is a radical totalitarian claim to complete sovereignty. In Cullmann's estimation, these two facts confirm that the NT concentration on redemptive history signifies a definite interest in the world process, an interest Cullmann designates as Christian universalism.

The Christian universalism of the NT is bound, first of all, to the concept of representation. ~~In~~ the previous chapter,³ we pointed out that the principle of movement of redemptive history is the double one of election and representation. Starting from the broad basis of creation and mankind as its point of departure, it then narrows gradually from Israel to the remnant to the One; from this point it again gradually widens out to the apostles, to the Church and achieves its broad final goal and completion in mankind and the new creation.

In closest connection with the principle of representation is the unity of the redemptive line as a Christ-line. For Primitive Christianity envisions only one line of divine activity;

Cullmann singles out three decisive stages of the Christ-line of salvation which draw the general process into the redemptive process. The first stage is the creation when everything is created through Christ. The next stage is Christ's death and resurrection which effects the reconciliation of everything through him; the event at the mid-point has an universal outreach. With the eschatological completion we reach the final stage when everything is subjected by Christ to God, who is all in all.

Between creation and Christ's appearance, the general process of events remains within the field of vision of redemptive history by means of the selected representation of the people of Israel, whose history becomes determinative for the salvation of all men. From the time of Christ's ascension to the parousia, the Church functions in the central role, as representative of mankind in the redemption of all mankind.⁴ Cullmann is insistent on the point that there is no dualism between creation and redemption in this regard; everything is from and to God and everything is through Christ.

In connection with the problem of Christian universalism, Cullmann takes up the question of the significance of the Gentiles in the light of the redemptive process as presented in the NT. At the very beginning of the historical process, a revelation was given to all mankind. In its nature, this revelation was simply a demand for recognition of human impotence (Rom. 1:21). But since men failed to glorify God, it led to guilt. From the time of Abraham, there were two manifestations of revelation:

revelation without the Mosaic law and revelation within the Mosaic law. The Gentiles have the revelation of the works of God in nature, and reject it by putting creation in place of the Creator. Had they recognized themselves in their creatureliness and acted accordingly, their fidelity would have prepared them for the revelation in the cross. But their infidelity shows their guilt and now leaves the only way open to salvation for them through the death of Christ. The Jews, who have revelation through the Mosaic law, take this revelation as an occasion of human presumption and their guilt too leads to Christ's death. Both Jews and Gentiles are inexcusable on this score. However, the hardening of Israel does lead in a positive way to the result that the Gentiles "enter" into the redemptive movement of the Church. When they do, they "overleap" a legal stage of redemptive history, inasmuch as Christ is the fulfillment of the law and so includes this stage.

Therefore it would appear that since the time of Abraham, there has been developing outside the narrow line of redemptive history a course of events in which the Gentiles have a role. However this same course of events proceeds from redemptive history, and since Christ's death and resurrection, has already begun to re-enter it.

While the areas of general and redemptive history are different, they are not separated. Primitive Christian universalism is bound to the concept of representation as well as to the redemptive process as a Christ-line which keeps the

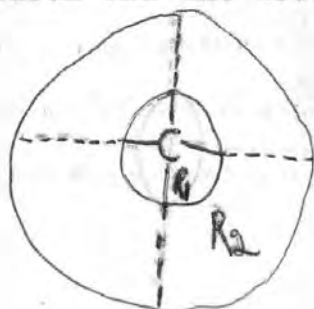
whole of general history in its field of vision. Taking its start from the same line as does the redemptive process, the general process of history finally passes over into the same line, the Christ-line.

Complete Lordship of Christ

From the decisive victory achieved by Christ in his death and resurrection flows his Lordship over all things, visible and invisible.⁵ Since in the NT interest in the world process focuses on the present which develops from the victory of Christ, we will begin by trying to present the distinction, as Cullmann presents it, between the narrower redemptive history, as it unfolds in the Church, and the universal process of history. Cullmann sums it up thus:

This idea that Christ from the time of his resurrection is head of the Church and likewise head of all visible and invisible beings,⁶ but that his body, on the contrary, is represented only by the Church, helps us to understand better the close relation that Primitive Christianity presupposes to exist in the present period between the redemptive process and the general world process. The Church as Christ's body continues his work on earth. What here happens is decisive for all beings: "Through the Church the manifold wisdom of God is proclaimed to the lordships and powers in the heavenly world" (Eph. 3:10). From this center Christ rules the world of the visible and invisible. It is the heart and center of his Lordship. To be sure, he also rules over the Church, for he is also its head, but in such a way that the Church, in so far as he takes form in it (Gal. 4:19), likewise rules with him (II Tim. 2:12).⁷

Cullmann has drawn up this diagram to clarify the relation of the Church and the world:⁸



C = Christ
 R₁ = Church
 R₂ = World
 R₁ + R₂ = Reign of Christ

He explains the diagram this way: the Church and the world are to be thought of as two concentric circles with Christ as their common center. The inner circle (R_1) is the Church; the outer circle (R_2) is the world. ($R_1 + R_2$) is the area of the reign of Christ. Christ is the common center of both his reign in the church and the world, yet obviously he is in closer relation to the Church. The inner area, the Church, is composed of men who, though sinful, believe in the redemption of Christ and know by faith that Christ rules both over them and the entire world. The remainder of the visible and invisible world stands for the time being unconsciously under the Lordship of Christ, as his subject. The task of the Church is to proclaim to all men, that whether they belong to Church or not, they are subject to Christ's Lordship and hence they must fulfill the function assigned to them.

Understood against this background, the Church emerges as necessarily interested, with an interest rooted in redemptive history, in everything that happens in the world beyond its bounds. For the NT envisions the world process as already beginning to enter again into the redemptive process, although it is not as yet identical with it.

Against the backdrop of the Lordship of Christ, what is the relation of the world process to the other sections of the time line of the redemptive process? In the beginning and end, Primitive Christian faith/^{views} all redemptive occurrence is fully at one with world history.⁹ The preparation for the Lordship of Christ in the course of the secular events of the OT period as conceived by Primitive Christianity have to be

deduced, as references are rare in NT writings on this point. Assuming that Primitive Christianity appropriated the OT outlook, Cullmann concludes that there are two possibilities: one, that the secular process was considered a foil of the redemptive process; and secondly, that the Gentile peoples and rulers could be direct but unconscious instruments of redemption. Such, for instance, would be the role of the Assyrians in the older prophets and Cyrus in Second Isaias.

When we come to the NT secular "contemporary history," we find that at first it is only the "background" of the redemptive process, as the citation of the emperor Tiberius in Luke 3:1 shows. The ordering of the census by Augustus (Luke 2:1) is yet more significant in that he is already, albeit unconsciously, an active instrument in the redemptive process. But in Pilate we find one who is completely and markedly the involuntary instrument of the Christ-event: for he brings into the decision on the cross. Moreover, the mention of Pilate in the apostle's creed contains the theological significance of demonstrating by way of example how a secular event stands in relation to redemptive history.

This, in brief, presents Cullmann's views of the way in which Christ's complete Lordship is related to the various segments of the redemptive line.

The State and Redemptive History

In his attempt to clarify the relation between the redemptive process and the present secular process, Cullmann investigates two NT points which, he believes, illuminate this

relationship. They are the relationship of the state and angelic powers; and the Christological foundation of the state.¹⁰

For Cullmann, the state is the executive agent of the invisible powers. The existing earthly power belongs in this realm of angelic powers; for instance, it was the "rulers of this age" who stood behind the state authorities, Herod and Pilate, who had brought Christ to the cross, according to I Cor. 6:3. Cullmann finds that the late Jewish teaching¹¹ concerning the angels of the peoples lends credence to his interpretation of such NT passages as I Cor. 2:8; Phil. 2:10; Rom. 13:1ff.;¹² I Cor. 2:8 in this vein. He is particularly interested in the latter two texts which lead him to conclude that the expressions "εξουσιαι" and "αρχοντες του αιωνος του τουτου" are purposely used to refer at one and the same time to both the invisible "rulers of this age" and the visible ones.

What is the nature of the situation of the angelic powers in the present? First of all, Cullmann holds firmly to the interpretation that these powers were originally hostile to God and yet, in their hostility, were dependent for their very existence upon God: there is no dualism in the NT in this sense, he again takes opportunity to stress.¹³ In the present the angels have rather lost their evil character as they now stand under and within the Lordship of Christ as long as they are subject to him and do not seek to be emancipated from his service. Drawing on I Cor. 8:5f. to show that all powers are subjected now to Christ, Cullmann presents the Pauline con-

cept of the present situation as this: in the time between Christ's resurrection and parousia, the powers are bound, as by a rope loosely. Those who wish to break away from the service of Christ can have the illusion they are doing so, while in reality they only show once more their original demonic character. In the midst of this situation the Church is duty bound to witness to her faith that Christ has already conquered them and that their power is only an apparent one. To a certain extent, freedom is permitted to these angelic powers within their subject position, and therefore the Church cannot accept the state as divine without qualification or criticism, despite the fact it stands under the Lordship of Christ.

As we have pointed out above, the angelic powers are already subjected and placed in the service of Christ. While formerly they were enemies, they are now "ministering spirits sent forth for ministry" (Heb. 1:14). Hence in Rom. 13:1-6, as Cullmann reads it, obedience toward the powers is demanded from Christians; yet, on the other hand, Paul is still critical of the state, as he manifests in I Cor. 6:1ff.

This somewhat contradictory attitude toward the state, present in the entire NT, is explained by Cullmann as stemming from the complexity of the present situation. Rooted in the temporal dualism of the tension between present and future, between "already fulfilled" and "not yet completed," the angelic powers are already made "footstools" at the feet of Christ, yet once more must be overcome at the end.

Cullmann finds an unified view of the state in the NT, a view based on the double meaning of the terms used in Rom. 13:1f. and I Cor. 2:8.¹⁴ The state is, after all, only a penultimate institution destined to vanish with the end of the present age. In an analysis of Rom. 13:1ff., Cullmann notes that Paul starts from the principle that the state has attained to such a dignity that obedience is due it by reason of the place given it in the divine "order." This is explained by the following: since vengeance belongs to God alone and only he has the right to exercise wrath, it is not to be exercised by Christians. But the state exercises vengeance "unto wrath," the opposite of what Christians are urged; nevertheless these very members of the Church have to obey this state. Despite the state's application of a principle opposed to the basic Christian law of love, we should obey the State because of this very law of love; for when the state appears as an avenger, it does so only in its function as servant of the God to whom vengeance belongs and its obligation as servant is to carry out the divine vengeance and righteous judicial wrath of God. Moreover, the state agrees with the Christian Church in its judgment concerning good and evil, for it rewards good and punishes evil. The state is in accord with the Church on this latter point, despite their opposed fundamental positions of recompense vs. love.

On the basis of the foregoing, Cullmann assumes that the state, not by nature, but by its being so placed, stands in the divine order where it is God's servant and fulfills God's will as agent of the divine recompense. Since God's

order is in the present time the Kingdom of Christ, we find the State built into the structure of the order of the present sovereign reign of Christ: this is the Christological foundation of the state. The angelic powers, not by original nature, but only by being bound, are placed in the service of the Kingdom of Christ and thereby accorded the highest dignity by reason of the function given them. They can, if they will, free themselves for a time and show their demonic character. Therefore, the Christian must always be ready to exercise a final criticism upon the state; it is not divine in its original nature, neither can it ever be regarded as an ultimate fact. However, Cullmann can find no criterion in the NT permitting us to recognize whether a state does or does not remain within its own limits in the divine order. Only in the Apocalypse do we find the emperor worship of Rome condemned as demonic. But from this fact Cullmann only draws the very general rule that the state must content itself with that "which is Caesar's."

Neither does the NT contain any sort of teaching regarding the tasks of the State. While it confirms that the state in its judgment concerning good and evil agrees with Christian judgment, it fails to explain how this is possible, and in no way adverts to any natural law theory. The sole foundation of the state is that it stands in God's order, the Kingdom of Christ; and this is the basis of agreement between the state and the Church for any judgment on good and evil. The pagan state, such as the Roman State of the NT times, can be truly a member of the Kingdom of Christ, even without knowing it;

the gentile state can be a just state if it respects its limits and is God's servant in its judgment concerning good and evil and in its execution of divine recompense. The Church has the responsibility to proclaim to pagan states, which unconsciously stand in the divine order, the fact of their membership in Christ's Kingdom; and especially is this so in the case of the state that is in danger of falling out of the divine order.¹⁵

Whereas the state is honored on the basis of its position in the divine order, it does not have the same significance as does the Church. While both state and Church belong in the Kingdom of Christ, the Church is conscious of this fact, and the state, insofar as it is pagan, is not.¹⁶

In the relationship between the Church and the world, which both stand under the sovereign Lordship of Christ, we must be careful to differentiate between them without slipping into any dualism. As his body, the Church stands nearer to Christ the Lord, who rules over the Church and over the entire world. The state, too, belongs in the Kingdom of Christ, but stands at a greater distance from Christ the center, inasmuch as it does not know of the Lordship of Christ. But at the end, when the Kingdom of God succeeds the Kingdom of Christ, state and Church will merge to form one realm in which God is all in all (I Cor. 15:28). The Church, which in the present is aware of the state's membership in the Kingdom of Christ, should subordinate itself to the state that remains within its limits, despite its provisional characteristic.

Cullmann's final comment on the relation of the state to redemptive history we quote in full:

For redemptive history, as we have been concerned to present it in this book, [Christ and Time] the idea of representation is basic. Fundamentally, therefore, nothing exists that stands outside of the redemptive history of Christ. There is in the NT no dualism between a realm where God is Lord and a realm in which Christ is Lord. The pagan state does not know that it belongs to the Kingdom of Christ. Nevertheless, according to the NT, it can discern its task. When the question, which is not put in the NT, as to how this is really possible comes up for solution, the answer can be found only in the framework of the NT outlook we have presented; it cannot be found, if we are to give the answer upon the basis of the NT, in the framework of a theory of natural law. The NT itself, in any event, knows only that the state also stands within the redemptive history. This is shown on the one side in the fact that in the divine order it knows how to distinguish between good and evil (Romans 13:3ff.), but also in the fact that Pilate has Christ crucified and yet even so becomes the unconscious instrument of the redemptive history.¹⁷

World Affirmation and World Denial

In this last section of our survey of the relation of redemptive history to the general world process, we will explore the attitude to the world in which he lives which the Christian ought to entertain.¹⁸ Is he to deny it completely; or to affirm it completely; or is there another possibility?

This is a complex problem, so Cullmann says. He begins his attack by recalling to our mind the fact that the center of the Primitive Christian redemptive line already lies in the past. The meaning of the present, despite its particularly close relationship to the future, is nevertheless determined from that center which lies in the past.¹⁹ It is a central teaching that the present is mainly a time when the end is impending; rather, in the foreground of the Christian message is the fact that Christ is risen, that he has conquered powers

and authorities, that he rules as Lord over all things in heaven and earth. The significance of the present period in Primitive Christian faith, its main characteristic, is precisely the fact that the "world" has already been drawn into the redemptive process as we have seen in a previous section of this chapter. Again, we have to allude to the complexity of redemptive history in the present, determined as it is by tension between past and future, between "already fulfilled" and "not yet fulfilled." The world is already ruled by Christ and yet its present "form" is passing away (I Cor. 7:31). From this complexity, it appears that no simple solution is possible: neither a simple world affirmation nor a simple world denial, despite the seeming negative conclusion of such an ambiguous passage as I Cor. 7:29. This passage Gullmann asks us to read in this vein: not hearing it only this way "as though they made no use of the things of this world," but hearing the compelling reference to the fact that they nevertheless use the things of the world, have a wife, weep, rejoice, and buy. Despite the fact that these things pass away with the form of this world, it is according to the very nature of the present that they are still present. The believer accepts and lives in this framework; he knows that his way goes from the resurrection of Christ to his parousia:

The believer lives in a world concerning which he knows that it will pass away, but he knows that it still has its divinely willed place in the framework of redemptive history and is ruled by Christ. In so far as he knows that it will pass away, he denies it; in so far as he knows that it is the divinely willed framework of the present stage of redemptive history, he affirms it.²⁰

The seriousness with which the affirmation is to be taken is connected with the fact that the time character of the present is taken seriously. If one were to take the opposition between "time" and "eternity" as his point of departure, the ultimate consequence, Gullmann remains convinced, would be ascetic world denial. But this is not the starting point of the NT. Rather, it starts from the conception of time as a line upon which every section has its significance in the divine economy. Flowing from this is the result that in the present, on the one hand, simple world denial is not possible; but world affirmation is also limited "by the line's goal, of which the believer knows and at which the form of this world passes away."²¹

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF CHRIST IN REDEMPTIVE HISTORY

Obviously a complete analysis of the Christology of Cullmann is a study in itself.¹ Our one point of view here is simply to draw from his Christology some elements that will serve to illuminate his view of Christ's functions in redemptive history.

To Cullmann, Christology is a redemptive history which extends from creation to the eschatological new creation. At the center of this history stands the earthly activity of Jesus; it is the temporal mid-point of a line of salvation running both forward and backward.² Since this temporal center represents the highest form of God's self-communication, all other divine revelations must be related to it. There can be no revelation of God essentially different from the revelation in Christ.³ Hence the redemptive line in its entirety is a Christ-line, as we have pointed out earlier in this study.⁴ The NT yields one total picture of the Christ-event from the pre-existence to eschatology; the chronological principle characteristic of all NT Christology is expressed in the text Heb. 13:6: "Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever."

For this reason the starting point for understanding the entire redemptive history from a Christological point of

view is the temporal mid-point of the Christ-event. Since in Primitive Christian thought, the Christ-line of redemptive history came to be understood as a line running from the beginning through the mid-point to the end, this chapter will first approach Christ's work in history in a chronological order, while in the concluding part of the chapter will examine Cullmann's concept of the divinity of Christ.

Christ's Historical Work

The Christ-line in its chronological sequence is everywhere presupposed in the NT and other Primitive Christian writings.⁵ It is Cullmann's contention that the Gospels report the life of Jesus only to fit it into its place in this line of redemptive history. Even the time before the creation of the world is regarded in the NT from the position of Christ. Since the NT in general rather presupposes than describes the pre-existence of Christ, our treatment of Christ's role prior to creation can be brief. This is the time in which in the counsel of God Christ is already foreordained as mediator. In Jn.1:1 we hear of the pre-existent Word who was God and was with God "in the beginning." John tells us further that "Before the foundation of the world God loved him" (17:24). Christ is already "foreknown" before the world's foundation as a sacrificial lamb; and in the creation of the world its Redeemer already takes part.⁶ The series of revelatory events is already being prepared in the foreordination of God (Jn. 17:24; I Cor. 2:7; Col. 1:26; Eph. 3:1). This pre-existent

activity of Christ as mediator of creation is mentioned only in terms of the Kyrios title ". . . one Kyrios through whom are all things and through whom we exist." Based on the fact that Christ is in the present period the Lord over all things, Cullmann concludes that he must have been related to all things at the beginning (Rev. 3:14), and this relation is shown in I Cor. 8:6; Jn. 1:1 and Col. 1:16 as that of mediator of creation. Therefore, early Christian faith in the pre-existent Jesus should be understood in the light of the present Lordship of the Kyrios Christ, from the point of view of salvation history, of the work of Christ.⁷

In many NT passages Christ is spoken of as the mediator in creation itself: Jn. 1:1; Heb. 1:2, 10ff.; I Cor. 8:6, and Col. 1:16. The self-communication of God occurs first of all in creation - in the creation event all things were made through the Word (Jn. 1:1ff.); this gives rise to the close connection the NT sees between creation and salvation: both are closely related to God's self-communication. According to Cullmann, this mediatorsip in creation is also indicated by the commanding role ascribed to man in the creation; Christ is the same mediator who, as "Son of Man," is carrying out on earth the decisive work of salvation.⁸ With this role, as well as that of Kyrios, we will deal at greater length later.

When we come to Christ's work at the mid-point of time, we find that the "ebed Yahweh" concept is utilized by Cullmann to explain the Christological work of the "incarnate Jesus" (sic) in an exhaustive way.⁹ Christ in the role of the Suffering

Servant fulfills the meaning of the history of the people of Israel by the principle of representation.¹⁰ Above all, Christ's work in his role of Suffering servant explains the central act of salvation, his atoning death; at the decisive point of time Jesus carried out the decisive work of the total plan of salvation.¹¹

Cullmann advances the controlling idea behind Christ's title, Suffering Servant, as the principle by which the NT understands the whole course of salvation-history. We have already seen that the NT view of history, beginning with creation itself, can only be understood in terms of the idea of the representation of the many by the minority, progressing to the representation by One. The exemplary embodiment of this idea of representation is found in Christ's role as the Suffering Servant of God, for he is, at one and the same time, the whole people, the remnant, and the One.¹²

In Mk. 10:45 Jesus says of himself that the Son of Man came to fulfill the task of the Servant of Yahweh; Cullmann finds in this passage both an allusion to Isaiah 53:5 and to the central theme of the ebed Yahweh hymns. The principal idea of the ebed Yahweh hymns is the idea of vicarious suffering and atoning death; the berith, the new covenant, is the Servant who is to restore the covenant between God and his people. On the basis of Synoptic witness, the Gospel of St. John, and Pauline texts such as I Cor. 15:3 and Phil. 2:7, Cullmann asserts that Jesus himself understood his earthly work in terms of the Servant's task and fulfilled that task.¹³ The atoning death of Jesus is not only the central act of his

of his earthly life, but also the central act of the total history of salvation.¹⁴ The work accomplished by Jesus, the Servant of Yahweh, has in itself the decisive character of bringing salvation, and hence marks the pivotal point of redemptive history. On the basis of this fact, Cullmann finds it valid to draw a line from the work of Jesus, the Suffering Servant, both backwards and forwards in time.

At this point, in order to throw further light on Christ's role as the Suffering Servant, we will briefly allude to his role as high priest, a function closely connected with the Servant's essentially voluntary nature of the Servant's sacrifice. Since the function of the high priest is to offer sacrifice, Jesus is at the same time sacrificer and sacrificed; he is the Servant who offers himself up. However, the Servant of Yahweh concept is more suitable than that of High Priest to express the NT view of what Jesus and the early Church considered his work to be. It is precisely in offering himself and taking upon himself the greatest humiliation that Jesus exercises the most divine function conceivable in Israel, that of high priestly mediator. An important aspect of Jesus' high priestly role is the fact that because he himself is perfect he brings humanity to perfection. The covenant with God is renewed in such a way that man is made perfect, not just in a cultic context but in a moral way. The connection between the perfection of the High Priest and the sanctification of those perfected cannot be understood apart from the faith of the individuals in the "once-for-all" act of Jesus the High

Priest.¹⁵ In his atoning death as the Servant, Jesus the High Priest interceded collectively for all men; now, he intercedes at each moment for each individual.

Although the action accomplished by Jesus as the Servant is complete in itself as an earthly action by virtue of its decisive character of bringing salvation, it can be connected with other functions which emphasize the work of the pre-existent or present or returning Christ.¹⁶ This is particularly true of his role as Son of Man.

Next to be considered from the viewpoint of our chronological approach is Christ's role as Kyrios, the Lord.¹⁷ It is this role which Christ exercises in the time between his ascension and the parousia, since, as a result of his death and resurrection, the Lordship over all things is committed to him.¹⁸ His title to this role, then, rests upon two essential elements in redemptive history: (1) his resurrection; (2) the fact that ⁱⁿ the interim between the event of the resurrection and his return at the parousia, Christ continues to exercise his role as mediator in the redemptive history which continues in this "between times."¹⁹ The Kyrios name of Christ points to the fact that this Christ is exalted to God's right hand glorified, and intercedes for men before the Father. He is truly alive and so can enter into fellowship with men now; he hears the prayers of the believer; he receives the appeal of the Church to him in worship and brings their prayers before God the Father to make them effective. Both assembled Church and individual Christian experience in faith the fact

That Jesus lives and continues his work.²⁰

The Lordship of Christ designates him at the same time as Lord over the small community which represents his body on earth, the Church, and from that as a center as sovereign over all the world. Christ gives to his body, the Church, founded on faith in him as the exalted Christ, an experience of his Lordship every time the community celebrates the Lord's Supper.²¹

The two Lordships of Christ, over the Church and over the world, have been discussed at length previously,²² hence we will only summarize very briefly Christ's role as Kyrios in this respect. The time of Christ's Lordship and of the Church is the time of the Holy Spirit who is already at work in the present. From this fact there derives a fundamental identity between Christ's Lordship and the Church with regard to their temporal nature; while a fundamental distinction exists between the Church and Christ's Lordship in the category of space. Both Lordships refer to the same limited temporal period, which distinguished them from the Kingdom of God which will come only at the end of time. But, like the Church itself, the Lordship of Christ over the world belongs to the interval between his ascension and return. The Church differs from Christ's complete Lordship in the category of space in that the Church is the spatial center from which Christ exercises his invisible Lordship over all the world.²³ Christ is present in the Church in a special way, different from the way he is in other parts: after his death, Christ is represented

in the people of the saints, his Church, which plays a central role for the redemption of all mankind and thereby for the entire creation.

At the end of the present period of Christ's Lordship, he will return visibly to complete the entire process in the role of the Son of Man. When Jesus used the title "Son of Man," he did so to express his consciousness of having to fulfill the work of the Heavenly Man (man as God willed him to be when he created man in his own image)²⁴ in two ways: (1) with reference to the eschatological work he must fulfill in the future; (2) with reference to his earthly task. Although we are chiefly interested at this point in his eschatological work as the Son of Man, we will first briefly present his earthly task as related to this role.

Cullmann points out that Jesus, in explicitly designating himself as the Son of Man and only implicitly referring to himself in the Servant of Yahweh role, subordinated the Servant concept to the Son of Man idea. Jesus' role as Son of Man is more comprehensive, for it refers to his future work as well as to his work as the Incarnate One. The appropriateness of subordinating the Servant of Yahweh concept to the Son of Man idea becomes clear when it is realized that Jesus did this in such a way that the vocation of the Servant become the main content of the Son of Man's earthly work. A presupposition important for such a combining of these two roles is the idea, common to both, of representation. According to its deepest meaning, "Son of Man" represents humanity while

the Servant of Yahweh represents the people of Israel; hence, both characteristically represent the many by the one.²⁵

Since Christ, in referring to himself as the Son of Man,²⁶ spoke thereby of his divine (heavenly) character, did he ever reflect upon his pre-existence? Cullmann concludes from his study that the most that could be supposed is that he did somehow connect his work with the divine creation of man - perhaps even with Adam. When he used this title to designate his person and function, he thought of the eschatological coming of the Son of Man "on the clouds of heaven," and at the same time of his coming as Servant in lowliness to suffer and to die. Thus it could be assumed that he also understood his work in the light of God's purpose in creating man in his own image.²⁷

Presupposed and based upon the idea of representation, the role of the heavenly Son of Man is to redeem men by making them what he is, the image of God. In his studies of the Pauline writings, Cullmann probes further into the role of the Son of Man: since the first man, Adam, the representative of all men, sinned, and redemption from sin requires atonement; the heavenly Son of Man, the divine prototype of humanity, must therefore enter sinful humanity in order to free it from its sins.²⁸ To Christ and Adam there were entrusted identical tasks: that of exhibiting the image of God. Adam was unfaithful to his mission; he sinned and, following him, all humanity became sinful; no longer did mankind bear within it the image of God; *positively, CHRIST SHARES WITH ADAM THE TASK OF EXHIBITING THE IMAGE OF GOD,* and negatively he atones for Adam's sin (Rom. 5:12ff.).

At the end-time, introduced already by Jesus' Coming, the existence of the heavenly Man becomes effective for created men, and this happens as atonement for sins.²⁹ It is in this light that Christ is designated the Second Adam, a concept belonging essentially to the concept of the Son of Man.³⁰

The whole of present-day humanity stands between two poles, so to speak - between Adam and Jesus, the first and second Adam. Both the identity and difference between the first man and the Heavenly Man are also clear at this point: identity in that by their actions both comprehend the 'many' in themselves; difference in that one does this through sin, the other through atonement (the power of which must be greater than that of sin).³¹

With this brief summation of Jesus' earthly task as Son of Man - as Cullmann believes Christ himself and Paul conceived it - we turn to the use of the title as it refers to the eschatological work of the Son of Man.³² By means of this title Jesus ascribed to himself the highest conceivable role in the eschatological drama. Using the passage from Dan. 7:13ff. in the scene with the high priest (Mk. 14:62), Christ most certainly must have realized that as "Son of Man" he represented the "remnant of Israel" and through it, all mankind. This does not exclude the fact that he thought primarily of an individual redeeming figure in terms of the Son of Man concept.

The eschatological role of the Son of Man is brought out in passages such as those that speak of the "day of the Son of Man" (Lk. 17:22ff.), "the coming of the Son of Man" (Matt. 24:27 and 37ff.) and of his "coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels (Mk. 8:38). Of special im-

portance is the statement of Jesus before the high priest in which he quotes the words of Daniel about the Son of Man who will come on the clouds of heaven, and connects these words with the saying from Psalm 110 about the "Lord" who sits at the right hand of God.

In the NT, the primary eschatological function of the coming Son of Man is that of judgment (Matt. 25:31-46; Mk 3:8 and parallels). The transference to Jesus of judgment, often ascribed to God himself in the NT, is directly connected with the Son of Man concept. The new element in Jesus' interpretation of his role as Son of Man is shown by the way in which he took over and reshaped this very idea of judgment. He who appeared as a man among men and assumed the Servant role is at the same time the future Son of Man, Judge of the world. While preserving the eschatological framework throughout, the idea of judgment is now closely connected with the work of the Servant of God who atones for sin; on the other hand, the basis on which the Son of Man passes judgment on the last day is man's attitude toward his fellowmen (Matt. 25:31ff.). The concept of the Son of Man as Judge is deepened in the NT, which sees Jesus as both the incarnate man, who is the representative Servant of God, and the future "Man" who is the Judge.

From these considerations of Christ in his successive roles in redemptive history, the work he came to accomplish and must yet accomplish is to some extent clarified. Christ is the pre-existent One, already present at creation as its mediator; he accomplishes the work of redemption at the mid-point of time in his role as the Suffering Servant of God

and as the Son of Man; as Lord, he rules over the present period; and as the returning Son of Man he will appear at the parousia as the Judge of the living and the dead, at which time he will subject all things to his Father, and God "will be all in all."³³

Christ's Divinity

One further area of investigation lies before us: the question of the divinity of Christ as explained by Gullmann. This question we will attempt to answer by an exploration of two NT Christological concepts, Kyrios and Logos.

Since the work and the person of Christ always belong together, belief in the fact that with the name Kyrios God gave Christ his own authority is important for understanding the person of Jesus.³⁴ As a result of the application of this title to Jesus, the NT can in principle apply to him all the OT passages which speak of God. This, in fact, the NT epistles quite commonly do. So Heb. 1:8 addresses Jesus with the words of Psalm 102:25ff.: "Thou, Lord, didst found the earth in the beginning and the heavens are the work of thy hands . . ." Faith in the "deity" of Christ originates in faith in his exaltation (spoken of in Phil. 2:9); while Christ was "by nature God" from the very beginning (v.6), he became equal with God for the first time with his exaltation. Rom. 1:4 points to the fact that Christ, who was God's Son already at the beginning, since his resurrection is "Son of God in power," an expression synonymous with Kyrios.

The question of the deity of Christ in the NT should be

asked in terms of the Kyrios title and its implications for the absolute lordship of Christ over the whole world. Only then is the problem considered within a genuinely NT framework, whereas the question of the two natures is a Greek rather than a biblical one. The NT unquestionably presupposes the deity of Christ, but it does so in connection with faith in the lordship he exercises since his exaltation; that is, primarily in connection with his work rather than with his being.³⁵

Primitive Christian faith in the pre-existence of Jesus should be understood in the light of the present Lordship of the Kyrios Jesus. Christ's union with God since his resurrection points to his union with God from the very beginning. The pre-existent activity of Christ as mediator of creation is mentioned only in terms of the Kyrios title, as in I Cor. 8:6 "one Kyrios Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist." Since Christ is the one Kyrios, Lord over all things, therefore he must already have been related to all things at the beginning (Rev. 3:14) and this relation in I Cor. 8:6 as in Jn. 1:1 and Col. 1:16, is that of mediator of their creation. The Kyrios designation of Jesus also leads to the legitimate transferring to him of all the titles of honor due to God himself, the title "Father" excepted. Thus, all the functions of God were attributed to Jesus.³⁶

To complete our investigation of the divinity of Christ, we turn next to the Logos concept.³⁷ The very nature of Christ can be known only in his work, fundamentally in that central work which he accomplished in the flesh. In the view of revelation, there is only one Logos, one Lord, one God. The NT distinction between Father and Son is not one between creator and Redeemer, but between source and goal on the one hand, and the mediator on the other (I Cor. 8:6); between God and

his Word, which as such is God himself, and yet is not God himself but "with him." (Jn. 1:1); or between God as he exists independent of his redemptive revelation directed toward us and God as he reveals himself to the world. The Father and the Son can be meaningfully distinguished only in the time of revelatory history, that is, in the time which begins with creation of the world and extends into that time after the final event. The NT writings speak only of that history which lies between the beginning of Jn. 1:1 and God's being "all in all" of I Cor. 15:28, between the point at which the Word who was with God began to go forth from God as his word of creation and the point at which the Son, to whom the Father has subjected all things, subjects himself to the father. In this final stage it is no longer necessary to distinguish between the Father and his Word of revelation.³⁸ Beyond the history of revelation, the NT intends to give no information about how we are to conceive the being of God; rather, it intends to report the great event of God's revelation.³⁹

The Prologue to John's Gospel begins by referring to the being of the Word with God even before the time of creation; John is already thinking of the function of this Word, his action. The essential character of the Word is action, God's revelatory action, inasmuch as God's self-revelation consists in action.⁴⁰ In the final analysis, Gullmann concludes from his study that all John's reference to the being of the Logos, mostly marginal in character as it is, points to the fact that by his very nature the being of the Logos is his action. In Jn. 1:1, the

reference to the being of the pre-existent Word informs us about the source of the divine action of revelation. The Logos is the self-revealing and self-giving God, God in action. If one can say of the being of the Logos only what the Johannine Prologue says and no more, then this is summed up by the statement that he was in the beginning with God and was God. The Prologue itself moves immediately to the action of the Logos: "all things were made through him." The self-communication of God occurs first of all in creation; for this reason, creation and salvation are very closely connected in the NT, since both have to do with God's self-communication. Thus, the Logos who appeared in the flesh (v.14) as a human mediator is the same Logos who was already the mediator of creation.⁴¹

The Logos is not a God apart from the highest God. The 'Word' which God speaks is not to be separated from God himself, it was "with God." The Word of God was not created from nothing, as Arian doctrine holds, nor is it an emanation as Origen explains it, but rather it is with God himself. Not as a subordinate, however; he simply belongs to God. The Logos is God himself insofar as God speaks and reveals himself - the Logos is God in his revelation. This is the only sense in which the intention of Jn. 14:28 is maintained, that the Father to whom Jesus returns after he completes his life's work, is "greater" than he. More explicitly, Cullmann asserts that God and the Logos are not two beings, yet they also are not simply identical. The latter fact he explains thus: in con-

trast to the Logos, God can be conceived, in principle, apart from his revelatory action. But we must always be mindful that the Bible speaks of God only in his revelatory action.

In his Gospel, John begins with a point of view which was specific to early Christian thought: the human earthly life of Jesus is the center of divine revelation. The word of God proclaimed by Jesus is at the same time the word lived by him; he is himself the Word of God. This identification flowed from the Primitive Christian recognition that Jesus' life represents God's decisive revelation:

Just as the experience of the Kyrios in worship led to faith in the deity of Christ, so theological reflection about the revelation in Jesus led to the conviction that from the very beginning Jesus Christ was God in so far as God reveals himself to the world. If God has so revealed himself in the life of Jesus that in this life the whole fulness of the divine glory (Θεοῦ ἁγίου) itself has become manifest (Jn. 1:14ff.), then Jesus must also previously have been God's revelation to men. Therefore he is God in so far as God communicates himself. Therefore from the very beginning when one thinks of God, he must also think of Christ.⁴²

In our investigation of the functions of Christ in redemptive history and of his divinity, we have encountered two aspects essential to Gullmann's view of Christology:

. . . the principle of representation according to which this whole history occurs; and the idea of God's self-communication, which connects the various phases of the history so that (from the common point of view of revelation) Christ as the mediator of creation can be placed on the same level with the crucified Jesus of Nazareth.⁴³

Christ is thus the mediator of the entire redemptive process, the cosmic as well as the historical. This double perspective is reflected in the ancient confession: "One God the Father, from whom are all things and we unto him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ,

through whom all things are and we through him" (I Cor. 8:6).⁴⁴

CHAPTER IV

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN REDEMPTIVE HISTORY

The line of events occurring in the Church of Christ in connection with Christ's present Lordship constitutes redemptive history in the true sense in the present period. To clarify Cullmann's thinking on the role of the Church in redemptive history, we will examine the following elements: the foundation of the Church, the relationship of Christ to the Church, the special task of the Church, the role of worship and the sacraments in the Church. A further chapter will discuss the role of the individual member of the Church in the redemptive process.

The Foundation of the Church

The time of the Church, in the conviction of Primitive Christianity, stands in an exactly defined extension of time between Christ's ascension and his parousia.¹ One indication of the unity of this segment is found in Acts 1:11 where the return of Christ is described in a manner similar to the manner of his ascension - on a cloud. But the factual ground of the unity of this period is located in the Christ-event that fills this segment in which "Christ rules over all things in heaven and earth" - his present Lordship. The constitution of the Church takes place at Pentecost; it is then that the Church first becomes visible through the working of the Holy Spirit.

Spirit who at that time begins his work as "earnest," as "first-fruits."²

The period of the Church, while it belongs in the present as the instrument of redemptive history,³ must continually find its norm⁴ in the apostolic period of revelation in its status as part of the central point of time.⁵ During this apostolic period, two things of significance for the Church occurred: the foundation was laid once-for-all; and the Primitive Church, with the creation of the canon in about 150 A.D., subjected all further development of tradition to control from the center of Scripture, the codification of ancient tradition.⁶

Because the scriptural books were written in the apostolic age, that time period, from the second half of the second half of the second century on, was regarded as the time of the unique foundation of the Church. This foundation, which already belongs to the post-Easter present, was nevertheless understood as an event of the mid-point itself. Thus, Cullmann claims, it happened that the apostles and the NT Scripture, along with the interpreting rule of faith, received place in the unique event at the mid-point, although on the other side, they already belonged to the unique events of the period of the Church. The apostles in particular occupy an exceptional position as foundation of the Church.⁷ The apostolic calling is unique, in that the apostle is a witness to the resurrection of Jesus Christ in the flesh. Taking the Ephesians (2:20) statement that the Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets," Cullmann discounts Matt. 16:18 as a

textual basis for the papacy; in his interpretation this text is directed to Peter in an etymological sense insofar as he is the once-for-all established foundation of the Church, which can be laid only once, at the beginning.

The Ancient Church created the NT canon, Cullmann claims, when it became clear that the Church was continuing while the apostles were all dead, and precisely in the scriptural fixing of the apostolic witness, it remained true to the original evaluation of the apostolate as a unique function.⁸ The Church today is still founded upon the historical person of the apostle Peter; Cullmann understands this tenet of his thus:

This is only possible if this very temporal uniqueness of the foundation formed by the apostles is respected, that is, if the historically unique effect of their person and their work continues to exist in our present as a concrete gift from the time of revelation. This unique gift, which constitutes the continuance of the apostles in the period of the Church is the Apostolic Scripture. It is . . . simply the Primitive Christian apostolic concept that leads me to confirm this. Here in these writings, we today, in the midst of the twentieth century, meet the person of the apostles, the person of the first among the apostles, Peter; in this way, they continue to support, he continues to support, the structure of the Church. In the only NT text that explicitly speaks of the relation of the apostles to the Church that follows them . . . the high priestly prayer in John 17:20 - the further working of the apostles is connected not with the succession principle but rather with the word of the apostles: "those who believe through their word."⁹

Accordingly, the later Church rests once-for-all and in every generation upon the foundation that was laid once, at the beginning, at the mid-point of time, in the time of revelation,¹⁰ when Christ lived on earth, died, and rose. In this context, elders and bishops function in the post-apostolic Church in the capacity of watchmen who are to see to it that further

building is really done on the foundation of the apostles.¹¹ The Ancient Church, by setting up the canon, did not intend to prevent completely the rise of a further Church tradition; it believed that redemptive history would continue to develop, but also believed that only from the fixed orientation point at the mid-point could one recognize where this redemptive history really continues. This orientation to the center is meant to protect the Church against taking false ecclesiastical developments as redemptive history.¹² Hence, ecclesiastical tradition which has developed since the apostolic age is subordinate to the mid-point event and valid insofar as it is oriented from this mid-point; the bishops and the elders of the Church are entrusted with the responsibility of safeguarding the orthodoxy of this orientation.

Relation of Christ to the Church

In the period of the Church, the Christ-event that fills the present stage of redemptive history focuses on his rulership as Lord over all things in heaven and on earth.¹³ Redemptive history in the true sense in the present is only the small line of things that occur in the Church of Christ in connection with Christ's present Lordship.¹⁴ What, exactly, is the connection?

Christ, as the Kyrios, the Lord, continues his mediatorial role in the Church. From his Church, his earthly body, as his spatial center, he exercises over heaven and earth the Lordship committed to him by God.¹⁵ Except to those who possess the faith, his Lordship is invisible.

The Church, then, shares in Christ's mediatorial role. The NT depicts the body of Christ on earth as playing a central role for the redemption of all mankind and thereby of the entire creation.¹⁶ The Church has to fulfill for mankind the task of the remnant, the task of the people of saints. Christ, after his death, is represented in his role as the S&N of Man by the people of the saints, his "spiritual" body. The Church, as such, is to continue his work on earth (Eph. 3:10).¹⁷

Christ as the head of the Church focuses the heart and center of his Lordship in this, his body, over which he rules. But he also rules over the entire rest of the world, so that all men belong to his Lordship; his kingship¹⁸ is universal, while the Church is the small center from which Christ extends his kingly role. The fundamental distinction, as Gullmann pinpoints it, between all members of the Lordship of Christ and the members of the Church is this: the former, inasmuch as they do not know they belong to this Lordship, are indirect members; while the latter, despite the fact they are sinful men, consciously believe in Christ's redemption, know by faith of Christ's rule over them and over the entire world, and so are direct members. Christians, as direct members of Christ's Lordship, participate with Christ in his rule over the entire rest of the world.¹⁹ From the center of the Church, Christ in the post-resurrection era rules the world. In also ruling as head over the Church, he does so in such a way that the Church, insofar as he takes form in it,²⁰ likewise rules

with him (Gal. 4:19; I Tim. 2:12). In ruling with Christ, the Church has to proclaim that all, in and out of the Church belong to his Lordship's domain, including those who are unknowingly subjected to the Church: the world in its entirety, visible and invisible.²¹ Connected with this duty is the further responsibility to oppose the demons, who belong as subjects in the service of Christ, despite the fact that their final and complete subjection will come only at the end.²²

The only limitation of the Lordship of Christ is located in the flesh,²³ the opponent of the Spirit, and in death, which is the last enemy. This limitation springs from the fact that these elements have only been conquered, not destroyed; and hence they are still at work.²⁴ Cullmann considers them a manifestation of the time tension in the Church. Sin has already been defeated by the Spirit, but it will only be overcome completely in the final phase. Miracles typical of the eschatological time occur already in the Church through the Holy Spirit: speaking with tongues, healings of the sick. As yet, the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit, now active in the Church, can only partially and provisionally repel the power of death in the physical sphere.

The Task of the Church

The one great task assigned to the Church in this period is the task of missionary preaching, which Cullmann views as an integral part of the divine plan of salvation, belonging to the unfolding in time of his plan. This task is what makes the present Unique:

This missionary proclamation of the Church, its preaching of the Gospel, gives to the period between Christ's resurrection and the parousia its meaning for redemptive history; and it has this meaning through its connection with Christ's present Lordship.²⁵

This uniqueness of the Church's present and of its chief task is completely anchored in the uniqueness of the Christ-event, for it is the preaching of that which happened back in the time of the mid-point. The only access to the new division of time with Christ as the mid-point is belief; therefore, the Gospel must be preached in order to give men the opportunity to believe. Through belief, we are already redeemed through Christ; in him, ^{we} already have the Holy Spirit who is the characteristic of the new period of time. As the "earnest," the "first-fruits," the Spirit points to the time of fulfillment. Also, through the belief which results from the proclamation of the Gospel, men enter into direct membership of Christ's kingdom in the present (Col. 1:13). In Cullmann's thought there is a very direct and important connection between this unique task of preaching the Gospel and faith, which plays such a central role in Christian life.

The foundation of the mission of preaching occurs, as does the foundation of the Church, at the time of Pentecost, and is effected by the Holy Spirit. This is the meaning of the miraculous phenomenon which takes place on that occasion, when all suddenly understand one another. The missionary task of preaching, founded at Pentecost, results from the bestowal of the Spirit; the instruction of the Risen One just prior to his ascension points to this:

Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit, and ye shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and unto the end of the world. (Acts 1:8).

The Church is impelled to missionary activity by the Spirit, who is active and powerful in her and who is the anticipation of the end in the present.

The main concern of the Church in the execution of her commission to preach the Gospel; is to see that it is preached to all. The coming of the Kingdom of God at the end depends not upon the success of this preaching, but upon the fact of the preaching. In support of this point, Cullmann cites such texts as ". . . and the Gospel must first be preached to all the Gentiles before the end" (Mark 13:10) and "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached to all the Gentiles in the whole world for a witness and then shall the end come" (Matt. 24:14).

Actually, Cullmann finds, the Risen Christ rejects all questions regarding "when" the end will come. In Acts 1:6 he instructs his apostles that "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. Enough for you that the Holy Spirit come upon you, and you will receive strength from him; you are to be my witnesses . . . to the ends of the earth." By questioning Christ about the time of the coming of the end, the apostles encroached on the omnipotence of God; Christ advises them instead to carry on the mission. The fact that the end will come only when the Gospel has been preached to all peoples does not in any sense mean that all will be converted; rather, if anything, wickedness is to increase in the last time, as texts such as Mk. 13:10ff.,

and Matt. 24:14ff. indicate.

Through the apostles, his executive instruments and messengers, God introduces this sign and offers the Gospel to the world as the basic element in his eschatological plan of salvation. The missionary command to the apostles issued at the end of Mathew's Gospel "Go into all the world and teach all peoples" when linked with the promise of Christ "I am with you all days until the end of this age" is held by Gullmann to be a clear reference to the eschatological character of the mission which must take place precisely in this intermediate period and which gives this period its meaning. The mission of the Church is in the present a divine sign of the end, and, as such, corresponds to the tension characteristic of the present period. However, the fact that the end will come only when the Gospel has been preached to all peoples does not in any sense mean that all will be converted; rather, if anything, wickedness is to increase in the last time (Mk. 13:10ff. and Matt. 24:14ff.).

The view of the present period as the time of grace, which God in his long suffering grants men for repentance, increases to the highest degree the responsibility of the members of the Church; for the Church as the instrument of the redemptive process in the present is given the definite commission to carry out in the name of Christ the redemptive work by proclaiming the Gospel to the gentiles. The missionary obligation must fill the entire time still remaining until the final limit, known only to God, is reached; and in every generation the

Church must proclaim the Gospel anew to the nations of her time. In this way, the Church exercises her mediatorial role in regard to the rest of the world.²⁶

The Role of Worship and the Sacraments in the Church

Of key importance in the Church's fulfillment of this task is its life of worship. Our examination of Cullmann's position of the nature of Primitive Christian worship and the role of the sacraments will follow this order: first, we will attempt to present his general sacramental theory; following this, we will treat the significance of baptism, which gives entry into the Church; next we will investigate the nature of the worship *of the Primitive Christian Church; and within the framework of worship* we will focus on the sacrament of the Eucharist, since it is considered the basis and goal of every gathering for worship.²⁷

All the media of the past redemptive phases which sought to restore the bond of unity between God and sinful man are replaced, in the Christian dispensation, by the new media of grace. In this new media, Christ is the agent and that which he communicates is the possession of the Spirit. This he does in the two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist. These two sacraments are the indispensable expressions of the Primitive Christian service of worship. In both, Christ employs material realities - bread, water, wine - both to point to his work at the mid-point of time and to disclose his presence now in the Spirit. The reality of Christ's presence in baptism and the Eucharist is as real as his human historical presence, Cullmann holds. The material elements used in baptism and the Eucharist are not in themselves efficacious; however, they are as necessary

as the body of flesh was necessary for the work of the incarnate Logos. To regard them otherwise would exhibit a tendency to docetism. The function of these sacraments in the post-resurrection era is to take the place of the miracles performed by the Incarnate One. They are bound in the closest way to the death of Jesus. The water and the blood which flowed from Christ's side on the cross signify that Christ gives to his Church in baptism and the Eucharist the atonement, the forgiveness of sins which he accomplished by his death. The very chronological sequence in which these two elements appear in such close connection with the moment of his death is the means Christ uses to disclose how he will be present now upon earth: in baptism and the Eucharist. These two sacraments are related also to the ascension of Christ, since Christ communicates his presence in the Spirit as an anticipatory participation is his resurrection. And both sacraments foreshadow what will happen in the eschatological era. A sine qua non for that accomplishment of the sacramental purpose is faith.

Baptism

In his study, Baptism in the New Testament, Oscar Cullmann outlines the main lines of his doctrine of baptism.²⁸ Christ, by his death and resurrection, procures for all men and independent of them a general baptism. In the entirely sovereign act of grace of Church baptism, God permits the person baptized, through an incorporation into the fellowship of the body of Christ at a specific place, to take part in the once-for-all saving event of Christ's death and resurrection. The faith of

the believer as response to this grace is the decisive factor; after baptism, faith is demanded of all those baptized. The Church into which the baptized person is incorporated in the baptismal act is not only the place where the Holy Spirit completes the miracle but where he awakes faith.²⁹

As the occasion of the entry of the individual into the Church, baptism is a media of grace with two effects. On the one hand it mediates the forgiveness of sins which is the fruit of the past occurrence, Christ's resurrection and death; on the other hand, baptism mediates the Holy Spirit and his gifts or charismata, and thereby orders the baptized to the service of the Church, to the development of the body of Christ. This is accomplished, however, without violating the individuality of the baptized. Each has a unique contribution to make.³⁰ The essence of baptism is its once-for-all, unrepeatable character; its principal work is one of regeneration, that is, of giving once-for-all part with Christ, who grants the forgiveness of sins and the possession of the Spirit and his gifts.

Operative in the present as the power of the resurrection, the Holy Spirit is imparted in baptism. Baptism is therefore conceived as a "rising with Christ" - but only partially so, as the transformation of our fleshly body is reserved for the future. However, in the present time, the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit is operative in more than just our "inner life"; even now, he operates upon the physical, restraining for a moment the power of death. Cullmann sees this work of the Spirit on the physical as well as the "inner life" of men

as the deeper meaning of the NT healings of the sick and raisings of the dead. For these indicate that since Christ and in Christ the resurrection power is already at work. However, we do not as yet have the final transformation of the physical body; that must await the parousia³¹

Active participation in the redemptive process emerges only in the Church, and therefore, only in the present time phase. Baptism, the occasion of entry into the Church, in its function of making real for the individual member the "dying" with and "rising with" Christ,³² gives him a participation in what occurred in the past. Since baptism imparts the Holy Spirit, it also gives participation in the redemptive occurrence of the present and future. Baptism assures the individual once-for-all of this participation in the redemptive process in its past, present, and future stages.³³

Early Christian Worship

Based on his analysis of St. John's Gospel in Early Christian Worship, Gullmann states that the center of all early Christian worship is Christ. In the fellowship of the worship meeting, the first Christians experienced the Lordship of Christ, whose presence is no longer bound to the temple as was the divine presence in the Old Covenant dispensation; in the New Covenant, the divine presence is bound to the person of Christ.³⁴ Since worship is now "in the Spirit," the Sabbath as well as all geographical limitations are abolished.

The goal of Primitive Christian worship assemblies is "the upbuilding of the Church" (I Cor.14). The Church, as the body

of Christ, takes shape in the gatherings of the community, is built up in virtue of its coming together.³⁶ The main features of the worship assemblies, as described in Early Christian Worship³⁷ are two. First, the natural climax, the goal toward which the service moves, is the Lord's Supper. In the meal situation, Christ unites himself with his community as One who was crucified and has risen. In this way, he makes the community one with himself and thereby actually builds it up as his body (I Cor. 10:17). All the parts of the service, including the meal have the risen Lord of the Church as their object. All reading of Scripture points to this Lord. So does all proclamation,³⁸ which is intended to awaken and strengthen faith in this Lord on the basis of his death and resurrection, and to assign every concrete happening occurring in the Church its place in the entire redemptive process.³⁹ So, too, does the selection of the day of the Lord's resurrection as the Christian festive day. The confession of faith is a confession of faith in the present Lord, the Kyrios. The confession of sins is effectual in view of the work of reconciliation accomplished by the Lord.⁴⁰ Prayer is, above all, prayer for the coming of the Lord at the end, but also for his coming into the assembled community. His coming in the present time is viewed as an anticipation of his coming in revealed glory at the last day.

The second main feature is contained in the fact that the Risen and present Lord of the Church who stands in the center of the Christian gathering points at one and the same time back-

wards to the crucified and risen historical Jesus and forward to the coming Christ. That which makes the service a real act of worship is the Holy Spirit. In the NT view, the characteristic of the Spirit is that he determines the present in the time sequence of God's act of salvation. He does this in such a way that, on the basis of what has happened in Christ in the past, he anticipates already the future, the last things. The early Christian worship service reveals most clearly this character of the Spirit. Therein, through the merits of Christ, everything is fulfilled which was accomplished in the past history of salvation and which will be achieved in the future. Thus it is that early Christian worship is worship in the Spirit (Jn. 4:23). Believers have knowledge of the divine economy "now" available in the Church to all members of the congregation by reason of the Spirit who is at work in it.⁴¹ Through the Spirit, too, the community is built up into the body of Christ.

Cullmann emphasized the need in Christian worship for an unreserved respect for the once-for-all character of Christ's work at the mid-point. This respect can be maintained, he claims, only when even the slightest temptation to "reproduce" that central event itself is avoided:

Instead, the event must be allowed to remain the divine act of the past time where God the Lord of time placed it... It is the saving consequence of that atoning act, not the act itself, which become a present event in our worship. The Lord present in worship is the exalted Kyrios of the Church and world, raised to the right hand of God. He is the risen Lord who continues his mediating work on the basis of his unique completed work of atonement. The words ἐν ἑμῇ ἀνάμνησιν (in remembrance of me) describe

the connection between his crucifixion and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This means 'in remembrance of that which I have completed, on the basis of which I now dwell among you as the resurrected Lord'.⁴²

The Eucharist

Variouslly referred to in his writings as the supper celebration, Lord's Supper, solemn meal and as the Eucharist, this sacrament is regarded by Cullmann as the other medium of grace along with baptism which Christ uses to accomplish his work in the present.⁴³ The Eucharist is related to the service of worship as its basis and goal, its high point, the indispensable climax of the service. The certainty of the resurrection was the essential religious motive of the primitive Lord's Supper.⁴⁴ Through worthy participation in the Supper, the members of the congregation experience participation in the Church, the "spiritual" body of Christ; and, in every eucharistic meal, they experience Christ's Lordship in such a way that the Church is shown forth in reality as the center of that Lordship over the whole world.⁴⁵ By means of this Supper the believer appropriates the gifts of the Holy Spirit in this earthly life (I Cor. 11:30).⁴⁶ As the high point of worship, the Eucharist is the occasion on which Christ grants a survey of the interconnection of the entire redemptive process and allows the Church to share in the fruits of this process. This solemn meal points back to the Last Supper of the historical Jesus, to the meals of the apostles with the risen Christ, and ahead to the end, which was already represented in Judaism as the messianic meal.⁴⁷

Here in Christ the entire line becomes clear, while at the same time, the unique character of its development in time is not done away.⁴⁸ The eschatological miracle of the Church is realized above all in the assemblies for worship of the which the Supper celebrations are the crown. For here there occurs even now what really will take place only at the end: Christ returns already to the assembled congregation, as he one day will come in a way visible to all.⁴⁹ The cry of the worship assembly "Maranatha," which Gullmann considers as probably the most ancient liturgical prayer, means both "Come to us who are assembled in thy name" and "come finally at the end."⁵⁰ The early Christians, when they prayed "Maranatha," did not think at all of a coming of Christ in the species of bread and wine: so Gullmann proposes. For them, the meaning of the Lord's Supper involved a "real" coming and presence of Christ, one which was realized immediately, but apart from the elements:

Christ comes to eat with the community of believers and his presence is understood to be as real as possible. He comes to participate in the meal and not to serve as food. Hence, in the early Church the presence of Christ in its three-fold relation with Easter, with the cult and with the Parousia. Alternatively expressed this presence is at one and the same time that of Christ risen, of Christ living, and of Christ who is to come.⁵¹

One ate with Christ but did not eat Christ. The primitive Lord's Supper gravitated around the pole of the presence of Christ, and this pole was complemented by the other main pole of the fellowship of those who experience that presence. The fellowship ~~is~~ realized by the presence of Christ who does not appear on these occasions to individuals but to the assembly of

disciples. In the common meals the disciples sought again Christ's presence, but they also found there the most intimate union with their table companions. The joy manifested by the early Christians during the "breaking of bread"⁵² has its source, not in the fact that the assembled disciples eat the body and drink the blood of their crucified Master, but in the consciousness they have of eating with the risen Christ, really present in their midst, as he was on Easter Day.⁵³

St. Paul aimed to complete these eucharistic ideas of the primitive community by connecting them with the Last Supper and with Jesus' death. The words "this is my body; this is the blood of the new covenant" were uttered by Jesus in order

to affirm that, by his death, a new covenant was concluded between God and the Messianic community . . . of Christ's disciples. The covenant between God and this new community would not be established except through the death of Jesus. That is what Jesus himself had foreseen, and is the meaning which he gave to his own death. For this reason the Son of Man had "to give his life a ransom for many." And it is this idea that is to be found at the basis of the parabolic saying about the bread and the wine.

The new covenant established by the death of Christ - that is the first idea involved in the Last Supper. The second is the Messianic unity of the community, founded by the new covenant, with the Risen Christ. This eschatological idea is closely connected with the idea of death. Jesus expresses it in Mark (14:25) in these words: "Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God."⁵⁴

Paul, while preserving the characteristic idea of the primitive Lord's Supper, added some entirely new elements to the meaning of those meals. The idea of the presence of Christ in the cultic meals of the primitive Church, as modified by the Pauline teaching, was recognized as the presence not only of the Risen One who reveals himself to the community but of the crucified One. "You proclaim the Lord's death till he come"

(I Cor. 11:26). This coming of him that is dead is not only eschatological but is also actual. As a result of the connection Paul establishes between the Eucharistic coming of Christ and the words uttered by Jesus at the Last Supper, from then onwards the identification of the Lord, present at the Eucharist, with the elements of bread and wine will be progressively accepted. No longer will it be a matter of eating with Christ, but of eating Christ. Flowing from this Pauline interpretation is this innovation: the experience of Christ's coming will take place less under "spontaneous and ever-new forms." Instead, it will take place "more under the form of a regular repetition of the crucifixion."⁵⁵

The primitive eucharistic fellowship also undergoes a change through Paul's linking it with the recollection of the Last Supper. The original significance of the fellowship is enriched and deepened, since the action performed by Christ in the Cenacle as recollected in the Lord's Supper gives an unique value to Jesus' words about the new covenant established between God and the community of the disciples. Furthermore, the community assembled for the Lord's Supper comes to be understood as the community of those who have been crucified and have risen with Christ. They are the community of those who have received the "remission of sins." Finally, the apostle introduces, under the influence of Jesus' words concerning his body, the notion that the community that eats the same bread, i.e., the same body of Christ, itself represents the body of Christ. This idea which, Cullmann declares, was "destined to play an important role in the Christian doctrine of the Church," is

stated by Paul in I Cor. 10:17: "The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? For there is one single bread; so we become one single body."⁵⁶

Cullmann deplores the fact that in the later Church the new elements introduced by Paul were so exclusively emphasized that the connection of the Eucharist with the early Christian ritual of "breaking bread" was lost. As a consequence of too exclusive attachment of Christ's presence to the "elements" of bread and wine offered for the remission of sins, the idea of the joyful communion of the faithful with the Risen Christ, and through him, with the others around the table was somewhat relegated to the background. In Cullmann's view, Christ's presence in the elements is experienced in a less "real" fashion than his coming for the "breaking of the bread" with the community. In the Apostolic Church, the presence of the Risen Christ, living and destined to come again at the end of this age, is above all conditioned by the fellowship of the faithful, and further, this appearance deepens the fellowship. The bold prayer "Maranatha!" in its original eucharistic reference expressed the double desire, which was realized for the early Christians, of seeing Christ descend into the midst of the faithful gathered in his name and of discovering for themselves, in that coming, an anticipation of his final messianic return.⁵⁷

In the Supper celebrations there is concretized the present's entire situation in redemptive history: its simultaneous and particularly close relationship to both the midpoint and the end. While the Eucharist points back to Christ crucified and risen and forward to him who comes at the end, in

the present the Christ who returns to the assembled congregation is the One who is sitting at the right hand of God - who ~~has~~ ^{has} been crucified and/risen and will return - and, as such, he now offers forgiveness of sin which he has effected, and promises the completion which he will bring.

The Eucharist and baptism insofar as they both remit sin have the same sacramental effect. Yet there remains a distinction. Baptism realizes the effect individually, the Lord's Supper collectively. In the latter it is the community and not an individual believer that dies and rises with Christ. In the Eucharist the community as such obtains pardon. Moreover, baptism, as an unrepeatable act, introduces the individual into the Community; while the Eucharist secures and intensifies the unity of the faithful time and time again; it thereby effects the fellowship of love among the brethren.⁵⁸ As baptism assures active participation in the redemptive process once-for-all, so the Eucharist assures an active participation ever anew.

These views of Cullmann on the nature of Christian worship and the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist are of signal importance for understanding his outlook on the role of worship and the sacraments in the present-day Church. Inasmuch as he has strived to present accurately the teaching of Scripture on these subjects, and inasmuch as the Church in her worship must always seek to take its orientation in these areas from the center of Scripture, the position of Cullaann as we have attempted to present it represents his view on the role of the sacraments and worship in the Church in our time.⁵⁹

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN REDEMPTIVE HISTORY

The situation of the individual in redemptive history serves, in Cullmann's estimation, to render that history intelligible. This is because man's sin, in the final analysis, made the whole redemptive process necessary. Forming the basis of the relation of redemptive history to the individual is the individual's consciousness of sin and guilt. Redemptive history moreover has the individual as its goal; the revelation of the development of the divine plan of salvation lays a personal claim on each man. In the section on the relation of the individual to redemptive history in Christ and Time, Cullmann attempts to show that in the faith of Primitive Christianity, everything that is said concerning the individual man is built into the structure of the entire redemptive history. The individual's personal life is anchored in the time line of the Christ-event, which comprehends past, present and future.

The Individual and the Past Stage

The presupposition of every NT statement concerning the individual is formed by the dependence of the individual life on a process which unfolds in time.¹ Col. 3:14 in a compact manner places the different stages of the Christ-line of salvation in relation to our personal life: "If ye now be risen with Christ, seek that which is above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God; set your mind upon that which is above, not upon that which is upon earth. For ye have died, and your life

is hid with Christ in God. When Christ our life shall be revealed, then shall ye also be revealed with him in glory." Christ, then, is our life, as we read also in Phil. 1:21; and "Christ lives in me" (Gal. 2:20). Gullmann suggests that these texts are to be understood in the following way: since Christ's death and resurrection occurred as time happening in the past, serious respect for the past demands that we recognize that our participation in these events of the past rests upon faith in the redemptive significance of these facts of the past.²

The concept of faith as presented in the NT is this: it is the way by which the past phase of redemptive history becomes effectual for me; it means to become convinced of the fact that this entire happening takes place for me, that the history of the people of Israel finds its fulfillment in the cross, that Christ died on the cross for me in what is the central event representing the mid-point of the redemptive line. Consequently, the individual must believe that the redemptive process in its entirety concerns him personally, as an individual who is a sinner but redeemed in Christ. The imperative reason why redemptive history not only can but must be related to the individual is the need on the part of the individual participant for a consciousness of sin and guilt; for it was the original fall of man into sin which made the redemptive process necessary.

Gullmann sums up the NT teaching on justification as essentially "nothing but the application of the redemptive process to the individual, an application which shows how the individual is decisively affected in his individual life by what occurred in past time."³ Faith is the link connecting the in-

dividual with justification, inasmuch as belief effectively actuates the application of the process to the individual.

Concrete expression of the individual's relation to redemptive history is achieved in his faith in his own election⁴ by which his life is given its place in the Christ-line in its entire extension in time. Every single member of the Church is elected as an individual "from the beginning of the world" (Eph. 1:4) and thereby belongs to precisely the same line of salvation as does the predestination of both the people of Israel and the gentiles (Rom. 9-11); the apostle Paul's election as such, referred to in Rom. 1:1 and Gal. 1:15 belongs as well in this very same line. The certitude of being elected includes the conviction of being a fellow bearer of the redemptive history even in the remote past "before the foundation of the world." The election of the individual is pointed to by the spiritual gift, charisma, ^{which} of the individual receives and which differs for every believer in his relation to the Church, the body of Christ (I Cor. 12:4ff.). This body is composed of many individual members, of which each one has his special destiny, his special place in the Christ-line. Upon the basis of predestination, believers are foreordained to be "conformed to the image of the Son," a conformation which is brought about by faith.⁵

The individual's active participation in the redemptive line emerges only in the present of the Church. Upon the occasion of his entry into the Church through baptism, two significant things occur. On the one side, the individual really experiences a "dying with" and a "rising with" Christ, and so

the participation in the redemptive occurrence of the present and the future. The sacrament of baptism assures the individual once-for-all of this participation and thus Cullmann distinguishes it from the Eucharist in which the Church, as such, places itself even anew in the redemptive history of past, present and future.

The Individual and the Present Stage

Ruled as man is in his individual life by the past central event of the cross and resurrection, the man of the present lives in a particularly close relationship to the present phase of history.⁶ Filling this phase is the invisible Lordship of Christ which becomes visible in the Church. The temporal tension characteristic of the present is shared in by the individual.

The fact of belonging to the Church assigns to the individual in the present his exact place as one actively sharing in redemptive history. The sacrament by which he enters the Church, baptism, effects him in two ways. First, it mediates to him the forgiveness of sins, which is the fruit of the death and resurrection of Christ in the phase now past; it also mediates the gift of the Holy Spirit, that mark of the present and future stages of redemptive history. Since the Holy Spirit is now active in the Church, the spiritual gifts which he bestows in baptism, are destined for the service of the Church (I Cor. 12:13). I Cor. 12:4ff enumerates the varied gifts bestowed by the Spirit. Since these charismatic endowments are only awakened through the Holy Spirit, it is only the placing of the individual in the redemptive process that gives him individual significance. Each

one expresses his individuality in his own way despite the fact that such individualism, conceived of as the working of the Holy Spirit, must serve the development of the redemptive process as it unfolds in the present of the Church. Cullmann illustrates this thesis by reference to Paul. After a lengthy explanation of how this apostle and his office belong in redemptive history,⁷ he formulates the thought that "even the most modest service in the Church of Christ belongs in the redemptive history."⁸

The new division of time created by the Christ-event at the mid-point determines the question of individual sanctification. In the Primitive Christian conception, ethics flows from theology. From the indicative "is" of theology flows the imperative ethical "ought." For example: since we are holy, we should sanctify ourselves; since we have received the Spirit - we should "walk in the Spirit." Christ has given us redemption from the power of sin - we must battle against sin now as never before. This apparently contradictory joining of imperative and indicative is what Cullmann terms the application of ethics to the working out of the "tension between already fulfilled and not yet fulfilled."⁹

In every moment of the present, the ethical decision is made on the basis of the concrete situation, which has the following referents: knowledge of the Christ-event at the mid-point, knowledge of Christ's present Lordship, and knowledge of the goal toward which the redemptive process moves.

Because the believer knows that in the present he is on the way between the resurrection of Christ and his Parousia,

between the fulfillment which has already occurred, in which all imperatives are removed, and the consummation still to come, therefore the Primitive Christian "ethic" cannot consist of new commandments. It consists rather of the demand that the believer, on the basis of the fulfillment and with reference to the consummation, should recognize ever anew at each moment the commandment that the situation at that time presents. He thus "fulfills" the old law.¹⁰

The believer's ethical judgment and concrete decision must be formed on the basis of certainty that each kairos of the present serves to advance redemptive history and Christ's present Lordship, so that time is "redeemed" (Col. 4:5; Eph. 5:16) and "served" (Rom. 12:11). What precisely, the ethical task is, Cullmann explains in this way:

The ethical task, according to the NT, is precisely this, that in every new situation one is to fulfill the OT in the light of the New, and so in accordance, not with the letter, but with the divine will. Along with the letter the law also is done away, because one can say that the letter does not fit the concrete situation. The NT ethic is an ethic of redemptive history in the sense also that it applies to the OT commandments the idea of the "fulfillment" of the times.¹¹

The law known of old is to be applied radically in order to fulfill God's will of love which is embodied in every commandment.

No general ethical demands,¹² but only concrete applications in the light of the indicative which redemptive history presents are to be found in the words of Jesus.¹³ The apostle Paul's position is the same. In his assertion that the possession of the Holy Spirit must lead to walking in the Spirit, Paul does not define this in the form of new commandments. The working of the Holy Spirit shows itself chiefly in the "testing." This term is defined by Cullmann as the "capacity of forming the

correct ethical judgment at each given moment";¹⁴ but it must always be formed in connection with knowledge of the redemptive process, in which the Holy Spirit is a decisive figure. This "testing" is seen by Cullmann as the key of all NT ethics; he cites Rom. 12:2, Phil. 1:9f. and Phil. 2:13 to support that this is so: "Certainty of moral judgment in the concrete case is, in the last analysis is the one great fruit that the Holy Spirit, this factor in redemptive history, produces in the individual man." Furthermore, the validity of judicial thought with spontaneous inspiration in the process of "testing" is upheld: "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings, but test all things, and hold fast that which is good" (I Thess. 5:19f.).

The moral judgment is to be extended to every area of human existence. This stems from the fact that the Lordship of Christ includes all things; since the indicative relates to everything that is in heaven and upon earth, so, too, does the ethical imperative. In summation Cullmann states that

To be sure, from the indicative of redemptive history, which is the foundation of all ethics, there does result a principle of application, which is indicated by Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels as well as by Paul and the Johannine writings. This is the principle of love, love of God, which can express itself only in love of neighbor. In it the whole law is fulfilled; so say both Jesus (Matt. 22:40) and Paul (Gal. 5:14; Rom. 13:8ff.) The Johannine epistles take as their dominant motif that the imperative of love of neighbor grows out of redemptive history's indicative of the love of God for us: "Herein consists love, not that we have loved God, but that he has loved us and sent his Son as an expiation for our sins. Beloved, if God has so loved us, we are obligated to love one another. No one has ever seen God. If we love one another, God abides in us, and his love is perfected in us." This is the catechism of the ethic of the NT; in no other place does it receive more classic expression. We here find it confirmed that this is the characteristic and new thing in the Christian ethic, that it is not conceivable without the Christian theology, and specifically the theology of redemptive history.¹⁵

The Individual and the Future Stage

The future state of the individual man, according to the Primitive Christian expectation is completely dependent upon the future of the entire redemptive history.¹⁶ In the foreground of Christian hope stands the completion of the entire redemptive history. As with the past and the present of redemptive history, the individual is affected by the completion to come in the eschatological future; but as depicted in the NT, the starting point of this hope is not rooted in one's concern for one's own individual happiness. Primitive Christian hope shares, in common with the OT hope which also transcends, the diminishing of any egocentric striving for happiness:

Since by human sin the curse of death has come upon the entire creation, the entire creation must be released from the power of death, and only in the framework of this redemption, which has already been accomplished in Christ and yet will be completed only at the end, is there individual bodily resurrection.¹⁷

Resulting from this connection with the general redemptive process, even the bodily resurrection of the individual is bound to the temporal course of this process. For this reason the bodily resurrection cannot coincide with the time of the death of any given man.¹⁸

The fact that the future stage of the redemptive history has its own significance, in that only then will matter be fully mastered by the Holy Spirit,¹⁸ effects the salvation of the individual, because

to the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is even now decisive also for the individual, since he has already risen with Christ. There is added this fact, that his will arise only at the end in the new creation, and that accordingly the resurrection of the body continues to be reserved for the future stage of redemptive history.¹⁹

Thus the resurrection of the individual is anchored in the general redemptive process in time.

All the elements related to the resurrection are tied up with redemptive history. This is true for death, which in the biblical conception is the "wages of sin" (Rom. 5:12; 6:23; Rev. 20:14) and not ^{at} all a friend and liberator from prison, nor a natural transfer into another form of existence.²⁰ Resurrection faith²¹ is possible only on biblical grounds. All death, decay, and withering are set in motion by man's sin and are opposed to God; accordingly death and continued life after death do not constitute an organic natural process. In order to bring life out of death a miracle of creation is required on the part of the omnipotent, life-giving God. Therefore, resurrection hope presupposes faith in God's creative powers. Since God is creator of the body, the biblical concept "resurrection" must refer to the resurrection of the body. Thus the OT, on the basis of the faith in creation and its concept of death had reached the notion of resurrection hope.

In the NT, resurrection hope is no longer merely added to faith; rather, resurrection faith and resurrection hope become clearly and closely associated. The new thing in the concept of resurrection in the NT is faith in the fact of Christ's resurrection at the mid-point of time; so far as Christ is risen, the resurrection of the body has already occurred with a finality. Death is already conquered (Acts 2:24), its power over men broken by Christ's defeat of it (II Tim 1:10). Through this "man" has come the general resurrection of the dead (I Cor. 15:21).

Christ, as risen, is "firstfruit of them that slept" (Col. 1:18 and Acts 26:23), and henceforth the way is free for the resurrection of each individual; all hope of individual resurrection receives a concrete foundation in the past fact of Christ's resurrection.

In the present, one resurrection body, whose substance is no longer flesh, but spirit, already exists.²² Therefore, the resurrection power, the Holy Spirit, has already entered the realm of the physical but only since the glorification of Christ (Jn. 7:39; 16:7). The NT conceives the Holy Spirit as part of the future, as partial anticipation of the end. Paul in applying the same term "firstfruits" both to Christ and the Spirit (I Cor. 15:23; Rom. 8:23) demonstrates that the resurrection of Christ and the Holy Spirit are most closely related - the Holy Spirit is the power through which God has effected the resurrection of Christ (I Pet. 3:18; Rom. 1:4). That which will happen at the end, the resurrection of bodies, is already reality in Christ.

As the power of the resurrection, the Holy Spirit is mediated through baptism, which is termed a "rising with Christ" (Rom. 6:3). Though all our human rising is only partial and we must wait for the future for the transformation of our fleshly body into a spiritual body, still the Holy Spirit is operative even now, upon the physical as well as on our "inner life."²³ The deeper meaning of all the NT healings of the sick and raisings of the dead is found in the temporary restraining of death through the resurrection power of the Spirit; since Christ and

in Christ the resurrection power is already at work. In this respect the NT places us in the messianic times, as Matt. 11:5 indicates. But only Christ, the "firstfruits" has as yet been really and finally raised;²⁴ for the remainder of men transformation is possible only at the end of days. In the NT, resurrection remains the object of hope in the future.

The intelligibility of resurrection hope as seen in the NT is based on its connection with faith in the already realized resurrection of Christ and faith in the present working of the resurrection power.

Because we on the basis of the resurrection of Christ and by faith in this redemptive fact are able in the present to gain possession of the Holy Spirit, we know that we may hope for the resurrection of the body, which is effected through the same Spirit who already dwells in us: "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. (Rom. 8:11).²⁴

Inasmuch as our faith in Christ's redeeming resurrection gives us possession of the Holy Spirit, we have the certain knowledge that we may hope for our future bodily resurrection. All the NT books agree that the uniquely new thing that the future will bring is the resurrection of the body. On the other hand, Cullmann finds that the NT knows nothing of any resurrection of the body occurring immediately after the death of each individual (cf. I Thess. 4:13ff.).

Despite the fact that the believer already has eternal life²⁵ he must undergo a special eschatological event lying between the present and the future era. John in his Gospel speaks of the resurrection at the end;²⁶ and Paul indicates the time tension characteristic of the period in the period between the

the resurrection and the return of Christ in this connection:
 "God has delivered us and will deliver us" (I Cor. 1:10).

What is the situation of those who die before the last day: Are they excluded for the time being from the influence of the resurrection power? Is the resurrection, for them alone, only a future thing devoid of the tension between present and future which proceeds from Christ's resurrection? Are they, then, not better off than the Jews before the resurrection of Christ? The NT indicates that those who die in Christ are with Christ immediately after their death (Lk. 23:43; Phil. 1:23; II Cor. 5:1-10); and, Cullmann asserts, it is permissible to hold that these dead are kept with Christ even before their body is raised to a spiritualized state. In II Cor. 5:1-10 Cullmann finds indication that the condition of "nakedness" created by death, which is hostile to God, is an imperfect condition. In this text, as in Rom. 8:11, the apostle repeats the designation of the Spirit as an "earnest" of the end; Cullmann interprets this as pointing to a guarantee of the resurrection of the body on the last day. As a result of his interpretation of these passages, Cullmann holds that the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit cannot be lost; the connection with Christ, established through the Holy Spirit and already effective while the individual is still in his physical body, is more intimate as soon as we put off this physical body. Otherwise, why would the apostle, even prior to Christ's return, have a "desire to depart and to be with Christ" (Phil. 1:23 and II Cor. 5:8), despite the incompleteness of the intermediate state of being

"unclothed" which the dead experience.²⁷ "Being with Christ," although not signifying resurrection of the body, does signify a closer connection with Christ already effected through the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit; and "the dead likewise live in a condition in which the tension between present and future still exists."²⁸ Both living and the dead belong to the present which extends from Christ's resurrection to the parousia; neither group has any advantage (I Thess. 4:13ff.).

Cullmann considers any speculation on the nature of this intermediate state as a proof of little faith in Christ's resurrection and the present possession of the Holy Spirit. In fact, any statements about it, especially as concerning the existence of a purgatory, are, in his viewpoint, arbitrary and unfounded assumptions:

For the NT resurrection faith it is sufficient to have concerning this intermediate state of the dead the one certainty on which alone everything depends, that he who believes in Christ, who is the resurrection, "will live, even though he dies" (Jn. 11:25).²⁹

Of the nature of the resurrection body as set forth in the NT, we learn only one thing: it will be a spiritual body. "The spirit will be not only its principle but also its material" Cullmann states.³⁰ The statement of St. Paul that our resurrection body will be fashioned like unto "the body of the risen Christ" (I Phil. 3:21) points to this idea.

Cullmann summarizes his understanding of the relation of the individual to the future phase:

Thus once again we are reminded that in the NT all resurrection hope is founded upon faith in a fact of the past; it is the fact at the mid-point of the redemptive line to which the

apostles bear witness: that Christ is risen. This hope is founded also upon a fact of the present which follows from the former fact: that in those who believe on the Risen One the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit is already at work, and cannot be lost even to the end of days. It is in that end time, for the individual believer also, that the redemptive history finds its specifically future completion when "he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by the Spirit" (Rom. 8:11).³¹

CHAPTER VI

CRITIQUE OF CULLMANN'S HEILSGESCHICHTE

There are a great number of questions that could be raised concerning Cullmann's approach to Heilsgeschichte theology. We will attempt to single out only a few, namely: the question of God's relation to time; the nature of Christ's consciousness, which leads to the question of his divinity; the nature of Christ's redeeming act; the historical role of the Church, especially as it touches on the elements of tradition, mission, sacraments and sanctification; and eschatology.

God's Relation to Time

The interrelationship between God and time which Cullmann claims to find in the NT writings is disquieting in the extreme. From his study of the NT, he concludes that Primitive Christianity knows nothing of a timeless God or of timelessness.¹ Connected with this is the point that he fails even once to state that God created time. Rather, it is his premise that time is a natural presupposition of all that God causes to occur; from the ambiguity of this statement one is not clear whether Cullmann means that time is a presupposition natural to God or not. God is, he admits, superior to time; but time in its unlimited form, i.e. eternity, is an attribute of God. Eternity is God's own line, it belongs to him, and is not to be regarded as a quality bound to

creation. What man calls "time" is nothing but a part, defined and delimited by God, of the unending duration of God's own time. God alone rules over time, for he alone can survey it in its entire extension; he measures it with measures which are as different from ours as the duration of a day is different from the duration of a thousand years. The closest Gullmann comes to specifying the meaning of time is by calling it the quality of "duration."² The time of God is an unending duration, which as a process, is distinguished by "formerly and now and then."³ But is not duration commonly understood as the measure of created being, not of the uncreated being of "He Who is," the God of the OT and NT? By placing God in duration, as Gullmann obviously seems to do, especially since he insists that time is not a quality bound to creation, he seems unquestionably to be derogating from God's status as an absolute being. To the extent that Gullmann has clarified his position, eternity seems to be conceived as time in co-extension with God's existence, and is somehow related to God as an attribute. He also seems to suggest that God's standards for measuring time differ from man's only quantitatively and not qualitatively; for God can con-
ceive the time line in its unending extension, since it belongs to him. To man only a survey of the interconnection of the entire redemptive process is granted. If such be the case, a sheerly quantitative distinction between man and God in their respective capacity for measurement of time would seem again to detract drastically from the absolute otherness of God, from

his infinite distance from finite man. At the least, these are the pitfalls towards which Cullmann seems to be gravitating in the relationship he tries to set up between God and time. He writes off anyone who contends that evidence of a contrast between time and a timeless eternity as a victim of an erroneous importation from Platonic thought or of a philosophic re-interpretation of NT revelation.⁴

The Nature of Christ's Consciousness

Of grave concern to us is Cullmann's presentation of the nature of Christ's consciousness as cited in such instances as his baptism, the limitation of his knowledge of kairoi, or of the date of the parousia. Cullmann considers Jesus' baptism as the beginning point for the twofold consciousness that he must fulfil the Servant of Yahweh role and that he stands in a unique Son-Father relationship with God; from this moment on he never loses the double consciousness of his complete oneness with the Father and of his clearly defined task. Again, it is without making distinctions of any kind that Cullmann asserts that the knowledge of the Incarnate Christ (sic) finds its limits; he specifies one instance of this in that it is preserved for God alone who in his omnipotence determines kairoi. In regard to the knowledge of Jesus concerning the coming of the parousia, Cullmann says that the fact that he

did not measure the intermediate period in centuries and millenniums any more than did the Primitive Church - but probably looked forward at most to decades, is of no import, since it makes no change in the division of stages of redemptive history.⁵

Instances such as these touching on the nature of the consciousness of Christ give one serious reason to pause. To single out

only the first instance for further comment, we would admit that Christ as man in his human consciousness does, of course, develop in his understanding of what it means to be the Messiah; experience teaches him the historical implications of this office and the human oppositions that he encounters in fulfilling it. However this is a different matter than saying that the knowing subject, the person, who is Jesus, had no knowledge that he was the Messiah. It is at points such as this that one really wonders what position Cullmann holds on the divinity of Jesus.

The Question of Christ's Divinity

It is Cullmann's position that the NT unquestionably presupposes the deity of Christ; Christ is God in a true sense. But we are left uneasy by the "true sense" of Christ's divinity as Cullmann explains it. The NT points to Christ's divinity, he insists, primarily in connection with his work, rather than being; for this reason, Cullmann's Christology may be termed a functional Christology. Such statements as "Jesus himself is what he does";⁶ "The essential character of the Word is action"; "By his very nature the being of the Logos is his action"; "Christ is "God insofar as God communicates himself"; "The Logos is the self-revealing, self-giving God, God-in-action"; and "Jesus Christ is God in his self-revelation"⁷ point up Cullmann's thesis that the person of Christ in his unique relation to God must be known in his work.⁸ We can neither simply speak of the person apart from the work, or of the work apart from the person of Christ; in fact, "it is only meaningful to speak of the Son in view of God's revelatory action, not in view of his being."⁹

Precisely for this reason, Gullmann reasons, the Father and Son are really one in this activity; there is a complete oneness of essence, will and work, between Father and Son¹⁰ so that in view of revelation there can be only one Logos, only one Lord, only one God. Does Gullmann regard the Son as a person in any way distinct from the Father? He does say that all the titles of honor due God except the title of "Father" may be legitimately transferred to Jesus on the basis of his designation as Kyrios.¹¹ But it is not possible to completely clarify this question from those of his present works wherein the content touches on this point. Adhering as he does to a functional approach to Christology, he declines to speak of the Son with regard to his nature, his being as such. For him, the question "Who is Christ?" means "What is his function in the history of salvation?"; any interpretation which refers this question to Christ's natures errs, in his opinion, by introducing philosophical speculation foreign to the NT into the picture. The only distinction between the Father and Son which Gullmann finds in the NT is one between source and goal on the one hand and the mediator on the other hand; between God and his Word, which as such is God himself and yet is not God himself but "with him" (Jn. 1:1); in this respect, Gullmann holds that Christ is neither a creature, nor an emanation from God, yet he is different; for God can be conceived apart from his act of revealing while the Logos cannot. Again, he explains this distinction as one between God as he exists independent of his redemptive revelation directed toward men and God as he reveals himself to the world. This distinction between

the Father and the Son does not mean a distinction between creator and redeemer, but between God insofar as one can theoretically speak of him also apart from his revelation, and God insofar as the NT does speak of him as the One who reveals himself.¹² Cullmann considers that insofar as the Son goes forth from the Father and returns to the Father, the Father is greater than the Son and he is greater only in this sense, that he is the source and goal of that revelation which the Son mediates.

Cullmann is insistent that "where there is no revelation it is pointless to speak of God's word of revelation, his Logos"¹³ Beyond the history of revelation, the NT "neither is able to nor intends to give information about how we are to conceive the being of God . . . whether it really is a being only in the philosophical sense."¹⁴ According to his view of the NT, it was at creation that Christ made the first revelation and took the first step in the history of salvation; before creation he pre-existed only as a principle of things and as a source of revelation. The culmination of God's intervention in our history will come at the end "when all things are made subject to him who subjected all things to him, that God may be all in all" (I Cor. 15:28). Cullmann interprets this text in such a way that it points to the completion of the function of the Word and hints at the disappearance of the Son when he has finished his salvific work. We find a better interpretation of this text given by the eminent theologian, Leopold Malevez:

Beyond Christ and his salutary work is the excellence and grandeur of God, whose instrument Christ is. Christianity's

aspiration is to bring the Christian to a love of God in himself, in his abyss and his darkness.¹⁵

If we understand Cullmann accurately both in his interpretation of this text and his description of the Word, then we must point out that he is open to charges of upholding a modalist theology of the Trinity: the Trinity would exist only in an "economic" way, that is, with distinctions arising because of different functions in different phases of the economy of salvation.¹⁶ From the view Cullmann takes, it would seem that at a certain point prior to the creation of the world God began to act outside himself through his revealing word who consequently became the mediator of creation as well as of the redemption made subsequently necessary by man's fall into sin. In the end time, this Word having completed its double task of revelation and redemption will return to God. Since the reconciliation of all things has been effected and the Kingdom of God established, there will no longer be any necessity to distinguish the Word from God. In the final analysis, it is far from clear whether Cullmann holds any real distinction between the Father and the Son. In passing, we might just remark that a cursory study reveals that Cullmann seems to treat the Holy Spirit in a completely functional way in the instances in which he discusses his role in the history of redemption; he never makes any allusion to the nature of the Spirit nor attempts to clarify his status as a divine Person.

Nature of Christ's Redeeming Act

Cullmann conceives the redemptive work of Christ as pri-

marily significant as the chronological mid-point in time; its function of giving meaning to the whole of revelational history is secondary;¹⁷ although, in this latter function, Christ is to be regarded as the end of history. Resulting from Christ's work at the mid-point, a new division of time - not "a new time" - is effected: in Christ time is divided anew, inasmuch as it has received a new center. Although the center has been reached, the end is still to come.¹⁸ Cullmann explains it in this fashion:

The decisive battle in a war may already have occurred in a relatively early stage of the war, and yet the war still continues. Although the decisive effect of that battle is perhaps not recognized by all, it nevertheless already means victory. But the war must still be carried on for an undefined time, until "Victory Day." Precisely this is the situation of which the New Testament is conscious, as a result of the recognition of the new division of time; the revelation consists precisely in the fact that that event on the cross, together with the resurrection which followed, was the already concluded decisive battle.¹⁹

Christ's redemptive work is then the battle, once-for-all decisive for the victory which will become reality at the moment of the eschatological drama - thus Cullmann presents it.

In disagreement with Cullmann that Christ's death and resurrection are only the dividing point of time in this limited way is the noted European theologian, Francis Durrwell. In his classic study, The Resurrection: A Biblical Study,²⁰ he states his position that Christ's resurrection is both the historical beginning of "a new time," opening as it does at a date in history, and it is the ontological center in which it is fixed, since it opens in a reality that remains ever present: Christ's resurrection. Durrwell's explanation presents the idea that Christian thought has inherited the Jewish idea of linear time

in which history is a preparation for salvation, which lies at its term; on this point, Gullmann and Durrwell agree. But they again diverge, for Durrwell places the "new time" Christian time, in continuity with the old time, (earthly time), since it is the time of the resurrection of Christ which is the result of his death: "Christ's death is the goal of earthly time and its conclusion."²¹ The new time, in line with Jewish thought, comes at the end of "earthly time" as a prolongation of it. In another sense, the "new time" stands above "this world" as in Greek thought: to find salvation one must escape towards it. Between the old and new time there is both a continuity and a break; their point of contact is Christ's death. Their continuity is explained by the realities they measure; the old time measures existence in the flesh, the new time, existence in the Spirit. Since Christ's resurrection the two times have co-existed in the world, the one set over and against the other. How do they come together? In the Believer, Durrwell says, since he lives both in the flesh and in the spirit and goes from one to the other. It is only by constantly getting beyond "earthly time" that salvation takes place in that time. Durrwell then goes on to explain the nature of Christian time:

Christian time is still developing towards a reality yet to come, although it has already achieved its fullness in Christ; for though the goal is already attained in us, it is only attained imperfectly; the history of salvation does not conclude with the Resurrection, but moves on to the Parousia. But whereas, before Christ, it was advancing towards a reality that stood wholly ahead of it, it is now moving towards a reality which, though still to come, is yet also already present: the risen Christ who is the Christ of the future world. It is a movement both forwards and inwards, an advance to a reality that is present. In as much as it measures our life in Christ,

Christian time belongs to the end of the world; but in as much as it measures this existence in its imperfect state, it is still developing towards final salvation. On one hand it is advancing towards the Parousia, on the other it already touches the end of time. The head of the Church, the risen Christ, has already broken through to the Last Day. The whole body must follow.²²

Obviously, Cullmann and Durrwell are in disagreement on the way in which Christ's redemptive work is at the center of time. Cullmann wished to limit this center to, first in importance, to a chronological function, in that from it a new division of time arises; and secondarily, to a principle of intelligibility, in so far as it gives meaning to the whole. Durrwell, on the other hand, views Christ's work at the midpoint as the beginning of a new time; his position that the Risen Christ is the ontological center in which this new time is fixed and hence the end of history, and that this new time stands above "this world" as in Greek thought would draw from Cullmann the accusation of philosophical re-interpretation of the NT.

Durrwell takes exception to yet another aspect of Cullmann's concept of the nature of Christ's redeeming work. The redemptive act is not, as presented by Cullmann, the battle that has decided the victory but to which others must be added before that victory becomes final.²³ Rather, Christ's redemptive actions constitute the only victory, not one to which other subsequent victories can be added; it contains them all, even the final one:

The Church is the pleroma of Christ's victory, a victory whole and complete in Christ himself, but which must be accomplished step-by-step in the world.²⁴

On the other hand, it is of interesting note that the French theologian, Yves Congar, tends to agree with Cullmann's viewing Christ's work as the decisive battle of the redemption. Congar finds this figure an apt one for describing the two different exercises of his priestly kingship by Christ; the first, the overcoming by the cross, the second, the ruling in power. Both of them flow from the fact that Christ's work is in two stages:

the first when the cause of universal salvation is present but does not produce all its effects; the second when Christ's kingly, priestly and prophetic power comes to its rightful and complete fruition in reconciliation, integrity, praise of God and glory for men. Using a comparison which, without his knowing it, occurs in the Fathers and scholastics, Cullmann presents this traditional point well in a figure that appeals to men who knew the hopes and conflicts of the second world war. Christ is the victor, Easter for him is like the decisive victory in war that brings mortal hurt to the enemy; but that enemy has not lost all his strength, he can still do serious damage, and there must still be much fighting and suffering before he will give in. The day of his unconditional surrender and of the victor's triumph, V-Day, is when Christ comes again in power and majesty.

The differing views which Congar and Durrwell take with regard to this position of Cullmann's would seem to arise from the fact that Durrwell has the deeper understanding of Cullmann's over-all position. This fact in addition to that of the profound study of the resurrection, which he has made, renders Durrwell's criticism of Cullmann the more valid one - at least, in this writer's estimation.

We must not overlook in the midst of our critical appraisal the fact that it is to Cullmann's great credit that he does emphasize the resurrection of Christ as the decisive event in all history; nothing that can ever happen will equal it in importance.

Historical Role of the Church

In acknowledging an existing Kingdom of Christ with its center in the Church vitalized by the Holy Spirit, Cullmann emphasizes that redemptive history really does continue in the interim period between Christ's ascension and parousia. In this interim period of salvation, Cullmann points out, and rightly so, that redemption is not offered to man at a single point of time to which he must attach himself in the past; it is always at man's disposal in the Christ who now sits at the right hand of God and is present throughout history.²⁶ Hence Cullmann repudiates the extreme position of Karl Barth, that history since Christ brings no increment of real value and consequently no progress. In the Barthian position there is no working out of salvation in the course of historical time: the only important event is Christ's resurrection and the final salvation of men flows from this event solely in proportion to their faith in it.²⁷ On the other hand, Cullmann also criticizes the Catholic presentation of the growing Church and the living tradition.

Cullmann distinguishes between the apostolic period, which he views as included in the mid-point event, and the period of the Church, which is to be controlled from that center of time, and which includes the apostles as well as Christ. Flowing from this distinction between the apostolic and Church periods is the result that all tradition must be subordinated to Scripture in order to preserve the once-for-all character of the apostolic period. Ancient tradition as codified in Scripture, replaced tradition; the sole heir of apostolic tradition and the only source of revelation for later times is the NT. Con-

sequently, all further development of tradition in the Church must, Cullmann insists, be ruled from the center of Scripture if it is to remain valid. He is severe in his criticism of the Catholic Church which, he feels, wrongly extends divine authority to the tradition of subsequent ages and thereby minimizes the unique character of the apostolic period. In summing up our reaction to this view of Cullmann's we quote the succinct appraisal which Pere Daniélou gives it:

The very notion of the opposition between apostolic and ecclesiastical tradition is ambiguous in Cullmann's writings. His great concern is to safeguard the privileged character of the Apostolate, which was restricted to the days of the apostles. During this time the oral transmission of revelation was guaranteed infallibly by the special assistance of Christ. But it is not clear what he considers to be the apostolate. It seems to be determined only by its relation to a particular period of time.

It is certain that the apostolate enjoyed a privileged character. But this was a personal privilege of the apostles and depended on the fact that they alone were the source of revelation. The infallible transmission of revelation during this apostolic period was not based on this apostolic prerogative, but on the divine authority with which Christ had invested his Church.

Consequently there is no reason why this tradition does not continue to be the normal way by which revelation is infallibly handed down in post-apostolic times. The authority possessed by the apostles in revealing the Word, is equally divine. Everything that Cullmann says regarding apostolic tradition must also be said of ecclesiastical tradition . . . There is but one tradition, apostolic in its source, ecclesiastical in its transmission. Thus it appears that Cullmann unduly limits the divine authority of tradition to the primitive period of the Church. The same authority persists throughout the history of the Church and preserves it from error. . . . Tradition is therefore the continuous transmission of revelation throughout the history of the Church . . . and has two functions: the transmission of truths also found in Scripture and the interpretation of Scripture by the Church.²⁶

Daniélou's reactions to Cullmann's objections regarding the Catholic notion of the development of the Church are also

well worth noting. It is not, Danielou replies, that this notion of development in any way diminishes Catholic faith in the unique importance of the fact of the resurrection. It does imply, on the other hand, recognition of the positive worth of current history: through the work of the Holy Spirit the Mystical Body really grows:

What has already been accomplished once-for-all time is the union of manhood and godhead in Jesus Christ. What is awaited at the end of all time is the manifestation of Christ's victory in the transfiguration of the universe and the general resurrection of bodies. What is now in progress is something invisible, yet supremely real, the building up in charity of that Mystical Body of Christ that shall be revealed in the last day.²⁹

The outline of the Church, as it emerges in Cullmann's thought, appears as the congregation of believers, the aggregate of those who are the object of God's grace-giving act. Since he makes no allowance for a hierarchical structure of continuation of the office of the apostles, the actual earthly Church would seem to be composed in his view of so many man-made assemblies whose ministries are a delegation by the community of the faithful. The only authority in the present of the Church is invested in the bishops and elders who are to act as watchdogs to see that ecclesiastical development in the present is guided by the norms of Scripture.

Cullmann recognizes that redemptive history does at all times, including the present, comprise the whole of history, and that secular history is entirely comprised within redemptive history. This relationship he explains on the basis of the principle of representation, in light of the fact that everything has been both created and reconciled by the mediator,

Christ. A more profound explanation of the relationship of redemptive and general history is offered by the Catholic theologian, Hans Urs von Balthasar:

. . . the Spirit in this third phase can be seen to assume his full personal authority and sovereignty. For the work which he here takes in hand, the work the Son entrusts him, is divinely free: The Spirit is confronted, so to say, with two given factors: the life of Christ and "world history." The charge placed upon him is to make use of the infinite riches of the life of Christ so that they may be unfolded in the history of the world and that history, placed at the same time under this norm, allowed to reach its own proper fulfillment. The laws proper to history remain untouched. But it and its laws are subordinated to the laws of Christ.³⁰

Implied in this explanation of von Balthasar's is the notion of grace, which is, of course, foreign to Gullmann's mentality.

One last aspect of Gullmann's view of the historical role of the Church demands our attention. He insists that the whole meaning of the present period is founded on the missionary preaching of the Gospel "to the entire world in every generation." The Gospel is, for Gullmann, the basic element in God's eschatological plan of salvation for the present. All must be offered an opportunity to hear the Gospel; the coming of the Kingdom depends not upon the success of this preaching, but rather upon the fact of preaching: "The essential thing is the presentation of the call to repentance," he insists.³²

Indications such as these about the nature of the mission of the Church cause one to wonder if Gullmann holds for any real progress in the time of the Church: it would seem that the Christian mission is simply to preach the word to individuals of all countries. Gullmann fails to point out that the Christian mission involves a much deeper process of evangelization of all civilizations and cultures, and that Christianity must find its

"appropriate and authentic expression in the idiom of every racial community."³³ He also neglects to call attention to a point related to the missionary proclamation: there is a development of the dogmatic truths which the Church proclaims.³⁴ Dogma does develop, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit enables the living Church in its teaching office to define certain aspects of revealed truth which are not explicitly spelt out in the Scriptures. Normally, such definitions correspond to particular historical situations indicating the main turning points in the Church's life. In this development of dogma John Henry Newman recognized one of the characteristics of current sacred history.³⁵ Gullmann not only fails to acknowledge the possibilities of development such as these in the time of the Church, but seems to exclude the possibility of such progress by the very manner in which he describes the nature and the mission of the Church.

The Sacraments

Active participation in the present redemptive process is assured through the Church's two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist, Gullmann tells us. While there are many elements of his sacramental theory that are disturbing, we will limit ourselves to touching upon a point particularly related to Heilsgeschichte theology: how they give us participation in the Christ-events of our redemption.

Baptism, the occasion of the individual's entry into the Church, mediates to him the forgiveness of sins, which is the fruit of the past phase of redemptive history, namely Christ's death and resurrection. It also imparts to the believer that gift which marks the present and future stages of redemptive

history, the Spirit, who bestows the charismata on the individual; these are to be used in the service of the Church. The believer participates in the "spiritual body" of Christ which is represented by the Church³⁶ through the Lord's Supper. The Supper-celebration concretizes for the believer the present's entire situation in redemptive history; its simultaneous and particularly close relation to both mid-point and end: the pointing backward to the Last Supper of Jesus before his death and to the Easter Suppers that were eaten with the Risen One and the pointing forward to the messianic banquet. Christ returns already to the assembled congregation, as he will one day come in a way visible to all. He appears as the one sitting at the right hand of God, who has been crucified and has risen and will return; as such he now offers the forgiveness of sins he has effected and promises the completion which he will bring. Such is in brief outline, Cullmann's position on the function of the sacraments.

For Cullmann, the presence of Christ in the worship assembly does not seem to be centered in his sacrificial presence in the sacramental species, which is meant to point to the nourishment of the divine life already possessed by the faithful, which they received at baptism. Since he neglects to point out that baptism effects an interior transformation of man brought about by the gift of supernatural, divine life, or that the Eucharist thereupon functions to nourish this higher life by which the Christian now lives, we may assume that Cullmann does not accept the reality of sanctifying grace.

Rather, the presence of Christ in the worship assembly becomes a reality by reason^{of} the faith of the congregation. In the same way, participation in Christ's redemptive actions in the past as experienced in baptism and the Eucharist, appears to be based, in Cullmann's thought, solely on faith in the meaning of these actions:

In a time happening of the past, if the past is actually and seriously taken as such, there is only such participation as rests upon faith in the redemptive significance of these facts of the past.³⁷

Cullmann objects therefore to the Catholic presentation of the Eucharist as a "realization" of the unique offering of Golgotha, saying that in the Mass Christ appears as "one being crucified" and rising. Cullmann deplores this concept of the Eucharist as failing to do justice to the uniqueness of the past and over-valuing the present redemptive moment.

We might again draw on Durrwell's The Resurrection, in order to contrast it with Cullmann's position. First of all, Durrwell insists that the Church be defined as the body of Christ redeeming us, joined to our Savior in one special moment of history, in the instant of redemption.:

She is the body of Christ in the act of his death and resurrection. The identification is dynamic as well as existential, for it is effected by participation in the same action in a shared being.³⁸

Durrwell explains his meaning further by pointing out that the time elapsing between Christ's resurrection and parousia is a time of salvation. In this period, redemption is not offered to man at a single point of time in the past to which he must attach himself, as Kierkegaard would say.³⁹ Rather, in the glorified Christ, present throughout history redemption is always

at man's disposal. Baptism incorporates the believer into the glorified Christ and brings him to salvation through a sharing in the redemptive act. Hence the believer communicates in acts which were accomplished in the past; he does so by being united to the Christ of the present. Since the risen life assumes and maintains in our Lord the state of being dead to the flesh, whoever is incorporated into Christ shares not only that life, but also that state. In this light, the actual fact of being incorporated can be considered a death and resurrection for the believer. But according to Durrwell, the NT texts demand a participation not merely in the state, but in the very act of death and resurrection. He explains that the believer can communicate in the act of the death of Jesus at the same time as in his resurrection; he can communicate in the death inasmuch as it is concluded in glory. He does not communicate in it insofar as it is a process of disintegration which belongs in the sphere of the flesh and hence belongs exclusively to the past, neither communicable nor worthy of being communicated. The redemptive action, performed once in the past

remains fixed in an everlasting actuality in the Christ of glory, where all the ages with which he coexists flow together, accessible to all who seek redemption. When Christ was in the world it was subject to being measured by successive time; it still is - not in our Savior, but in his body, the Church, until the Easter mystery be consummated in the parousia. The death and resurrection which took place once for all under Pontius Pilate continue to take place in the Church because we are incorporated into Christ who is forever fixed in the act of redeeming us.⁴⁰

Durrwell's competent exposition of the Catholic position enlightens us as to the fact that our participation in Christ's redemptive acts of the past springs from a deeper reality than

faith alone, namely, our incorporation into the life of the risen Christ at baptism, a life which is nourished by the Eucharist. Furthermore, his explanation of the manner in which we participate in Christ's redemptive actions - in both the state and act of death and resurrection - should clarify the fact that the uniqueness of the past is not violated nor is the present over-rated in its importance in the Catholic sacrifice of the Mass.⁴¹ Rather, both time periods are seen in their proper perspective. In the period of the Church, the sacraments are the decisive events which Christ uses to incorporate men into the history of salvation; they make every man, of whatever historical period, contemporary with the death and resurrection of Christ. By means of the sacraments, the glorified Christ as Head of the Mystical Body continually accomplishes miracles of conversion and sanctification in his Body.

Sanctification of Man

According to the interpretation Cullmann places on the NT doctrine of the sanctification of man as it results from redemption by Christ, this sanctity is accessible through faith alone. The essence of justification in the NT is, Cullmann says "nothing but the application of the redemptive process to the individual."⁴² Justification shows how the individual man is decisively affected in his individual life by what occurred in the past time, and

the connecting link is faith. Faith in the New Testament sense means to be convinced of the fact that this entire happening takes place for me, that Christ died on the cross for me, that for me also, this central event represents the mid-point.⁴³

It is the believer's faith in his own election that is the concrete expression of the relation between redemptive history and himself. In various ways, Gullmann emphasizes the ^{all-}seemingly/important function and efficacy of faith. For instance, Christ functions in his role as the High Priest to bring humanity to the perfection which he already enjoys. The sanctification of those perfected cannot be understood apart from the faith of the individuals in the "once-for-all" act of Jesus the High Priest.⁴⁴ Again, he points out that

Our sonship is grounded in the sonship of the Son and becomes a reality through faith in him.⁴⁵

To Gullmann justification and sanctification appear to be realities which remain extrinsic to man, realities in which he participates by the assent of belief in Christ's redemptive activities, so that he can say of the believer that he

is that which he will become only in the future, that he is already sinless, already holy, although this becomes reality only in the future.⁴⁶

The sacraments would seem to fit into this context as occasions for the profession of faith, by means of which the believer's faith is nourished and his holiness thereby increased.

Despite the fact that Gullmann makes some statements that seem to point in the direction of an interior transformation in man - such as his idea that the Spirit in a preliminary way lays hold of the "inner" man in baptism, or that the Spirit penetrates into the world of the body, although only in a temporary way are sickness and the power of death repelled - still, in the final analysis, Gullmann apparently holds to the sufficiency of faith for justification and sanctification.

Eschatology

The last element of Gullmann's presentation of redemptive history to which we will attend is, fittingly enough, the notion of eschatology which he finds in the NT. The relation between the coming of Jesus and the end of the world is founded, for him, on the fact of Christ's resurrection. The resurrection was the essential historical event belonging to the last days. Never can anything of comparable importance occur in the future. Yet, since Christ's resurrection has yet to fructify in all its consequences, there is still something for which to wait. Gullmann goes on to explain that the early Christians' "expectation of the imminent end" is rooted in the prior ground of the faith that the redemptive event has already occurred and been completed. The theologically important point, Gullmann insists, in the preaching of the nearness of the Kingdom of God is not that the imminent end will come within a generation, but rather the implicit assertion that since the coming of Christ we already stand in a new period of time and that therefore the end has drawn nearer. If the end seemed chronologically near to the first Christians it was because of the conviction that the decisive battle of our redemption has already taken place; hence the date of the end of the war is hastily determined as "at hand."

We are inclined to agree with Danielou that Gullmann's point of view on eschatology is perhaps too exclusively concerned with the beginning and end of the last days to the neglect of the importance of the role of the interim period of the Church:

On the one hand, the history of this time consists of the mighty works of God, the Sacramental activity of the Church, foreshadowing and preparing the eschatological events to come in the end of the world. In this aspect, the history of salvation, from the creation to the last day, concerns one everlasting presence of God among men; its supreme moment is in Christ's Incarnation, as its termination will be in his Second Coming. This history has no other laws than the sovereign wisdom and liberty of God himself.

But it is also true to say of this period that it consists of a development of the Incarnation. The Word of God took flesh in the unbroken succession of human generations to ensure the completion of the series; and it is in the generations of men that he continues to bring about, by his grace, the deification of mankind, sharers in his Resurrection . . . History thus takes on a new significance, as consisting of that which is to be set free. And mankind shares in the achievement, as well as in the gift, of this saving freedom: everyone of Christ's members co-operates, . . . so that the whole body "organized and unified by each contact with the source which supplies it, . . . and it achieves its natural growth, building itself up through charity; and it depends on man to hasten the coming of the Lord's Day. Thus, then, the union of the two natures in the person of Christ the Head of the Mystical Body, is as it were projected in the life of that body, the Church. Every misconception about the theology of the Church history arises from some neglect of either the divine or the human element therein.⁴⁷

Hence, the interim period is extremely important; the remarks of Daniélou included above are complementary to the stress we have already placed on this point under the section on the role of the Church in this present period.⁴⁸

It is Cullmann's viewpoint that the Christ who has already appeared is the "end" of redemptive history; he is the end precisely as the Incarnate One who gives meaning to the whole. As Christ is the fulfillment of the history of Israel, that completion to which we look forward in the eschatological era will be achieved through the resurrection power of the Holy Spirit who will lay hold of the entirety of matter.

It is obvious that, with his extreme functional approach to Christology, Cullmann would never see eye-to-eye with the

thesis of Danielou that it is because of the union of the two natures that Christ can be understood as the fulfillment of the OT and as the end of the whole plan of salvation; and that, finally, his second coming can be shown to represent the consummation of this plan.⁴⁹ For Danielou, the dogma of Chalcedon provides a basis for the theology of history. For Gullmann, any subsequent speculation on the "being" of the Son, such as takes place at Chalcedon, is foreign to the NT and therefore invalid. He holds that the Church was forced to ask the question of natures as a result of her contact with the Greek thought world; by succumbing to this temptation, the Church introduced a philosophical re-interpretation into NT thought. The problem Gullmann raise here centers on whether ontology and designation of natures is a peculiar property of the Greek mind; are they not rather the very structure without which the mind cannot express its slightest content?⁵⁰

Indeed, one may well wonder if Gullmann himself does not unwittingly approach the Scripture with an anti-metaphysical bias of such a serious nature that any ontological realities referred to therein escape his detection, since they are rejected beforehand. This leads one to wonder further what such an anti-philosophical bias may mean for the nature of his theologizing; does he reject altogether the application of man's natural knowledges to revelation, and, if so, implicitly deny any validity to speculative theology? How, exactly does he propose to draw out the meaning of Scripture?

Though we find ourselves sceptical and in open disagreement

with so many elements in Oscar Cullmann's Heilsgeschichte, there are two points with which we would like to draw this study to a close. First of all, we would like to stress that we are in full agreement with the basic tenet of this study, that the heart of the NT message is salvation-history; indeed, we must acknowledge that NT studies have benefitted immensely by the thorough study which Professor Cullmann has made of the meaning of time and history in the NT. Secondly, we have been most deeply impressed by the obvious honesty and profound scholarship which Cullmann at all times exhibits in his treatment of Heilsgeschichte.

FOOTNOTES

Preface

1. Oscar Gullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, trans., Shirly Guthrie and Charles Hall (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), p. xv. A very pertinent work which furnishes good background reading for the peculiar significance of Heilsgeschichte theology is: Alan Richardson, The Bible in the Age of Science, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962). This book contains a brief summary of the factors contributing to the 19th century revolution in historical thinking and the ensuing upheaval in theological thinking which followed in its wake. Of special interest for the topic of this paper is his chapter on Heilsgeschichte theology.
2. Oscar Gullman, Christ and Time, trans., Floyd V. Filson, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951), pp. 28, 30-32.
3. Gullmann, The Christology ... , p. 316.
4. Richardson, p. 141.
5. Gullmann, The Christology ... , p. 316.
6. Ibid., p. 98.
7. Ibid., p. 7.
8. Richardson, p. 141.
9. Gullmann, Christ and Time, ch. 8.

Chapter I.

1. Christ and Time is Gullmann's definitive work in the field of Heilsgeschichte theology.
2. Gullmann also refers to redemptive history as "revelatory" or "biblical" history and regards these three terms as interchangeable equivalents. It is interesting to note that Gullmann never terms redemptive history as "sacred" history in any of his writings on the subject.
3. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 115
4. R. Bultmann, Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen (1941), cited by Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 28, no. 13.

5. Karl Barth, Kirchliche Dogmatik (1939), cited by Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 12. Gullmann discusses Barth's position briefly on p. 13 and explores it at greater length throughout the book.
6. Gullmann's own full treatment of the material in this section of the thesis is contained in Christ and Time, Part I, ch. 1.
7. Ibid., p. 39.
8. In agreement with Gullmann that the principle of selection of divine kairoi is God's sovereign free will is Jean Danielou, The Lord of History, trans., Nigel Abercrombie (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1958), p. 198.
All scriptural quotations included in chs. I-IV of this paper
9. are drawn from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, except in cases where Professor Gullmann has made his own translation. Moreover, all references to or citation of scriptural texts in the first five chapters function to show the biblical source from which Gullmann draws authority for a particular interpretation or conclusion; in light of Gullmann's belief in the central role of scripture as the only source of orthodox Christian faith, these texts are particularly important.
9. There is substantial reason to disagree with Gullmann on this point; there is solid evidence, against the related background of the O.T., that Palm Sunday inaugurated the definitive Day of the Lord.
10. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 44.
11. Ibid., p. 44.
12. Cf. ibid., pp. 45-50, for further discussion of this idea.
13. "Aion" has varied use in the N.T. Gullmann points out that occasionally, it has a spatial connotation and means "world". Ibid., p. 45.
14. Regarding this concept of eternity as endless time, when eternity is mentioned in the N.T. the plural of "ages" is usually preferred - to Gullmann, the fact that one can speak of eternity in the plural proves that it does not signify cessation of time, or timelessness.
15. 1 Cor 10:11.
16. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 48.
17. For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of Gullmann's position, see Ibid., Part I, chaps. 2 and 3.
18. Primitive Christianity shares this concept of time with biblical Judaism and to a certain extent with Iranian Parsiism. See Ibid., pp. 51, 59.
19. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

20. For a brief resume of the Greek concept of time as conceived by Gullmann, see Ibid., p. 54.
21. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
22. Gullmann holds that Docetism is a real problem in today's Christological discussions. It is his view that whenever a choice is made as to what is and is not central for salvation on the basis of this or that idealistic position rather than on the basis of what the Gospels themselves present in the history they transmit, Docetism is present. See Ibid., p. 56, no. 8.
23. Ibid., p. 57, no. 10, and pp. 196-7. In Against Heresies, I, 10, 1, Irenaeus swerves from the path of orthodoxy, in Gullmann's view, by failing to take into account the present stage of redemptive history: for instance, he refers to the eschatological future the present Lordship of Christ over the invisible powers.
24. Ibid., Part I, ch. 3, Gullmann discusses at length the contrast between time and eternity as he proposes it.
25. Ibid., p. 62.
26. In this strong assertion that Primitive Christianity knows nothing of a timeless God, Gullmann seems to insinuate an interdependence of God and time.
27. Ibid., p. 63.
28. Gullmann never seems to consider the possibility that time is a qualitative measure of created being, a condition required for the unfolding of the potential of created being.
29. Ibid., p. 67.
30. Ibid., Part I, Ch. 4, contains Gullmann's discussion of "God's Lordship over Time".
31. Of interesting note is the fact that in no instance in Christ and Time does Professor Gullmann say that God "created" or "creates" time. On the contrary, he does not seem to want to give any such impression. On p. 64 in an analysis of Heb. 1:2 he very carefully points out that the phrase that God has "created the ages" is not to be interpreted that God creates time; rather, "aion" in this instance he chooses to interpret in a spatial sense, as meaning "world". Actually, in defining eternity as an attribute of God, Gullmann would seem to be placing a limitation on God.
32. Ibid., p. 69.
33. In this instance, Gullmann seems to suggest that Christ, because of his incarnation, does not share in divine knowledge of the kairoi. But since Christ as a divine Person knows all that the Father knows,

one wonders if Cullmann is referring to the human experiential knowledge of Christ; it is only in this area that one could fathom such a limitation on Christ's knowledge of the "day and the hour".

34. Ibid., p. 72.
35. In the context in which Cullmann uses the term "survey", it seems to mean essentially an over-all view in faith of the divine action of revelation in history.
36. Note the ambiguity, perhaps due to brevity, characterizing Cullmann's statement that man is already sinless and holy although this becomes reality only in the future indicates that he is following the doctrine of forensic justification.
37. Ibid., p. 77. Cullmann again insists that the knowledge of the Incarnate Christ (sic) is limited in respect to the question of chronology.
38. Ibid., p. 77.
39. Cullmann seems here to propose a quantitative, not a qualitative, difference between man and God in respect to the relation each has to time.
40. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
41. Ibid., pp. 316-317.
42. Ibid., pp. 316-317.
43. Cullmann discusses his position on these three points at length in Christ and Time, Part I, chaps. 5 and 7; and in Part II, chap. 1.
44. Ibid., p. 84. On the basis of this position, Cullmann is critical of the "consistent eschatology" of Martin Werner and Albert Schweitzer; see pp. 84-85.
45. Martin Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas (1941), cited by Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 12, 30, 85-86.
46. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 86.
47. Ibid., p. 83.
48. Ibid., p. 87.
49. Cullmann believes there are correctives to this erratic thinking in some isolated passages of the N.T., e.g. 2 Peter 3:8. St. Paul's original opinion in 1 Thess. 4:15 seems to alter the opposing view as indicated in 2 Cor. 5:1 and Phil. 1:23. For further discussion of Cullmann's viewpoint see Ibid., pp. 88-89.

50. Regarding the term "mid-point" Cullmann warns us to avoid a meta-physical reinterpretation of it such as R. Bultmann has done with the word "eschatology", Ibid., p. 92. Cullmann seems determined to eliminate all ontological meaning from the N.T.
51. Cullmann evidently regards this function of the mid-point as secondary in importance to its function as a mid-point in time. Without detracting from the importance of the incarnation and redemptive activity of Christ as events in time, it is difficult to agree with Cullmann that the significance of these events for man's redemption can be separated from their time characteristic and placed in secondary position of importance.
52. Ibid., p. 90.
53. K. Barth, Dogmatik, vol. I, part 2, pp. 50 ff. and vol. II, part 1, pp. 705 ff., cited by Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 92, favors this view, while F. X. Durrwell, The Resurrection: A Biblical Study, trans. Rosemary Sheed (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960), p. 234, disagrees. See infra, pp. 127-8.
54. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 93.
55. See Ibid., Part I, ch. 7, for Cullmann's treatment of the "Redemptive Line as Christ-line".
56. Ibid., p. 121. Cullmann treats of the "Uniqueness of the Christ-deed" at the mid-point of history in Part II, ch. 1.
57. Supra, pp. 23-27.
58. This teaching is contained in Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I, 24, 4, cited in Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 127.
59. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, I, 26, 1, cited in Ibid., p. 127.
60. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 126-127.
61. See Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, 1949, for his study of these earliest faith formulas as criterion for distinguishing the central from the peripheral teachings of faith in the N.T., cited in Christ and Time, p. 130.
62. A detailed treatment of Cullmann's notion of prophecy may be found in Christ and Time, Part I, ch. 6.
63. Ibid., pp. 30-32. Cullmann therein criticizes Bultmann's attempt, in Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen, to demythologize the N.T. and the effect of this attempt to destroy the essence of redemptive history.
64. Ibid., pp. 98-99.
65. Ibid., pp. 100-101.

66. Ibid., p. 101.
67. Ibid., pp. 103-104.
68. Ibid., p. 106.
69. For Gullmann's complete explanation of his notion of election and representation, see Ibid., Part I, ch. 8.
70. Ibid., p. 117.
71. Ibid., p. 118, for a study of the manner in which Gullmann draws this thesis out of the texts.
72. See Ibid., Part II, chap 2, for Gullmann's treatment of the past phase of redemptive history.
73. Ibid., pp. 132-133, for further analysis of the approach to the O.T. advanced in the Epistle to Barnabas.
74. Ibid., p. 137. It seems certain that Gullmann's work, The Christology of the New Testament contains his attempt to answer the question he poses here.
75. In Ibid., Part II, chap 3, Gullmann discusses the role of the future phase in redemptive history.
76. Ibid., Part II, chap. 4, contains Gullmann's discussion of the role of the present phase in redemptive history.
77. Supra, pp. 13-17.
78. Gullmann makes here what seems to be an unfounded assumption: that the mid-point is in the middle of the line stretching from the creation to the parousia; for all we know the mid-point may be situated at the very beginning of this line.
79. Ibid., p. 57, no. 10; and p. 146.
80. Ibid., pp. 146, 168-169.
81. Ibid., pp. 147, 168-169.
82. Supra, pp. 2-4.
83. However, an important issue does arise from this point, touching on the limitation Gullmann thus seems to be suggesting upon the conscious knowledge of the Divine Word.
84. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 151
85. Ibid., p. 157. The way Gullmann explains it, the preaching of the Gospel appears to be the most important work of the Church. One might well ask, however, if this preaching is not only a means to a more meaningful worship on the part of the Church.

86. Ibid., pp. 166-167.
87. This view seems to detract from any real development of significance in the life and time of the Church.
88. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 166-167.
89. Ibid., p. 171.
90. Scripture in Cullmann's thought forms both the norm for the Church's life in present time phase and the content of the essential task of the Church, missionary proclamation. The question of the relation of scripture and tradition, as well as of the relationship of the Church to the apostolic office, herein raised, will be discussed in chap. IV.

Chapter II

1. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 19-23.
2. Cullmann discusses his concept of Christian universalism in Christ and Time, Part III, chap. 1.
3. Supra, pp. 27-29.
4. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 116-117.
5. Ibid., Part III, chap. 2.
6. Cullmann uses N.T. passages: Matt. 28:18; Phil. 2:9-10; Col. 1:18, 20; Col. 2:10; Eph. 1:10, 22 to support this thesis.
7. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 187.
8. Ibid., p. 188.
9. Ibid., p. 189. Both the Gentiles and the previously elected people of Israel are included in this reference to "all Israel" as based on Rom. 11:25 ff.
10. See Cullmann, The State in the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1957) for Cullmann's special study on this subject; also Christ and Time, Part III, chap. 3.
11. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 193: The Book of Daniel, The Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach, the Book of Enoch, the Talmud and Midrash attest this.
12. In Irenaeus, Against Heresies, V, 24, 1 cited in Christ and Time, p. 196, Cullmann finds that Irenaeus rejects the Gnostic interpretation of Rom. 13:1 ff., probably because of the false dualistic understanding they placed on the term exousia, which they referred to evil angelic powers.

13. Danielou in The Lord of History, p. 54, notes that Cullmann understands the defeated powers as evil and points out that this is a disputed point of exegesis. With his constant insistence that the only dualism contained in the N.T. is that arising from the time tension, Cullmann couples the idea that it is unbiblical to attribute any ontological meaning to the N.T. In this insistence, he may be considered as approaching the N.T. with a bias against finding any metaphysical truth therein.
14. The state in the present redemptive phase is a temporary institution not of divine nature but nevertheless willed by God; therefore the Christian must obey the state which remains within its bounds; but when the state tries to free itself from its subordination, satanically demanding what is God's, it is the classic expression of Anti-Christ. See Cullmann, The State in the New Testament, pp. 68-70.
15. When Cullmann here uses "world", he seems to be thinking of the area remaining outside the Church, but comprised under the jurisdiction of the institution of the state. However, this is an assumption which this writer is not able to establish.
16. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 209. At the end of this chapter, Cullmann poses the question whether in the time before Christ's death and resurrection, the angelic powers and their executive agents were able to exercise an unlimited authority. For his resolution of this problem, which he claims is nowhere directly answered in the N.T., see pp. 209-210.
17. Ibid., p. 209.
18. Ibid., Part III, chap. 4, contains Cullmann's discussion of "World Affirmation or World Denial".
19. Cullmann comments that had the center remained yet in the future where the Jewish apocalyptic placed it, Franz Overbeck and Albert Schweitzer would be correct in assuming that the Primitive Christian attitude was one of world denial. But, contends Cullmann, the center is firmly anchored in the Christ-event in the past - and Overbeck and Schweitzer are wrong in their view.
20. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 213.
21. Ibid., p. 213.

Chapter III

1. For Cullmann's complete study of this subject, see his The Christology of the New Testament.
2. Ibid., pp. 321, 323-324.
3. Ibid., p. 321.

4. Ibid., pp. 17-20.
5. Gullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 108-109.
6. Ibid., p. 71.
7. Gullmann, The Christology, pp. 235-236.
8. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 108.
9. See The Christology, Part I, chap. 3, for Gullmann's study of "Jesus the Suffering Servant of God". Significant here is the fact that Gullmann refers to the "incarnate Jesus" rather than the "incarnate Word".
10. Supra, pp. 27-29.
11. Gullmann, The Christology, pp. 80, 145.
12. Ibid., p. 151.
13. However, it is noted that Christ himself never explicitly designated himself by this title.
14. Gullmann, The Christology, p. 80.
15. Gullmann reaches this conclusion from his study of Hebrews and other Pauline literature. Ibid., pp. 91-94.
16. Ibid., p. 181.
17. See Ibid., Part III, chap. 7 for Gullmann's study of this role of Christ as the Kyrios.
18. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 85.
19. Gullmann, The Christology, p. 235.
20. Ibid., p. 195.
21. Ibid., pp. 212, 224.
22. Supra, pp. 8-12, 58-60.
23. Gullmann, Christ and Time, p. 188; The Christology, p. 229.
24. Gullmann, The Christology, p. 145.
25. Ibid., p. 161.
26. He does so sixty-nine times in the first three Gospels, Gullmann reports.
27. Ibid., pp. 163-164.
28. Ibid., p. 172.

29. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
30. Ibid., p. 145.
31. Ibid., p. 173.
32. Ibid., pp. 157-160.
33. From the point of view of salvation history, not all the Christological functions are illuminated from all sides, or the line to other functions is only briefly extended. But nevertheless with the functions of Christ which we have treated the other functions always remain in the field of vision. Always in the background is the implicit presupposition that the decisive temporal center of the whole Christ-event lies in Jesus' incarnation, his life, suffering, dying and rising again. "Whatever particular function may be under consideration, the identity of the pre-existent, present, or coming Christ with Jesus of Nazareth is certain only when it is recognized that the real center of all revelation is the Incarnate One." The Christology of the New Testament, pp. 323-324.
34. However, it is important to keep in mind that Cullmann remains insistent that Christ's work, not his person, is the primary thing.
35. Cullmann, The Christology . . ., p. 235. Cullmann refuses to regard the distinction of natures in Christ as a valid question.
36. Ibid., pp. 234-7.
37. Ibid., Part IV, chap. 9.
38. Ibid., p. 268.
39. Ibid., pp. 326-327.
40. Ibid., pp. 265, 326.
41. Ibid., pp. 266-267.
42. Ibid., p. 267.
43. Ibid., p. 324.
44. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 25-26.

Chapter IV

1. See Cullmann, The Early Church, edit. A.J.B. Higgins (London, SCM Press, 1956), chap. IV, "The Tradition"; and Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr, trans. Floyd Filson (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), Part II, chap. 2, "The Laying of the Foundation of the Church".

2. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 155.
3. Supra, pp. 37-39.
4. By the term "norm", Cullmann seems to mean a guiding principle which is a basis of authority.
5. Cullmann, Peter . . ., p. 233.
6. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 170-171.
7. Ibid., p. 171.
8. Ibid., p. 172.
9. Cullmann, Peter . . ., p. 221.
10. Ibid., p. 221. This reference to the mid-point of time as "the time of revelation" gives one pause, since Cullmann also refers to the entire process of redemptive history as a "revelational" history. Evidently Cullmann considers the time of Christ a period of unique revelation.
11. Ibid., p. 220.
12. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 171.
13. Cullmann, The Early Church, chap. IV, "The Kingdom of Christ and the Church in the New Testament".
14. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 150, 186.
15. Ibid., p. 151.
16. Ibid., pp. 117-118.
17. Ibid., p. 187.
18. Cullmann, The Christology . . ., p. 221: Christ's rule is a kingly rule, hence "Lordship" and "King" are interchangeable titles of Jesus. The title "King" emphasizes more strongly Christ's kingship over the Church, since the Church takes the place of Israel and Christ fulfills the Kingship of Israel. His "Lordship" emphasizes more strongly his rule over the entire world.
19. Ibid., p. 231.
20. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 187, points out that this takes place in worship assemblies.
21. Ibid., p. 188.
22. Supra, pp. 60-66.

23. By the term "flesh" Cullmann seems to refer to sin in general.
24. Cullmann, The Christology . . ., p. 228.
25. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 157.
26. Ibid., pp. 117-118. Cf. supra, pp. 37-39.
27. Cullmann treats of the Sacraments and worship in five of his works: Christ and Time; The Christology of the New Testament; Early Christian Worship, trans. A. Todd and J. Torrance ("Studies in Biblical Theology", No. 10, London: SCM Press, 1953); Baptism in the New Testament, trans. J.K. Reid ("Studies in Biblical Theology", No. 1, London: SCM Press, 1960); Essays on the Lord's Supper ("Ecumenical Studies in Worship", No. 1, London: Lutterworth Press, 1959).
28. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 70.
29. Ibid., p. 54.
30. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 223-224.
31. Ibid., p. 236.
32. Cullmann, Essays on the Lord's Supper, p. 18.
33. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 221.
34. Cullmann, The Christology . . ., p. 268.
35. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, pp. 21, 31; Christ and Time, pp. 73-74.
36. Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, p. 33.
37. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
38. Since Cullmann mentions here "all proclamation" and in other places speaks of the main task of the Church as the missionary proclamation, the question arises as to whether the present passage conceives this task of the Church as fulfilled in the context of the worship service, or whether he advocates preaching apart from the worship service.
39. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 110.
40. It is interesting to note that Cullmann places the confession of sins in the framework of the worship service, particularly in view of the fact that the Sacrament of Penance is regarded by some Catholic theologians as a preparation for the Eucharist.
41. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 78.

42. Ibid., p. 169; also The Christology ..., p. 99. Cullmann objects to the Catholic Mass as the "making present" of Christ's act as violating the message of Hebrews, especially when one designates the Mass as a sacrifice. "It is just the sacrifice as such which cannot be made present in the way it is supposed to happen in the Catholic Mass."
43. Cullmann, Essays on the Lord's Supper and Early Christian Worship.
44. Cullmann, Essays ..., p. 12.
45. Cullmann, The Christology..., p. 213.
46. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 154-155.
47. Cullmann, Essays ..., p. 13.
48. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 74.
49. Ibid., p. 155.
50. Cullmann, The Christology ..., pp. 211-212; Essays ..., pp. 13-15. The Church not only waited for "eschatological realization", but already experienced it - precisely in the Eucharistic meals.
51. Cullmann, Essays ..., p. 15.
52. H. Lietzmann, Messe und Herrenmahl. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie, 1926, cited by Cullmann, Essays ..., p. 5 (Publication of successive fascicules of an English translation of Lietzmann's work began in 1953 under the title Mass and Lord's Supper.) Lietzmann considers the "breaking of bread" as more than the continuation of the daily meals which the Jesus of history shared with his disciples throughout the course of his ministry. Cullmann disagrees with this: for him the "breaking of bread" practiced by the first Christians did not include either the recollection of the Last Supper or the recollection of the daily meals taken with the Lord during his lifetime. Rather, "the breaking of the bread" meant "to take a meal", therefore the Eucharistic meal of the first Christians, in origin and nature an ordinary meal, is connected with the Easter meals of the disciples with the Risen Christ; as yet, there is no idea of establishing any relation between the meal and the words of Jesus over the bread and wine. This comes later with the Pauline reinterpretation of the Eucharist. Contrary to the views of both Lietzmann and Cullmann, Catholic exegetes consider the "breaking of the bread" a technical term for the Eucharistic meal.
53. Cullmann, Essays ..., p. 16.
54. Ibid., p. 19.
55. Ibid., pp. 19-20.
56. Ibid., p. 20.

57. Ibid., pp. 22-23. Gullmann holds that in the Fourth Gospel the primitive conception of the Lord's Supper seems to predominate, although he admits to finding the influence of the Pauline conception even in John.
58. Gullmann, Early Christian Worship, p. 119.
59. Y. Congar, Lay People in the Church, trans. D. Attwater (Westminster: Newman Press, 1957), p. 107, describes the nature of the Church in Protestant theology as "the aggregate of those who are the object of God's grace-giving act; it sees in actual earthly Churches so many man-made assemblies whose ministries are a delegation of the community of the faithful." The understanding this writer has of Gullmann's doctrine on the nature of the Church indicates that Gullmann's position adheres closely to this general definition advanced by Congar.

Chapter V

1. See Gullmann, Christ and Time, Part IV, chap. 1, in which he treats of the relationship of the individual to the past stage of redemptive history.
2. Gullmann believes the linear concept of time held by Primitive Christianity safeguards these texts from any otherwise possible mystical misinterpretation; this danger, however, he regards as excluded by the inherent time quality of redemptive history. He also issues a warning to beware in interpreting the past in the sense of a "present realization" such as he conceives happening in the Catholic Mass. See Christ and Time, pp. 169, 218-219.
3. Ibid., p. 219.
4. Gullmann uses the word "predestination" interchangeably with "election". See Christ and Time, p. 220.
5. Gullmann investigates the notion of "conformation to the image of the Son" at some length in The Christology ..., Part II, chap. 6, "Jesus the Son of Man".
6. Gullmann, Christ and Time, Part IV, chap. 2.
7. Ibid., pp. 223-224.
8. Ibid., p. 224.
9. Ibid., p. 225.
10. Ibid., p. 225.
11. Ibid., p. 226.
12. Ibid., p. 228.

13. Ibid., pp. 226-228, wherein Cullmann discusses this point at greater length.
14. Ibid., p. 228.
15. Ibid., p. 229.
16. Ibid., Part IV, chap. 3.
17. Ibid., p. 232.
18. Ibid., p. 232.
19. Ibid., p. 233.
20. Cullmann cites these ideas as drawn from Greek philosophy, particularly Plato, Ibid., p. 233.
21. By the term "resurrection faith", Cullmann seems to mean faith in individual resurrection.
22. Catholic faith takes exception to this statement, since it is our conviction that the Virgin Mary is also in this situation.
23. This enigmatic term, in the context Cullmann uses it, seems to mean only the change of consciousness as effected by faith and nothing further of an ontological nature.
24. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 237.
25. This idea seems to refer more to a possession effected by faith rather than any intrinsic principle of life such as Catholic dogma holds sanctifying grace to be.
26. R. Bultmann in Das Evangelium des Johannes, 1941, cited by Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 238, no. 6, attempts to discard all Johannine passages that speak of bodily resurrection at the end.
27. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 239-240. Cullmann sees Rev. 6:9 ff. as also supporting this idea.
28. Ibid., p. 240.
29. Ibid., p. 241.
30. Ibid., p. 241; he cites 1 Cor. 15:35 ff.
31. Ibid., pp. 241-242.

Chapter VI

1. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 62-63.
2. Ibid., p. 45.
3. Ibid., p. 37.
4. Infra, p. 144.
5. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 150.
6. Cullmann, The Christology ..., p. 325.
7. Ibid., p. 261.
8. Ibid., p. 326.
9. Ibid., p. 293.
10. Ibid., p. 300.
11. Supra, p. 81.
12. Leopold Malevez, "Functional Christology in the New Testament", Theology Digest 10 (1962), p. 81.
13. Cullmann, The Christology ..., p. 327.
14. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 92.
15. L. Malevez, "Functional Christology ...", p. 80.
16. Ibid., p. 82.
17. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 92.
18. Ibid., chap. V.
19. Ibid., p. 84.
20. Durrwell, The Resurrection.
21. Ibid., p. 234.
22. Ibid., p. 234.
23. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 141.
24. Durrwell, The Resurrection, p. 233.
25. Y. Congar, Lay People in the Church, p. 66.

26. Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 144-174.
27. J. Danielou, The Lord of History, p. 11.
28. J. Danielou, "Scripture, Tradition, and the Dialogue", Theology Digest, 9 (1961), pp. 39-42.
29. Durrwell, The Resurrection, p. 223.
30. Hans Urs von Balthasar, "Christ the Norm of History", Modern Catholic Thinkers, ed. A. Caponigri (New York: Harper, 1960), p. 435.
31. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 167.
32. Ibid., p. 165.
33. Danielou, The Lord of History, p. 11.
34. See U. von Balthasar, pp. 436-438, for some remarkable and profound insights into the nature of the development of dogma in the Church.
35. Danielou, The Lord of History, p. 12.
36. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 117. It is difficult to be certain, but the expression seems to mean that the Church stands for Christ's body in the present time phase, in an extrinsic manner.
37. Ibid., p. 219.
38. Durrwell, The Resurrection, p. 223.
39. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 146, no. 2.
40. Durrwell, The Resurrection, p. 225.
41. Urs von Balthasar, p. 433, gives an exciting appraisal of the Eucharist that touches on this point.
42. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 219.
43. Ibid., pp. 219-220.
44. Cullmann, The Christology ..., pp. 91-94.
45. Ibid., pp. 297-303.
46. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 75.
47. Danielou, The Lord of History, pp. 201-202.
48. Supra, pp. 132-136.
49. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 185.
50. L. Malevez, "Functional Christology ...", p. 82.

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