

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 86

Andrew Y. Lau

# Manifest in Flesh



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Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

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The Epiphany Christology of the Pastoral Epistles

by

Andrew Y. Lau



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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*For Libby*



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Summer 1996, Toronto

Andrew Lau

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## Abbreviations

Abbreviations of commonly used periodicals, reference works and serials follow the ones set out in JBL 107/3 (1988) 588-598. In addition are the followings:

Benedikt	Benedictina, Rome
Bib. Kirch.	Bibel und Kirche
Esp Vie	Esprit et Vie
Iraq	Iraq Natural History Museum Publication
Klio	Klio. Beitræge zur Alten Geshichte
NIDNTT	New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology
RefThRev.	Reformed Theological Review
SNTU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
TE	Theologia Evangelica
Them.	Themelios
Theol. Jb.	Theologisches Jahrbuch
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift

All quotations from and references to commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles are cited by the author's last name followed by the page number, e.g. Brox, p. 199, unless indicated otherwise.



## Chapter One Survey and Assessment of Recent Scholarship

### Introduction

Since Schleiermacher, who first introduced the idea of non-Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles (hereafter PE) in 1807,<sup>1</sup> the flame of controversy in NT scholarship has been fueled by the burning issues concerning authenticity and, consequently, pseudonymity of these letters. Theological investigations regarding God, Christ, or salvation have been given comparatively minimal attention and overshadowed usually by this controversial discussion of authorship. This lack of attention is further encouraged by the customary characterization of this corpus, that is, as the Pastoral Epistles, first assigned by Paul Anton of Halle (1726).<sup>2</sup> Since then scholarly discussions have predominantly focused on matters of church organization, social ethics, personal godliness and pastoral admonitions. As a result the PE are read and consulted merely as a 'ready reference/handbook' (*vade mecum*) for church leaders, whose basic intent is to safeguard the ongoing Church with the necessary instructions or traditions when confronted by alien ideas and false teachings, and the author's/Pastor's creativity as well as the theological profundity contained therein have thus been undervalued. But even if we acknowledge the practical nature of these epistles, we must not rashly assume that "they are lacking in theological content or that they are not expressive of a distinct and formulated theological standpoint," and in terms of quantity alone the PE "form a significant part of NT and deserve better treatment from NT theologians."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles*, Tübingen, 1986, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon D. Fee, "Reflections on church order in the Pastoral Epistles, with further reflection on the hermeneutics of *ad hoc* documents", *JETS* 28/2 (1985) 141.

<sup>3</sup> I. H. Marshall, "Faith and Works in the Pastoral Epistles" *SNTU* 9 (1984) 203. Although this apparent lacuna has not yet been fully bridged and the field is still open for further investigation, a few significant works have appeared recently: beside Donelson's monograph, *Pseudepigraphy*, David C. Verner, *The Household of God*, California, 1983; Benjamin Fiore, *The Function of Personal Example in the Socratic and Pastoral Epistles*, Rome, 1986; Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy*, Sheffield, 1989; Philip H. Towner, *The Goal of Our Instruction. The Structure of Theology and Ethics in the Pastoral Epistles*, Sheffield, 1989; Reggie M. Kidd, *Wealth and*

This applies especially to the present concern with the understanding of Christ in these writings. For a general survey of the history of scholarship on the topic suggests that although a reasonable number of divergent treatments regarding the evaluation of the christological passages exist,<sup>4</sup> inadequate attention has been paid to their significance in relation to earlier teaching/tradition and to the continuous development of christology of the church. The traditional defenders of Pauline authorship have often subsumed the christology of the PE under the larger framework of Pauline theology. Hence their distinctive contribution to our understanding of the work and person of Christ is ignored, either by denying or harmonizing any detected differences between the two.<sup>5</sup> For the challengers of

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*Benevolence in the Pastoral Epistles*, Atlanta, 1990; cf. David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon: An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition*, Tübingen, 1986, esp. pp. 122-139; Raymond F. Collins, *Letters That Paul Did Not Write*, Wilmington 1988, esp. pp. 88-131; Sharon Hodgkin Gritz, *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus*, Lanham, 1991.

<sup>4</sup> A. Klöpper, "Zur Christologie der Pastoralbriefe". ZWT 45 (1902) 339-361; H. Windisch, "Zur Christologie der Pastoralbriefe", ZNW 34 (1935) 213-238; N. Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, Regensburg, 1969, pp. 161-166; C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, Paris, 1969, vol. I, pp. 245-254; R. Schnackenburg, "Christologie des Neuen Testaments", *Mysterium Salutis*, edited by J. Feiner and M. Löhrer, III/1 (1970) 355-360; V. Hasler, "Epiphanie und Christologie in den Pastoralbriefen", TZ 33 (1977) 193-209; P. Trummer, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe*, Frankfurt, 1978, pp. 193-208; S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Pastorals*, London, 1979, pp. 69-89; L. Oberlinner, "Die 'Epiphaneia' des heilswillens Gottes", ZNW 71 (1980) 192-213; H. Simonsen, "Christologische Traditionselemente in den Pastoralbriefen", in S. Pedersen (ed), *Die Paulinische Literatur und Theologie*, Århus-Göttingen, 1980, pp. 51-62; H. Merkel, "Christologische Traditionen in den Pastoralbriefen", unpublished paper given at the SNTS conference, Canterbury 1983 (cf. idem, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, Göttingen, 1991); A. T. Hanson, *The Pastoral Epistles*, London, 1982, pp. 38-42; Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, pp. 129-154; J. Roloff, *Der Erste Brief An Timotheus*, Zürich, Benziger Verlag, 1988, pp. 358-365; I. H. Marshall, "The Christology of the Pastoral Epistles", SNTU 13 (1988) 157-177; see also the literature on 1 Tim 3,16 especially R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit*, Göttingen, 1967, pp. 133-137; R. H. Gundry, "The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in 1 Timothy 3,16", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, Exeter, 1970, pp. 203-222; K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Leiden des Urchristentums*, Gütersloh, 1972, pp. 156-160; W. Metzger, *Der Christushymnus 1. Timotheus 3,16*, Stuttgart, 1979; W. Stenger, *Der Christushymnus 1 Tim 3,16*, Frankfurt-Bern, 1977; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Redactional Angels in 1 Tim 3,16", RB 91 (1984) 178-187; Stephen E. Fowl, *The Story of Christ in the Ethics of Paul*, Sheffield, 1990, pp. 155-194.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. most recently George W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Grand Rapids, 1992, in which there is not even a separate systematic presentation of the theology of these documents. Further, see H. Ridderbos, *Paul. An Outline of His Theology*, Grand Rapids, 1975; D. Guthrie, *New Testament Theology*, Leicester, 1981; idem, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Leicester, 1957, revised edition 1990; G. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, Massachusetts, 1988; E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society*, Grand Rapids, 1989 (cf. idem, "Pseudonymity and Canonicity of New Testament of New Testament Documents", Michael J. Wilkins and Terence Paige (eds.), *Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church. Essays in Honour of Ralph P. Martin*, Sheffield, 1992, pp. 212-224); Robert L. Reymond, *Jesus, Divine Messiah: The New Testament Witness*, New Jersey, 1990; D. A. Carson, Douglas J. Moo, and Leon Morris, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, 1992; Thomas D. Lea and Hayne P. Griffin, Jr., *1,2 Timothy, Titus*, The New American Commentary 34, Nashville, Broadman

authenticity, conflicting positions have been proposed: while some observe no correlations within the collage of christological materials, thus denying any coherent presentation of Christ,<sup>6</sup> others identify “die Grundstruktur” of the christology of the PE, a conceptual framework within which the Pastor has translated and adapted early christological formulations to explicate a completely functional or soteriological christology.<sup>7</sup>

Since those who have either harmonized or disregarded any substantial difference between the accepted Pauline letters and the PE in matters relating to the person and work of Christ would probably consider our present investigation inappropriate and fail to appreciate the value of such endeavour, the attention of the following survey will focus primarily on the contributions of those writers who have acknowledged christology as “der eigenartigste Phänomene” of the PE.<sup>8</sup> Broadly speaking they can be grouped under two representative but contrasting approaches to the christology of the PE; one extreme approach is presented by Hans Windisch and the other by Victor Hasler.

### Hans Windisch *et al.*

Brox is certainly not exaggerating when he refers to H. Windisch’s seminal work as a “grundlegende Analyse”<sup>9</sup> whose treatment still commands far-reaching influence even up to the present time.<sup>10</sup> Since the view espoused by Windisch is representative of one such extreme but significant position, we shall review his article in detail and briefly comment on its impact on subsequent writers.

Windisch begins by disagreeing with the general consensus among the contemporary critical scholars of his time who have accepted a deuteropauline

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Press, 1992.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Windisch, Wilson, Simonsen, and Hanson.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Hasler, Oberlinner, Donelson, and Marshall; see also E. Pax, *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ*, München, 1955, pp. 228-247; Raymond F. Collins, *Jesus*, pp. 112-118.

<sup>8</sup> Trummer, *Paulustradition*, p. 193.

<sup>9</sup> Brox, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> In his discussion of the christology of the PE, Wilson’s comment is indicative of the lasting impact of Windisch’s analysis: “We can do no better than provide a brief synopsis of the relevant passages along the lines suggested by Windisch who in all important respects provides the definitive statement.” (*Luke*, p. 82.) The same sentiment is reflected most recently in J. Murphy-O’Connor, “2 Timothy contrasted with 1 Timothy and Titus”, *RB* 98/3 (1991) 406, who considers Windisch’s article to be the “classic study” and thus “unnecessary” for him to repeat in detail, though he disagrees with Windisch and the majority of scholars who assume a literary and theological unity of these documents.



christology in the PE that presupposes Pauline concepts of pre-existence and exaltation which are stained by Johannine colouring as well as formulated with Hellenistic terminology drawn from the emperor cult and syncretistic epiphany theology.<sup>11</sup> He contends that the christology of the PE shows a pre-Pauline character which contains no concept of pre-existence or divinity of Christ; Windisch asserts a thoroughgoing adoptionist/exaltation christology instead.

Windisch argues his case on four grounds.<sup>12</sup> First, on the basis of 2 Timothy (2T) 2.8, 1 Timothy (1T) 2.5ff.; 6.11-16 [cf. 5.21; 2T4.1] Windisch detects a *Son of Man/Messianic* type of christology which emphasizes the two stages existence of the *man Jesus Christ*, that is, his earthly existence (of Davidic lineage) and his heavenly existence (of resurrection), instead of a pre-existent Christ. This *man Jesus*, who is now placed beside God after his self-submission as a ransom for all and his subsequent resurrection, however, *stands in absolute subordination to God*, and thus, according to Windisch, a clear exaltation-adoptionist christology is evident.

Second, beside the pre-Pauline tradition are clear christological passages used in connection with Hellenistic epiphany vocabulary which resemble incarnational thought and speak of Jesus' "coming" (1T1.15) as well as his manifestation or appearance in the flesh (1T3.16; Tit. 2.11ff.; cf. 2T1.9f.; Tit. 3.4). Nonetheless, Windisch again finds no reference to pre-existence: while 1T1.15 appears to be a re-shaping of the Synoptic *Son of Man* christology mixed with a Johannine flavour (cf. Lk. 9.56; 19.10), 1T3.16 is interpreted in light of *sarx-pneuma* scheme found in 2T2.8 (cf. Rom. 1.3-5). Moreover, Tit. 2.11 (cf. 3.4) does not describe the appearance of Christ but rather "von der Offenbarung der rettenden Gnade und Güte Gottes," with the stress on God's sovereignty in the work of salvation.<sup>13</sup> The only single testimony to the historical epiphany of Christ allowed by Windisch is 2T1.9f. But even here he places the emphasis upon the resurrection rather than the incarnation. In fact, with the addition of διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου epiphany happens now in the proclamation of the gospel. And regarding the ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Tit. 2.13, the reference, according to Windisch, is to God the Father and not to Christ. Consequently, Windisch concludes "daß von einer Epiphanie-Christologie in den Past. nur mit großen Einschränkungen

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. E. Barnikol, *Mensch und Messias*, Kiel, 1932, as summarized by Windisch, "Christologie", p. 213f.

<sup>12</sup> Windisch, "Christologie", pp. 214ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

gesprochen werden darf,"<sup>14</sup> and the epiphany passages again demonstrate an old adoption/exaltation christology rather than the pre-existence of Christ.

Third, Windisch observes another peculiarity of the christology in the PE—the lack of prominent Pauline christological titles—the only other predicates of Christ are σωτήρ, μεσίτης, and κύριος. Concepts usually associated with pre-existence are not found: the *Son of God* title never occurs, and there is the absence of the logos- and wisdom-doctrine. The title σωτήρ is applied to both God<sup>15</sup> and Christ.<sup>16</sup> But Christ as σωτήρ is used in the framework of epiphany-theology, and only in this connection has the Hellenistic language been taken over. The idea of μεσίτης appears in Hebrews where the term always relates to the concept of covenant; this is foreign to the PE. The only genuine Pauline influence is the use of the κύριος title. Even there the title appears only in the epistolary greeting-formula and benediction, instead of in instructional statements about Christ.

Fourth, Windisch discerns a similar christology elsewhere in the NT, that is, in the Synoptic Gospels, in Acts and 1 Peter,<sup>17</sup> and he suggests that the confessional/traditional formulations in the PE (1T2.5f.; 6.11ff.; 2T2.8; 4.1) might be the precursors or primitive forms of the Apostles' Creed, which has taken up the same pre-Pauline, incarnation-free materials before its complete development by the time of Ignatius and Justin.

For these reasons Windisch contends that the christology of the PE is built upon a pre-Pauline tradition which is older than and behind Paul. In fact the Pastor has drawn very little from the apostle, and his christology is a combination of Synoptic/traditional and Pauline motifs. The only post-Pauline element is found in the use of the epiphany and saviour terminology. The interest of the Pastor is *not incarnation but the man Jesus Christ and his exaltation*. The concern is essentially with *God's salvation for man*; there is no evidence that the Pastor is developing his views in order to refute Gnostic christology. In short, Windisch concludes that the Pastor "hat keine theologische Christologie, sondern Christuslehre im Form von 'Spruchen', 'Formeln' und 'Hymnen', die aus

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>15</sup> 1T1.1; 2.3; 4.10; Tit. 1.3; 2.10; 3.4.

<sup>16</sup> 2T1.10; Tit. 2.13; 3.6.

<sup>17</sup> See Paul's speeches in Acts 13.23, 33; 17.31; 20.17-33, and in Peter's in 2.22, 32f, 36; 10.38. Windisch uses the technical expression of παῖς-θεοῦ christology to describe this adoptionist christology (p. 231). Regarding the similarities between 1 Peter and the PE ("Christologie", pp. 232-233), he identifies (1) the same use of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός as the established christological title; (2) the lack of the *Son of God* title as well as the logos and wisdom ideas; and (3) the concept of pre-existence to refer to God's pre-determined salvation plan/decision (cf. 1 Pe. 1.20f; Tit. 1.2f; Rom. 8.29; 11.2).

verschiedenen Lehrkreisen und Lehrstufen stammen.”<sup>18</sup> According to Windisch, then, all this simpler and untheological fusion of traditional materials further supports the argument against Pauline authorship, since the christology of these documents recedes to some earlier period before the apostle.

Windisch’s article has made some considerable impact on, and consequently gained endorsement from, NT scholars such as C. Spicq, N. Brox, R. Schnackenburg, H. Simonsen, and S. Wilson,<sup>19</sup> who have assumed the christological diversity and incoherence of the texts. While some may be more sympathetic toward the issue of authenticity (e.g. Spicq), or allow the possibility of the concept of pre-existence (e.g. Brox, Wilson), or reject his subordinationist christology (e.g. Brox, Schnackenburg), or even propose a “title-christology” (e.g. Trummer<sup>20</sup>), others readily agree with his adoption/exaltation christology (e.g. Brox, Wilson; cf. Murphy-O’Connor). In any case we must acknowledge the extensive influence of Windisch’s thought, for it is echoed in the pacesetting commentary on the PE by Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, who write: “The traditional material which has been taken over by the Pastorals is of a disparate nature, there is a diversity of christological perspectives which must not be combined to reconstruct ‘the’ christology of the Pastorals. The unity does not lie in a particular christological conception (several types stand side by side with no sign of theological reflection). Rather unity results from the constant emphasis upon the meaning of salvation for the present.”<sup>21</sup> Windisch’s essential judgment is likewise reiterated and given unreserved approval in the important English commentary by A. T. Hanson: he criticizes the Pastor for simply presenting various traditional materials with their implied christology but making no attempt to formulate a consistent doctrine. Hanson even ventures to suggest that the Pastor is a binitarian who is vulnerable to the charge of becoming a ditheist.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 238.

<sup>19</sup> Their works are cited in earlier footnote. As Marshall has also noted, “Windisch’s position was broadly accepted by subsequent writers who do not add a great deal to what he said.” (“Christology”, p. 160.)

<sup>20</sup> Against Windisch, Trummer denies that the Pastor has deliberately reverted to a very early pre-Pauline christology; he prefers to speak of a “title christology” which expresses the doctrine of Christ by a perceptive use of titles rather than by a sustained christological exposition about his nature. The christology of the PE is basically a mixture of Pauline, non-Pauline, Synoptic traditions, and a certain Johannine theology. The Pastor, according to Trummer, uses these materials with spontaneity, because there is a common early, traditional language and theology. (*Paulustradition*, pp. 193, 204).

<sup>21</sup> M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann (hereafter D-C), *The Pastoral Epistles*, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 9. In their exposition on 1T2.5-6 they have also accepted a subordinationist christology (see comment *ad loc*). Cf. also Simonsen, “Christologische Traditionselemente”, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Hanson, *Pastoral*, pp. 38-42. Windisch’s influence on Hanson can be seen already in his earlier work, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles*, London, SPCK, 1968. Cf. also Wilson, *Luke*, p. 86f.. More

### Victor Hasler *et al.*

Like the swing of a pendulum the extreme but repeatedly assumed position (re)presented by Windisch has recently been challenged by the equally extreme proposal of Victor Hasler.<sup>23</sup> Hasler has made the sustained argument that the Pastorals contain systematic and consistent theological thinking. Although previous scholars have noted the epiphanic language, he is the first scholar to see epiphany as the key to the Pastor's christology. Hasler criticizes Windisch for overlooking the outline of the doctrine of salvation because of his preoccupation with christology. He also accuses Spicq and Brox of ignoring the range and relevance of the integrated idea of epiphany, though both have acknowledged the Pastor's adoption of the epiphanic terminology and referred to the earlier works of O. Casel, C. Mohrmann, A. J. Vermeulen, and E. Pax.<sup>24</sup> Hasler, therefore, calls for a fresh examination of the evidence and states his thesis: in order to present effectively the gospel in Hellenistic surroundings, the Pastor has translated the partly salvation-historical and partly apocalyptic gospel into a new presentation expressed in the language and concepts of the Hellenistic world, namely, the revelation-concept of epiphany from Hellenistic syncretism. While acknowledging the presence of traditional christological statements, Hasler claims that the Pastor has re-interpreted and re-formulated these otherwise antiquated materials within this new epiphanic framework in order to form an independent theology of revelation which proclaims the uniqueness of God, who has revealed himself as the universal God of salvation in Jesus Christ. Consequently the christology of the PE has been arranged in such a way that it has exclusively *a functional role in a system of salvation*, namely, to demonstrate the salvific will of God for men, who await the realization of eternal life after the final judgment.

Hasler substantiates his thesis by beginning with the transcendence of God, who is portrayed as the absolute sovereign King, the only powerful and immortal, invisible God, the Creator and Benefactor (1T1.17; 3.15; 4.4,10; 6.13, 15f.).<sup>25</sup> As

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recently, in his Ph.D. dissertation, "The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents," Edinburgh, 1989, J. D. Miller has pushed Windisch's position even further in suggesting that these documents in their present form are collections of fragmentary thoughts which do not represent the work of one specific author, but are the final product of the compilation and editing of traditional pieces by the early church with little or no coherent line of thought.

<sup>23</sup> Hasler, "Epiphanie"; cf. also his commentary, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus: (Pastoralbriefe)*, Zürich, 1978.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. O. Casel, "Die Epiphanie im Lichte der Religionschichte", *Benedikt*, 4 (1922) 13-20; C. Mohrmann, *Epiphaneia*, Universitätsrede, Nijmegen, 1953; A. J. Vermeulen, "Epiphaneia", *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum*, Suppl. 1 (1964) 9-44; Pax, *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ*.

<sup>25</sup> The concept of God, according to Hasler, is derived neither from the rabbinic confession, nor the OT, but corresponds to the Stoic worldview in Diaspora synagogues and later passed on to the PE.

the source of eternal life God made manifest His gracious and saving will for all mankind in Christ, who will appear at the eschaton as the κύριος (and Judge).<sup>26</sup> According to Hasler, the Pastor's application of the κύριος-title to Christ is also intended to stress God's transcendence, and Christ will execute judgment as well as grant eternal life to only those who are qualified by their perseverance in the faith and in good works (1T6.14; 2T4.1, 8; Tit. 2.13).<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the hope of salvation is guaranteed, not by being a member of the church or by being baptized, but only by the Holy Spirit who enables believers to do good works that will please the Judge.

Hasler further contends that, although Christ holds the title σωτήρ, he possesses *no independent position of honour*; God, being the unapproachable, transcendent and hidden God, remains fundamentally the only Saviour of all men. The Saviour Christ fulfills only a functional role—to fulfill God's plan of redemption; *he appears neither as identical with God, nor as one second deity, but rather as a divine manifestation of God's grace*.<sup>28</sup> The whole soteriological substance of the important passage of 2T1.10 is to be found in the phrase "by the gospel." The content of this gospel is not the death and resurrection of Jesus but the attestation of *God's eternal salvific will, that all men shall be saved on "that day"*: "Karfreitag und Ostern sind lediglich Kerygma, kein Heilsfaktum. Die Erlösung erfolgt erst an 'jenem Tage'."<sup>29</sup> As a result the σωτήρ-passages have no christological function and consequently do not develop the epiphany concept; rather, they are all subsumed under *the doctrine of God* in the proclamation of the salvation message.

Hasler further argues that the traditional christological materials, including the "Jesuswort" in 1T1.15, the εἰς-confession along with the ransom-saying in 1T2.5-6; Tit. 2.14 (cf. Mk. 10.45), and the Pauline doctrine of justification (2T1.9f; Tit. 3.4ff), have been re-interpreted and translated into this new epiphanic

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then to the church fathers like Ignatius and Clement ("Epiphanie", pp. 195-197).

<sup>26</sup> In Hasler's opinion, the title κύριος refers to the practice of divine power at the eschatological judgment, particularly in 2T. Jesus, as Lord, exercises his power only beside God in the secluded realm in heaven, and his stepping-out of transcendence to effect God's salvation-will is described as epiphany: "In dieser endzeitlichen Epiphanie des richtenden Kyrios löst Gott sein als Verheissung gegebenes Wort ein und vollzieht seinen offenbarten Heilsratschluss." (Ibid., p. 199.)

<sup>27</sup> Hasler interprets Tit. 2.13 as a double epiphany of "our great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ". There is no worship or deification of Jesus in the PE, and epiphany is not a salvation-historical but only a religious idea. It embraces no process but only a transitory apparition of the transcendent deity in his own time. Therefore, the appearance of Christ on 'that day' is not a triumphant return of the Lord, but an appearing of "the glory of the great God" (Ibid., pp. 200ff).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp. 201-202.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 202.

framework. This divine mystery of salvation is now passed on to the church, which bears the evidence of eternal life in the future; the believers who have received the message by faith, which is now evident in the practice of Christian virtues in the community of God, will prove their integrity at the last judgment. Their conversion and their subsequent works of righteousness are results of divine grace. In this sense they are justified by grace.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, in short, the unified development of this epiphany christology is understood in terms of *theology*, the doctrine of God.

Hasler's key contribution, namely, to render due respect to the Pastor's theological creativity and thus to examine the documents accordingly, has gained support from various scholars who have attempted to treat the PE on their own terms and to detect the theological/christological system therein, though not everyone has accepted Hasler's extreme position *in toto*. We shall now mention briefly a few recent significant treatments which are in line with Hasler's approach.

L. Oberlinner<sup>31</sup> disagrees with the opinion that there are no peculiar christological statements in these epistles, and that the Pastor has not formulated his own christology but passed on what is traditional. On the contrary, Oberlinner identifies a (new) unified christological framework in which the Pastor has employed the Hellenistic categories of Saviour and epiphany as well as integrated traditional and Pauline material.<sup>32</sup> With this epiphany terminology the Pastor presents the gospel, which is that God's salvation-will has "appeared" in Christ and continues in the proclamation of the message. By insisting that the tension of the past and the future caused by the Christ-event qualifies the present time as the time of salvation, Oberlinner has corrected Hasler's excessive stress on the future. And, according to Oberlinner, the letters as a whole have an anti-Gnostic flavour.

One closely following Hasler's radical proposal is Lewis R. Donelson, who has also adopted a thorough-going Hellenistic background for the whole of the PE in general and specifically for their christology.<sup>33</sup> He observes that the PE have often been dissected into pieces by NT scholars who have failed to appreciate how the Pastor has employed the epiphany schema to unify the ethical and the theological as well as the christological statements within the "definite literary structure" of the letters.<sup>34</sup> As the ethical and theological basis for

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207-209.

<sup>31</sup> L. Oberlinner, "Epiphaneia", pp. 192-213.

<sup>32</sup> See esp. *ibid.*, pp. 196-211.

<sup>33</sup> Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy*, pp. 129-154.

<sup>34</sup> More conservative but showing similarities to Donelson's work is Towner's treatment which has also acknowledged the Pastor's use of the epiphany schema as the basis for his ethical and

expressing his argumentation against the existing threat of heretical teaching, according to Donelson, the Pastor's epiphany christology has little in common with the history of salvation schema (e.g. found in Luke-Acts or Paul), and its use implies that *Jesus has no immediate contact or direct contact with the church*, or at least that the affirmation of such a contact is not of primary concern for the Pastor.<sup>35</sup>

However, this does not mean that the Pastor is uninterested in the earthly presence of Jesus: He stresses the role of Jesus as the teacher (Tit. 2.11-14) and model (1T6.13) of ethical life. According to Donelson, the first epiphany of Jesus has an "epistemological function": "to provide information heretofore unknown about the nature of God and God's intention for the cosmos."<sup>36</sup> The impact of Jesus' first epiphany "appears to focus upon the ethical life, making virtues possible, providing teaching standards for virtue, and regarding virtue on judgment day. Thus, Jesus saves, because virtues save."<sup>37</sup> The second epiphany of Jesus will present him as the Judge "who weighs in balance the ethical and non-ethical thrust of people's lives,"<sup>38</sup> and as such it has a "motivational" function for ethical living. In brief, the christology of the PE (painted by Donelson) is *pure ethics*, which constitutes the heart of God's plan of salvation and the sole means of salvation. As a creative theologian the Pastor presents this unifying epiphany christology in that "God's plan of salvation, the entire purpose of creation, and the impact of Jesus himself, all focus upon living a quiet and peaceful life which successfully practices the more communal Graeco-Roman virtues, producing health and peace in the church."<sup>39</sup>

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theological arguments against the heretical teaching confronted by the contemporary church. Towner has convincingly demonstrated the centrality of the Christ-event, i.e., the significance of the person and work of Christ, in that the theological (christological) statements are related to their contexts and serve as the basis or motivation for the ethical teaching which is prominent in the letters. The Pastor is not indiscriminately regurgitating christological statements without prior reflection, but he is rooting his practical teaching in theology.

<sup>35</sup> In Donelson's words, the "system" of thought which the Pastor creates against the false teachers is this: "To speculation he counterposes the good order of God's plan with its sound teachings; to their lordship Christology he counterposes an epiphany Christology in which Jesus has no immediate or direct contact with the Church; and to their spiritual enthusiasm he opposes a spirit which is dispensed only in baptism and which expresses itself through the virtues. While these opponents inspire debates perhaps even intellectual excitement, he tries to inspire a peaceful, quiet life, where communal virtues dominate, where church members submit completely to the doctrinal and moral authority of certain bishops and elders, and where there is zeal after good works" (*Pseudepigraphy*, p. 127).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, see esp. pp. 146-152, and here p. 147.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153f.

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