

# Broken on the Wheel of History: A Pentecostal Perspective on *Summa Theologiae* 3a,48

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## Models of Atonement

In *Summa Theologiae* 3a, q48 Thomas Aquinas proposes five ways or models of atonement. These are, in order, the ways of merit, satisfaction, sacrifice, redemption and efficient causality. In line with the patristic and mediaeval tradition, Aquinas presents these five models very much in terms of what Hans Urs von Balthasar might call a theodramatic 'action' between God and humanity—a drama centred on the person of the incarnate Son who in some sense or other offers recompense to his Father for our sins. This theodramatic approach to soteriology dominates Catholic thought from Anselm to Balthasar and Protestant thought from Luther to Barth and beyond, but it takes little account of the latest thinking in historical Jesus studies or of current interpretations of Paul and other New Testament writers, and in this article I would like to suggest a way of re-reading *Summa Theologiae* 3a, q48 in the light of what might be termed the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright understanding of Jesus and Paul.

For Albert Schweitzer, Jesus was an eschatological prophet who saw himself as heralding the end of the age and who, when his preaching did not result in the anticipated apocalypse, effectively 'broke himself on the wheel of history' in order to bump human history over into the next phase. Paul picked up on this, and (according to Schweitzer) his 'Christ-mysticism' explored the various ways (being 'in Christ', dying and rising with Christ, mystical body, Holy Spirit) in which Christians become bound up with the Messiah whose death has inaugurated the eschatological kingdom. While revising Schweitzer's reading of Jewish apocalyptic, E.P. Sanders and N.T. Wright retain the idea that Jesus saw himself as inaugurating the kingdom of God, and that Paul and other New Testament writers interpreted his death in essentially apocalyptic terms. The resurrection was (especially for Paul) conclusive proof that God had acted decisively in Jesus to bring in the kingdom, incorporate the gentiles into Israel, pour out his Spirit and establish universal peace and justice—in short, to fulfil the promises made to Abraham and to satisfy the restoration expectations of Deutero and Trito-Isaiah. This may all seem a long way from the world of

*Summa Theologiae* 3a, q48, but, as I hope to show, a Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright reading of Aquinas's classic text can breathe new life into these traditional models of atonement, affording them a solid biblical foundation with a view to rendering them genuinely contemporary and preachable.

## **Apocalypse and Atonement**

The Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright reading of the New Testament gives strong emphasis to the idea that the apostolic authors see YHWH as fulfilling his covenant promises to Israel in the death and resurrection of Jesus. So what precisely do these promises consist in? Paul perceives himself as 'the minister of Jesus Christ to the gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit' (Romans 15:16). The three principal characteristics of the restored Israel here are the preaching of the gospel, the outpouring of the Spirit and the bringing in of the gentiles. The eschatological mission of Jesus as preacher of the gospel is figured in Isaiah 61:1–2: 'The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord has anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he has sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those that are bound'. This prophecy is referred to Jesus in Luke 7:22: 'go your way, and tell John what things you have seen and heard; how the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the gospel is preached to the poor' (cf Isaiah 29:18–19; 35:5–6). The restored Israel will also be characterised by the outpouring of the Spirit: 'afterwards it will happen that I shall pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions' (Joel 2:28, quoted in Acts 2:17). YHWH will make a new covenant with Israel, and will write the law in their hearts (Jeremiah 31:31–34). He will cleanse Israel of her sins, giving her a new heart and a new Spirit (Ezekiel 36:24–27), and will place his Spirit within her and relocate the Jews in their own land of promise (Ezekiel 37:12–14). Finally, Isaiah 65:20–25 portrays the entry of the gentiles into a utopian kingdom of peace, prosperity and justice in which 'the wolf and the lamb shall feed together' and 'they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain'. We can look forward to a restored world where Zion 'shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it', and where 'out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem'—a world centred upon Israel in which 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'.

Prophecies that originally had to do with exile and restoration were, of course, reinterpreted in later times from the point of view of the 'exile' of

Roman occupation, and the burden of the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright reading of the New Testament is that in the preaching, death and resurrection of Jesus YHWH has acted eschatologically to inaugurate the end of this ongoing 'exile', the bringing in of the gentiles, the outpouring of the Spirit, and an Isaianic kingdom of universal justice and peace. Theologians easily forget that first century Judaism had no expectation of a saviour who would fulfil the requirements of the various models of atonement advanced by patristic, mediaeval, reformation and modern writers, and that neither Jesus nor the New Testament authors felt the need to meet any such expectation. As Sanders reminds us (against Joachim Jeremias), Jesus did not arrange his own death for the sake of a soteriological theory. For Schweitzer in particular, Jesus was, at least in his own mind and in the minds of his earliest followers, 'broken on the wheel of history' not in order to fulfil some extra-biblical theodramatic requirement but in the apocalyptic hope that God would vindicate him by propelling human history into its final eschatological phase, thus inaugurating the kingdom promised in Isaiah and preached by himself. This apocalyptic and pneumatological framework of ideas is what I mean by the 'Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright theology', and it is from within this framework (as opposed to a more traditional dogmatic framework) that I wish to re-read *Summa Theologiae* 3a, q48.

### **The Way of Merit**

According to *Summa Theologiae* 3a, q48, 1, Christ saves us by way of merit inasmuch as 'those who suffer for justice's sake, provided that they be in a state of grace, merit their salvation thereby'. From a Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright perspective 'justice' means 'covenant justice'—a concept which denotes, on the one hand, Israel's keeping YHWH's covenant (which in turn includes what we would call 'social justice'), and, on the other hand, YHWH vindicating his people. According to Isaiah 58:6–8 the true fast is 'to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free', and, if it is properly observed, Israel's 'light will break forth as the morning, and your health shall spring forth speedily, and your righteousness shall go before you, and the glory of YHWH shall be your reward'. In short, if Israel ministers to the hungry and the afflicted (social justice) she will be vindicated (God's justice) and delivered from exile (Isaiah 58:10–12), the clear implication being that the praxis of social justice will lead inevitably to the restoration and vindication of the exiles. The whole of Jesus's life gives concrete expression to the conditions laid down in Isaiah 58 (e.g., his preaching in the beatitudes and his actions in Luke 7:20–22)—with the result that he fulfils the terms of the covenant on Israel's side. At the same time, in his

attempt to bring in God's kingdom, he obeys these commands even unto death, and so is exalted by the Father (cf. Philippians 2:6–11)—with the result that in Jesus's vindication YHWH fulfils his own side of the covenantal bargain. The consequences of Jesus's vindication are his elevation as a sign of repentance and forgiveness (Acts 5:30–32) and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:32–33)—indications that YHWH has fulfilled his covenant promises. Broken on history's wheel, the covenant-fulfilling, vindicated Jesus becomes a 'plan for the fulness of time' (Ephesians 1:10) and the historical realisation of the future towards which we are inexorably tending (Colossians 3:1–4). At the same time, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's suffering for covenant-justice, we ourselves become partakers of the glory (vindication) that will be revealed (1 Peter 4:13; 5:1). However, an inheritance that was gained for us by Jesus's preaching and dying for justice can be appropriated and participated in only by an approximation to that preaching and praxis, and we see this emphasis reflected in the preoccupation with social justice issues in James and in the terms laid down in the beatitudes for entry into the promised land of Jesus's kingdom.

For Paul (according to Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright), Jesus effectively embodies or, rather, instantiates Israel, and the fact that he preaches and suffers in order to bring in the sociopolitical conditions envisaged in Isaiah 58:6–12 is sufficient to fulfil YHWH's covenant conditions, bump history into the next phase, inaugurate the kingdom, merit his vindication/exaltation, and create a world in which human beings can progressively approximate themselves to the likeness of the just (and hence vindicated) saviour. Accordingly, the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright understanding of God's 'justice' as YHWH's fulfilment of his covenant promises in the vindication of Jesus, taken together with the social justice imperatives of Isaiah 58:6–12 (the justice required of Israel/Jesus), shows how Aquinas's formula 'those who suffer for justice's sake ... merit their salvation thereby' can become the foundation of a viable model of atonement—provided that we understand Jesus's 'merit' as that covenant-fulfilling justice which 'earns' YHWH's covenant blessing. Equally, Aquinas's ancillary idea that what Christ merits for himself is transferred to the members of the mystical body of which he is the head finds its echo in Schweitzer's 'Christ-mysticism'—especially if we understand such 'mystical union' in terms of our conformity with the Messiah in his preaching and praxis of the justice promised in Isaiah 58:6–12 and of our consequent sharing in his vindication.

## The Way of Satisfaction

Aquinas writes that 'by suffering out of love and obedience, Christ gave more to God than was required to compensate for the offence of the whole human race. First of all, because of the exceeding charity from which he suffered; secondly, on account of the dignity of his life which he laid down in satisfaction, for it was the life of one who was God and man; thirdly, on account of the extent of the passion, and the greatness of the grief endured' (3a, q48, 2). Anselm of Canterbury, from whom this satisfaction model is most directly derived, understands human sin in terms of an offence against the divine 'honour'. This idea of YHWH's 'honour' is central to the biblical vision of Israel's restoration from exile. YHWH's deliverance of Israel from the Egyptians is depicted in terms of his 'getting glory' over Pharaoh and his armies (Exodus 14:4). YHWH builds Jerusalem for the sake of his name—the implication being that he will restore it for the glory of his name also (2 Chronicles 6:5–10). In Isaiah 48:9–11 YHWH announces 'for my name's sake will I defer my anger, and for my praise will I refrain from punishing you ... for how should my name be polluted? And I will not give my glory unto another!'. Israel has profaned YHWH's name among the heathen, but he takes pity on his name, and promises to redeem Israel for his name's sake that it might be sanctified in Israel before the eyes of the gentiles (Ezekiel 36:20–23). YHWH will heal, cleanse and pardon Israel with the result that Israel 'shall be to me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that I do unto her; and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness and for all the prosperity that I give unto her' (Jeremiah 33:6–9). Isaiah beseeches YHWH to 'make your name known to your adversaries, that the nations may tremble at your presence' (Isaiah 64:1–2). The gentiles will see Israel's righteousness, and YHWH will give Israel a new name that she might become 'a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of your God' (Isaiah 62:1–3).

For John, the task of Jesus is to make his Father's name known throughout the world (John 17:6, 26). The Father exalts Jesus and, in virtue of his breaking on history's wheel, bestows on him 'the name that is above every name' that all may bow the knee at that name and confess Jesus as Lord to the Father's glory (Philippians 2:9–11). Paul is called to bear God's name before the gentiles and before Israel (Acts 9:15–16), and speaks of declaring God's name through all the earth (Romans 9:17). It is in this context that we must understand Simeon's prophecy that Jesus will become a light to lighten the gentiles and the glory of Israel (Luke 2:30–32). In Lucan and Pauline theology (in particular), God establishes Jesus as the locus of his name (hence the incarnation) and manifests his glory in Jesus (hence the emphasis on the resurrection and exaltation) specifically in order that Jesus might instantiate Israel's Isaianic role of being a 'light to the gentiles' and that

God's name may be worshipped in Jesus throughout the world. Jesus, in effect, restores YHWH's name/honour/glory by his preaching and praxis of justice, by his demonstrations of divine power, and by his being raised from the dead and exalted, and so co-operates with his Father in vindicating Israel and in bringing the gentiles to worship at Mount Zion. We can, accordingly, retain the Anselmian account of satisfaction (which Aquinas takes up and modifies) within a Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright world-view provided that we translate it from feudal terms into covenantal and eschatological terms—that is to say, into terms of Jesus allowing himself to be broken on the wheel of history in order to bump history into its final apocalyptic phase and so vindicate YHWH's name.

### **The Way of Sacrifice**

Aquinas writes that 'a sacrifice properly so called is something done for that honour which is properly due to God, in order to appease him'. Christ's 'voluntary enduring of the passion was most acceptable to God, as coming from charity', with the consequence that 'Christ's passion was a true sacrifice' (3a,48,3). In the Old Testament, although the element of appeasement is present, sacrifice is conceived largely in covenantal terms; that is to say, the proper observance of the temple cult is (especially for P, Deutero-Isaiah, the Chronicler and Ezekiel) one of the covenant conditions that Israel must fulfil if she wishes to turn curse into blessing. At the same time, the temple and its worship are themselves a sign of YHWH's blessing, and promises of restoration usually involve YHWH's pledge to bless Israel through the medium of a restored temple and a restored cult. Finally, the restoration of the temple sends out to the gentiles the message of YHWH's Lordship and of Israel's election. Thus in Ezekiel 37:26–28 YHWH promises an everlasting covenant' and that 'the gentiles shall know that I YHWH do sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore'. The restored temple will pour out rivers of grace which give life and healing to the world (Ezekiel 47:8–9), and all the gentiles will come to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles (Zechariah 14:16–19). Every pot in Jerusalem will be sanctified to YHWH's temple worship (Zechariah 14:20–21), incense will be offered to the name of YHWH among the gentiles (Malachi 1:11), and Israel will become a priest-nation which experiences double joy in the land and to which all the gentiles will minister (Isaiah 61:5–7).

According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, if the old covenant found expression in the sacrificial worship of YHWH, the same must be true of the new dispensation (Hebrews 9:1). The worship of the old tabernacle could not perfect Israel in holiness (vv. 8–9), but Christ obtains redemption by carrying the perfect sacrifice into the perfect and celestial tabernacle (vv. 9:11–12). For John, the prophecies of temple restoration are to be

reapplied to the resurrection of Jesus (John 2:19–22), while the episode of the piercing of Jesus's side recalls the streams of water flowing from Ezekiel's temple (John 19:34). The gentiles have become fellow-citizens with God's people, and have been built in Christ into a temple unto the Lord (Ephesians 2:19–22), becoming 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people' (1 Peter 2:9; cf 1 Peter 2:4–5). What emerges clearly out of this somewhat disparate material is the idea that God blesses Israel through the temple and its worship, and that a restored Israel will be graced with a restored temple. Jesus is either the royal high priest of the restored and celestial temple (Hebrews) or else the restored temple itself (John). The shedding of his blood ratifies the new covenant (Hebrews 9:15) and purifies the worship of the restored community (vv. 21–22), while, for John, the resurrection constitutes him as the grace-bearing, life-bestowing temple of the eschatological kingdom. Meanwhile, the church becomes the priest-nation promised in Deutero-Isaiah, and, by the power of Jesus's Spirit, brings the gentiles to worship the name of YHWH in the restored Israel of Deutero-Zechariah (John's 'worship in the Spirit'). As we have seen, for Aquinas 'a sacrifice properly so called is something done for that honour which is properly due to God'. A truly apocalyptic and pentecostal temple theology explains how the breaking of Jesus on the wheel of history can be said, in Aquinas's terms, to offer the 'honour due to God' by instituting a new sacrifice (Jesus himself) in a new temple (also Jesus himself) with a view to bringing the gentiles to worship YHWH's name 'in Spirit and in truth' in the restored Israel of the newly inaugurated eschaton—and in doing so points the way to an alignment of the third of Aquinas's models of atonement with the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright reading of the New Testament.

### **The Way of Redemption**

Aquinas contends that 'since the devil had overcome humanity by inducing him to sin, humanity was subject to the devil's bondage'. Moreover, 'as to the debt of punishment, to the payment of which man was held fast by Gods justice ... this, too, is a kind of bondage, since it savours of bondage for a person to suffer what he does not wish, just as it is the free person's condition to apply himself to what he wills'. Christ's work of atonement frees us from both these obligations, with the result that his passion can be seen as 'redeeming' us (literally, 'buying us back') 'not by giving money or anything of the sort, but by bestowing what was of greatest price—himself—for us' (3a, q48,4). The gospels view the question of liberation from bondage from a slightly different perspective. Fulfilling Deutero-Isaiah's commission 'to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those that are bound' (Isaiah 61:1), Jesus liberates human



beings from captivity at a personal and individual level, healing the sick and casting out demons (e.g. Mark 1:32–34). Through his name the devils are subject to the disciples who have complete power over Satan and his minions (Luke 10:17–20). At a more cosmic level, the prince of this world is cast out by Jesus's passion (John 12:31), while captivity is led captive by his ascension (Ephesians 4:8). Meanwhile, Paul sees humanity as wrestling 'not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places' (Ephesians 6:12). However, Jesus has triumphed over these principalities and powers (Colossians 2:15), which can in no wise separate us from his love (Romans 8:38–39). He has delivered us from the futile ways which we received by tradition from our fathers (1 Peter 1:18–19), and has redeemed us from the curse of the law in order that 'the blessing of Abraham might come on the gentiles through Jesus Christ', and that 'we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith' (Galatians 3:13–14). Released from the spirit of bondage we have received the Spirit of adoption, becoming co-heirs with Christ of God's promises to Abraham, (Romans 8:14–18), and, as the real descendants of Abraham, have received the truth that sets us free (John 8:31–36).

In short, by propelling history into its final phase, Jesus's breaking on the wheel of history and subsequent vindication have liberated us from everything—Jewish law and Greek wisdom, principalities and powers, lies and demons and physical sickness—that comes under the heading of 'curse' and that stands in the way of the eschatological fulfilment of the Abrahamic covenant and the Isaianic prophecies. How does this tie in with *Summa Theologiae* 3a, q48,4? Aquinas's redemption-based model of the atonement is descended from those patristic syntheses which presented salvation in terms of Jesus deceiving the devil into losing his rights over man (Leo the Great), or Jesus paying a ransom to God (Gregory Nazianzen) or to the devil (Gregory of Nyssa) for our release from captivity. The point of all these versions of the basic model is that they conceive salvation in terms of what Sanders calls a 'transfer of lordships' (cf. Colossians 1:13–14)—a 'transfer of lordships' according to which the Spirit establishes us as 'in Christ' and as living in the Abrahamic, Isaianic eschaton which Jesus has inaugurated. For Paul (as interpreted by Sanders), it is in placing ourselves firmly under the lordship of Jesus who is both Messiah (= *christos*) and Lord ( *kyrios*; YHWH) that we are 'transferred' out of the 'bondage' of sin and curse (i.e. Jewish law and Greek wisdom, principalities and powers, lies and demons and physical sickness) into the 'liberty' of the Spirit of adoption, and we need to read Aquinas's way of redemption in terms of this eschatological and pneumatological 'transfer of lordships' if we wish to reintegrate it into the apocalyptic world-view of the apostolic authors.



## The Way of Efficient Causality

Aquinas explains that 'there is a twofold efficient agency—namely, the principal and the instrumental. Now the principal efficient cause of humanity's salvation is God. But, since Christ's humanity is the "instrument of the Godhead" (cf. 3a, q43, 2) ... all Christ's actions and sufferings operate instrumentally in virtue of his Godhead for the salvation of human beings. Consequently, Christ's passion accomplishes humanity's salvation efficiently' (3a, q48, 6). Elsewhere he writes that Christ's passion causes the forgiveness of our sins 'by way of efficiency, inasmuch as Christ's flesh, wherein he endured the passion, is the instrument of the Godhead, so that his sufferings and actions operate with divine power for expelling sin' (3a, q49,1). Although corporeal, the passion derives a 'spiritual energy' from the Godhead (49, 1 ad 2), and sets up a kind of medicinal cure for sin (ad 3) which is applied through the sacraments and appropriated by faith (ad 4 & 5). Significantly, the kingdom inaugurated by Jesus and described in the New Testament is above all else characterised by what Aquinas terms 'spiritual energy'. In Mark 5:25–34 a woman suffering from an issue of blood touches the hem of Jesus's garment and the power flows out of him and heals her. In John 9:6–9 his spittle, mixed with clay, cures a man of his blindness. Even his disciples are able to heal the sick by anointing them (Mark 6:12–13), and they are enjoined to go out into the world preaching the gospel, laying hands on the sick, casting out demons and speaking in new tongues (Mark 16:15–20). Jesus promises them 'power from on high' (Luke 24:29), and tells them that, after the Holy Spirit has come upon them, they shall receive power so as to witness to him throughout the world (Acts 1:8).

Paul, too, is filled with this power to the extent that the mere touch of one of his handkerchiefs or aprons can heal the sick and exorcise the possessed (Acts 19:11–12). For Paul 'the kingdom of God consists not in words but in power' (1 Corinthians 4:20), and his preaching is expressed not in philosophy but 'in demonstration of the Spirit and of power' (1 Corinthians 2:4–5). Paul and Luke understand the kingdom in terms of an almighty unleashing into the world of Jesus's divine power perpetuated and extended in the activity of the Spirit. The principal characteristic of life 'in Christ' (Schweitzer's 'Christ-mysticism') is the power that is fizzing about the primitive church producing the charisms of the Spirit (what Aquinas calls the 'gratuitous graces') such as miracles, prophesyings and glossolalia. The purpose of this veritable aurora borealis of flashing spiritual electricity is to advance the kingdom by glorifying God's name, by confirming the gospel with signs (Mark 16:20; Hebrews 2:4) and by inviting the gentiles to enter the new Israel, accept Jesus as Lord and drench themselves in the grace of the Spirit. Aquinas's theory of atonement by way of efficient causality is, of course, more Aristotelian than strictly charismatic, but, transformed through

the matrix of the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright theology, is patient of restatement in apocalyptic and pentecostal terms.

### **Aquinas and the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright Soteriology**

Jesus did not organise his own death for the sake of a doctrine of the atonement. He did not die in order to fulfil the requirements of the soteriological models proposed by Anselm or Abelard, Aquinas or Luther, Balthasar or Barth. He did not die for a Christology or for an ecclesiology or for a theory of justification, or for any theological, philosophical or socio-political theory, system or ideology. Rather, if the Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright theology is correct, he offered himself to be broken on the wheel of history in order to bump history into its final phase, to end the 'exile' of Israel's captivity to foreign powers (political and spiritual), to establish a new and restored Israel (the seed promised to Abraham), to inaugurate the eschaton, to bring in the Kingdom of God and to open it up to the gentiles in accordance with the prophecies of Deutero and Trito-Isaiah. For Paul and the evangelists Jesus's kingdom consists in a Messianic era of peace and justice and in the power of the Spirit unleashed by the life, death and exaltation of the one who is both *christos* and *kyrios*—a power which manifests itself above all in the preaching of the gospel and in its confirmation by healings, prophecies and other charismatic manifestations (what Aquinas calls the 'gratuitous graces'). This heady mixture of Jewish apocalyptic, social justice imperatives and charismatic phenomena is one with which most of us (including the present writer) will feel distinctly uncomfortable, but, for Paul and the evangelists, it is the very essence of what we mean by 'kingdom' and 'gospel'. It is, in short, what the New Testament authors think Jesus died for.

Different as Aquinas's outlook is, I have sought to outline a way in which his soteriology as laid out in 3a, q48 can be read in the light of the New Testament's salvation-historical and charismatic world-view. In 3a, qq48 and 49 Aquinas does not address those issues—the incorporation of the gentiles into the kingdom by preaching and the outpouring of the power of the Spirit—which are central to Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright, but I have argued that what he says in these *quaestiones* can easily be transformed through a Schweitzer/Sanders/Wright matrix. Thomists of the 'palaeo', 'neo' and 'transcendental' varieties might question the validity of such an enterprise, but, granted that the *Summa Theologiae* was written to facilitate the work of preaching, I suspect that Aquinas himself might have been not unsympathetic towards a reading of his soteriology that puts the preaching of the gospel, together with the signs of power that confirm that preaching, at centre stage.

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