CONTRIBUTIONS TO BIBLICAL EXEGESIS & THEOLOGY 123

Peter J. van Egmond, Jan Krans, and Johanna M. Tanja (eds.)

"If Christ is Preached as Raised from the Dead ..."

PEETERS

“IF CHRIST IS PREACHED AS RAISED FROM THE DEAD …”

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND THEOLOGY

SERIES EDITORS

K. De Troyer (Salzburg)
G. Van Oyen (Louvain-la-Neuve)

ADVISORY BOARD

Reimund Bieringer (Leuven)
Dionisio Candido (Salzburg)
Marieke Dhont (Cambridge)
Lutz Doering (Münster)
Mark Goodacre (Duke)
Bas ter Haar Romeny (Amsterdam)
Annette Merz (Groningen)
Madhavi Nevader (St Andrews)
Thomas Römer (Lausanne)
Jack Sasson (Nashville)
Tammi Schneider (Claremont)

Peter J. VAN EGMOND, Jan KRANS,
and Johanna M. TANJA

"IF CHRIST IS PREACHED AS RAISED FROM THE DEAD …"

Studies in Honour of Riemer Roukema on the Occasion of His Retirement

PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT
2025

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

© 2025 — Peeters, Bondgenotenlaan 153, B-3000 Leuven

ISBN 978-90-429-5470-0
eISBN 978-90-429-5471-7
doi: 10.2143/9789042954717
D/2025/0602/21

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS IX

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS XIII

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS XV

Peter J. VAN EGMOND, Jan KRANS, and Johanna M. TANJA
Introduction XIX

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RIEMER ROUKEMA'S ACADEMIC WORK XXV

PART 1

RESURRECTION IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND
THE JEWISH TRADITION

Klaas SPRONK
The Roots of the Belief in the Resurrection of the Dead in the Hebrew Bible: A Survey and Evaluation of Recent Research . . . 3

Paul SANDERS
A Long Life as a Blessing in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Levant 21

Marjo KORPEL
The Fangs of Death (1 Cor 15:55): A Ferocious Monster Conquered 35

Alberdina HOUTMAN
"How can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?" A Shared Rabbinic and Pauline Concern. 49

Lieve TEUGELS
Elijah and Jesus: Conquering Death in the New Testament and Rabbinic Sources 63

PART 2

RESURRECTION, 1 CORINTHIANS 15,
AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Magda MISSET-VAN DE WEG
Lived Resurrection 83

Annette MERZ
A Slave of Christ Thrown to the Beasts in 1 Cor 15:32a: A Fresh Look at the Possible Range of Meanings of an Enigmatic Pauline Expression 103

Archibald L.H.M. VAN WIERINGEN and Frank G. BOSMAN
Beyond Death: A Communication-Oriented Analysis of the Intertextual Relation between 1 Cor 15:54d and Isa 25:8a 135

Bart J. KOET and Bert Jan LIETAERT PEERBOLTE
"Summary of All Good Things": the Place and Importance of 1 Cor 16:1–4. 147

Wijnand BOEZELMAN
N.T. Wright on Resurrection and Eschatology in 1 Cor 15 159

Peter-Ben SMIT
Prefiguring God's Future: 1 Corinthians and the Construction of Time 179

Gertram SCHAEFFER
Paul as Opponent *and* "Great Apostle" of Gnostics 191

Henk BAKKER
Αὕτη ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη (Rev 20:5b): Making Sense of the Apocalypse's Prefinal Phase. 213

PART 3

BIBLICAL RECEPTION HISTORY AND
THE CONTINUATION OF RESURRECTION THEOLOGY

Paul VAN GEEST
"Maranatha": Expression of an Expectation of the Future or Reminder of an Imperative Presence? The Didache Reread. 233

Metha Hokke
Ambrose's *De Excessu Fratris*: Creating Community and Including Non-Christians into the Core Doctrine of Resurrection by the Use of 4 Ezra, Cicero, and Athenagoras 247

Matthias Smalbrugge
La résurrection comme composante d'une théologie trinitaire néo-platonicienne chez Augustin. 271

Laela Zwollo
How Augustine Explains to Porphyry, the "Bitterest Enemy of the Christian Faith," the Resurrection and the Correct Balance between Flesh and Spirit, Body and Soul in *The City of God* XXII 287

Peter J. van Egmond
Restored for Eternity: An Examination of Pelagius's Understanding of the Resurrection. 307

Hans van Loon
The Resurrection according to Cyril of Alexandria. 325

Nathan Witkamp
Second Birth: Baptism and the Resurrection in Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai of Nisibis, and Thomas of Edessa. 341

Gert van Klinken
Concepts of Resurrection in Northern Europe during the Conversion Era between 500 and 800 CE: Saint Boniface 357

Martin Meiser
Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55 in Patristic and Christian Medieval Reception. 369

Cornelis Houtman
Ostern und die Auferstehung des Menschen: Die Perspektive in niederländischen Sonntagsschulheften des 19. Jahrhunderts 381

EPILOGUE

Riemer Roukema
A Sermon on 1 Cor 15:1–11 (PThU-Groningen, 27 March 2013). 401

Index of Ancient Sources 405

ABBREVIATIONS

AARAS	American Academy of Religion Academy Series
AB	Anchor Bible
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BARIS	BAR (British Archaeological Report) Internation Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BdA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BEThL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BibAn	*The Biblical Annals*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalis
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BRLA	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CNwT	Commentaar op het Nieuwe Testament
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
COS	*Context of Scripture*
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*
DDD^2	*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*
DNWSI	*Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*
EBiB	*Etudes bibliques*
EBR	*Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FC	Fathers of the Church
FCNTECW	Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
HAL	*Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament*
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
Hug	*Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
HWV	Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*
IZBG	*Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBQ	*Jewish Bible Quarterly*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*

JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTS	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KBL	Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LAHR	Late Antique History and Religion
LB	*Linguistica Biblica*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LXX.E	Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament (2 vols.)
LXX.H	Handbuch zur Septuaginta (6 vols.)
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codices
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NISABA	Religious Texts Translation Series
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
NPNF	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTT	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
OW	Origenes Werke (subseries of GCS)
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PG	Patrologia Latina
PIBA	Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
ProEccl	*Pro Ecclesia*
R&T	*Religion and Theology*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods

RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
SBR	Studies of the Bible and Its Reception
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SEAug	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
StPatr	Studia Patristica
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
StT	Studi e Testi
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
ThTo	*Theology Today*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TS	Texts and Studies
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VCS	Variorum Collected Studies
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplements
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WS	*Woodbrooke Studies*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WW	*Word and World*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Abbreviations of Bible versions, Biblical books, and other ancient literature follow the *SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd edition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following persons and organizations for their contribution, making possible the publication of this volume: Annette Merz for taking the initiative for this volume and for her support and encouragement throughout the process; Leo Mietus, for thinking with us and for taking the role of 'informant' on the person and work of Riemer Roukema; Peter Hansum and Timon van Dieren, for their assistance in the editorial process. Further, we wish to express our thanks to the editors of Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology, Geert Van Oyen and Kristin De Troyer, for generously welcoming this volume to their series. And finally, we thank the Protestant Theological University, for the financial support that made open access-publication of this volume possible.

Peter J. van Egmond, Jan Krans, and Johanna M. Tanja
Utrecht, 12 September 2025

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Henk Bakker is James Wm. McClendon Professor of Evangelical and Baptistic Theologies at Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.
h.a.bakker@vu.nl

Wijnand Boezelman is lecturer of New Testament at the Evangelisch College, Zwijndrecht, and lecturer of Biblical Studies at the Cornerstone Centre for Intercultural Studies, Beugen.
w.boezelman@evangelisch-college.nl

Frank G. Bosman is assistant professor and cultural theologian at the Tilburg School of Catholic Theology, Tilburg University.
f.g.bosman@tilburguniversity.edu

Peter J. van Egmond is assistant professor of Church History at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
pjvanegmond@pthu.nl

Metha Hokke is research fellow at the Centre for Patristic Research, at Tilburg University.
methahokke@gmail.com

Alberdina Houtman is professor emeritus in Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Amsterdam.
a.houtman@casema.nl

Cornelis Houtman is professor emeritus of Old Testament Studies at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Kampen.
houtmanterhoeve@gmail.com

Gert van Klinken is assistant professor of Church History at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
gjvanklinken@pthu.nl

Bart Koet is emeritus professor of New Testament Studies and Early Christian Literature at the Tilburg School of Catholic Theology, Tilburg University.
b.j.koet@tilburguniversity.edu

Marjo Korpel is professor of Old Testament Studies at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
mcakorpel@pthu.nl

Jan Krans is assistant professor of New Testament Studies at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
jlhkrans@pthu.nl

Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte is professor of New Testament Studies at the Faculty of Religion and Theology, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.
l.j.lietaertpeerbolte@vu.nl

Hans van Loon is a retired senior researcher at the Centre for Patristic Research, at Tilburg University.
jcvanloon@gmail.com

Martin Meiser is retired assistant professor of New Testament of Universität des Saarlandes.
martin.meiser@mx.uni-saarland.de

Annette Merz is professor of New Testament Studies at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
abmerz@pthu.nl

Magda Misset-van de Weg is retired lecturer in New Testament Studies and Biblical Theology at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Kampen.
m.misset-vandeweg@planet.nl

Paul Sanders is assistant professor of Old Testament Studies at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
psanders@pthu.nl

Gertram Schaeffer is teacher in Philosophy and History at the Hendrik Pierson College, Zetten.
sff@hpcnet.nl

Matthias Smalbrugge is professor of History of Christianity at the Faculty of Religion and Theology, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.
m.a.smalbrugge@vu.nl

Klaas Spronk is professor emeritus of Old Testament Studies at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
kspronk@pthu.nl

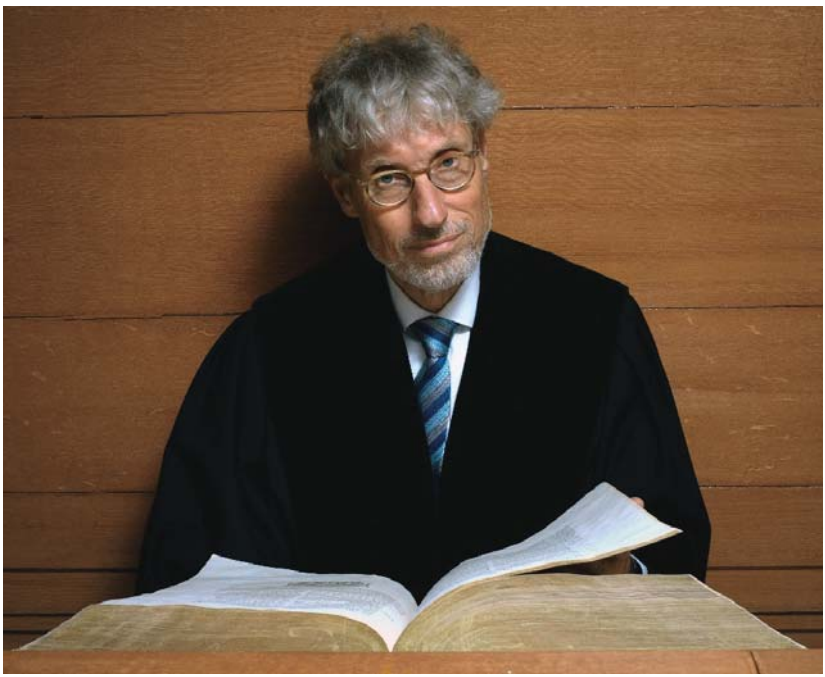
Johanna M. Tanja is assistant professor of Judaism and Hebrew Bible at the Faculty of Religion, Culture and Society, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
j.m.tanja@rug.nl

Lieve Teugels is professor of Judaism at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit, Utrecht.
gmgteugels@pthu.nl

Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen is professor of Old Testament at the Tilburg School of Catholic Theology, Tilburg University.
a.l.h.m.vanwieringen@tilburguniversity.edu

Nathan Witkamp is affiliated researcher at the Evangelische Theologische Faculteit, Leuven, research fellow of the Centre for Patristic Research, and teacher of Early Christianity and Systematics at the Evangelisch College, Zwijndrecht.
n.witkamp@evangelisch-college.nl

Laela Zwollo † was research fellow at the Tilburg School of Catholic Theology, Tilburg University.



Prof. Dr Riemer Roukema (Photo: P.M. Wisse)

If the resurrection required no further explanation and contained no obscurity in its meanings, Paul would never have added these words to his detailed argument about the resurrection: "Behold, I tell you a mystery ..."

Didymus the Blind, as cited in:
Jerome, *Epistle* 119, 5

INTRODUCTION

Peter J. van Egmond, Jan Krans, and Johanna M. Tanja

This *Festschrift*, honouring Riemer Roukema on the occasion of his retirement, offers a collection of studies related, directly or indirectly, to 1 Cor 15 and its central theme, the resurrection of the dead.

The title of this volume hints at the fact that the apostle Paul regarded the resurrection as essential to the Christian faith. *If Christ is preached as raised from the dead …* (1 Cor 15:12) – then this preaching inevitably bears implications for the faith of the Corinthian community and for every believer's ultimate hope in this life and beyond. In fact, *if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain* (1 Cor 15:14).

This, of course, does not mark the end of theological thinking: it is merely a starting point. What exactly did Paul mean? What were the Jewish roots and other backgrounds of his argument? With what criticism did the early Church meet on this subject and how did it attempt to answer? At the same time: to what extent did these Christians agree among themselves? And how did the notion of the resurrection interact with other aspects of faith, theology, and Church life through the ages?

Riemer Roukema himself has written various studies on 1 Cor 15 and its reception among orthodox, Origenist, gnostic, and other authors. These publications are meant for a differentiated readership, ranging from those personally committed to the Christian faith or interested in it for various other reasons (1996, 2013) to academic specialists, especially theologians, historians, and scholars in the field of religious studies (2003, 2010, 2015, 2016; see his academic bibliography for details). This may be considered indicative for Riemer's approach of theology. In the conviction that this field bears relevance in a variety of contexts and for a large and diverse audience, ranging from the Church to the academy, he succeeds in disclosing

and clarifying complex subjects with remarkable clarity. As editors, we express the hope that the contributions in this volume do justice to his academic legacy by reflecting some of the same commitment, broadness of scope, and clarity.

This volume of *Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology* (CBET) presents twenty-three studies on 1 Corinthians 15 and the theme of the resurrection. The immediate and generous willingness of all authors to invest time in this *Festschrift* is in itself token of the profound respect and appreciation Riemer Roukema enjoys among his academic peers, both on a personal and a professional level.

The collection consists of three parts. Each part highlights different key aspects of the origin of and reflection on the concept of resurrection in Christianity and Early Judaism:

1. Resurrection in the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish Tradition;
2. Resurrection, 1 Corinthians 15, and the New Testament;
3. Biblical Reception History and the Continuation of Resurrection Theology.

In the first part, all contributions emphasise that a coherent conception of life after death is difficult to find in Scripture. In fact, the idea of a resurrection of the dead seems to be a relatively late concept. Klaas Spronk commences this part with an extensive survey and evaluation of modern research after 1986 on the roots of belief in the resurrection of the dead in the Hebrew Bible. Paul Sanders stresses in his contribution the more "earthly" character of most of the blessings and curses in the Hebrew Bible, compared to the belief of the apostle Paul that God's blessings can be enjoyed in the life hereafter. He substantiates his point with analyses of the concept of the lengthening of one's days in the Hebrew Bible and in Phoenician, Aramaic, and Ugaritic texts. Marjo Korpel discusses the Near Eastern and especially Canaanite background of Hos 13:14 that formed the basis for Paul's hopeful utterance in 1 Cor 15:55 on the defeat of death and therefore on the resurrection of the dead.

Alberdina Houtman points out not only that Pauls Jewish identity should be taken into consideration but also that the methods he applies in his Scriptural argumentations need to be studied in their Jewish context. In her article she compares some relevant rabbinic literature with 1 Cor 15 and investigates if a Targumic reading of the Scriptural citations has influenced Paul's Scriptural interpretation in 1 Cor 15. Lieve Teugels explores classical rabbinic traditions about Elijah in order to compare them to Paul's statements on Christ, especially in 1 Cor 15.

The second part consists of contributions discussing *Resurrection, 1 Corinthians 15, and the New Testament* from various perspectives.

The first four contributions discuss specific verses of 1 Cor 15. Magda Misset-van de Weg, starting from the observation that Paul's list of resurrection witnesses (1 Cor 15:5–8) may seem incomplete, highlights perceptions of "resurrection" within feminist theology. Annette Merz offers a fresh explanation of Paul's enigmatic phrase κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, his being "thrown to the beasts" (1 Cor 15:32a). Archibald van Wieringen and Frank Bosman apply their communication-oriented method to the intertextual relation between 1 Cor 15:54d and Isa 25:8a. They arrive at new insights in the way Paul achieves successful communication through his use of the latter prophetic text.

From there, the scope widens to the place and meaning of 1 Cor 15 as a whole. Bart Koet and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte argue that 1 Cor 16:1–4 is to be seen as the climax of the preceding chapter. Rather than adhering to the traditional antithesis between the "theological" chapters up to and including 1 Cor 15 and the "practicalities" of 1 Cor 16, they argue that the collection for Jerusalem discussed in 1 Cor 16:1–4 *is* a theological statement, exactly because it was supposed to take place *sub specie aeternitatis*. Next, Wijnand Boezelman discusses N.T. Wright's case for understanding of 1 Cor 15 in terms of bodily (non-metaphorical) resurrection. Boezelman points out the relevance of his position and its eschatological implications, but also questions the tenability of Wright's outright rejection of "ontological dualism" of body and soul. Peter-Ben Smit draws attention to the question how and with what consequences time is structured in Paul's discourse on the resurrection. According to Smit, the case of 1 Cor 15 illustrates that the "temporal turn," which has had its impact in the humanities and the social sciences at large, is relevant for New Testament studies as well.

Gertram Schaeffer explores the highly debated and complicated relation between Paul in First Corinthians on the one hand and (proto-)Gnostic thought and later, fully developed Gnosticism on the other hand, and explains how Paul, though himself clearly anti-Gnostic, could be used by Gnostics to support their positions.

Henk Bakker, locating Revelation within early Christian martyr literature, and against the background of the Jewish War, stresses the bodily aspect of ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη ("the first resurrection) mentioned in Rev 20:5, as part of a prophetic and priestly counter-reality.

The third part addresses the *Biblical Reception History and the Continuation of Resurrection Theology* with studies that focus on the period

of the early Church up to the 20th century. These contributions are arranged chronologically and then geographically.

First, Paul van Geest challenges the common interpretation of the expression *maranatha* – found in 1 Cor 16 and in the Didache – as an imperative that refers to the *parousia*, associated with the future resurrection and final judgment ("Come, our Lord"). Van Geest points out that the Didache primarily focuses on drawing attention to holiness of life here and now. Accordingly, he proposes to interpret *maranatha* as a perfectum ("The Lord has come") intended to intensify the awareness of Christ's presence in the community as a moral impetus.

The next four studies explore the reception of the notion of the resurrection in the Latin West. Metha Hokke investigates Ambrose's dealing with the notion of the resurrection in his consolation oration *De excessu fratris*, which was occasioned by the death of his brother. From Ambrose's argument and its sources, Hokke shows that the bishop at the same time sought to build up his community and to spread the message of the saving remedy of the faith in resurrection amongst the non-Christian elite. Matthias Smalbrugge analyses and compares the concepts of similitude and resurrection in Augustine's *De Trinitate*, pointing out the role these concepts play in his construction of the doctrine of the Trinity. Smalbrugge argues that Augustine's dealing with the resurrection is an example of how he strips biblical language of its content in order to make it useful in the construction of a neoplatonic "orthodoxy." Laela Zwollo has turned to Augustine's argument on the resurrection and his refutation of Porphyry in *The City of God*, book XXII. Using material from both 1 Cor 15 and Plato, Augustine rejects Porphyry's exhortation of the necessity of "fleeing all things corporeal".

We were saddened to learn that on 12 August 2024, Dr Laela Zwollo passed away at the age of 66 after a relatively short illness. Our thoughts are with her loved ones and colleagues.

Peter van Egmond explores and contextualises Pelagius's statements on the resurrection in his profession of faith, especially on the nature of the resurrection body and its eternal destiny.

Hans van Loon and Nathan Witkamp discuss the Eastern reception of 1 Cor 15 and resurrection theology. Van Loon fills a lacuna in modern research by outlining Cyril of Alexandria's understanding of the resurrection, starting with the fragments of his commentary on 1 Cor 15 while also drawing on material from his other writings. Nathan Witkamp argues that Theodore of Mopsuestia developed a unique view on the relation between

baptism and the final resurrection, portraying the final resurrection as a second birth of which baptism is the symbol. Later theologians of the East Syrian Church were evidently influenced by Theodore, but received and developed his view in creative manner.

Gert van Klinken takes us northward, exploring the strongly contrasting concepts of resurrection among Christians and pagans in the Conversion Era. Anticipation of the resurrection of an individual believer, he points out, is a Christian way of thinking that would have required some serious rethinking of native tradition, with its emphases on ancestry and family honour. Martin Meiser examines the reception history of 1 Cor 15:55 and Paul's use there of Hos 13:14, in patristic and medieval Christian exegesis. This examination is done from the perspectives of textual criticism, intertextuality, and theological statement. Finally, Cees Houtman analyses the 19th and early 20th century reception of the doctrine of the resurrection in Dutch Protestantism as attested in a specific genre of literature, the so-called "Sunday School booklets." Various branches of Dutch Protestantism are represented in this type of literature, but they have a common goal: to make the youth familiar with the Christian faith.

We are happy to conclude the volume with a contribution by Riemer himself, who – entirely in the spirit of its theme – sent us a sermon he held a few days before Easter 2013 at the Protestant Theological University in Groningen.

The overall journey of this volume is that it moves from ancient sources and culture of the Levant, via Jewish sources, to the birth of Christianity, and thence to later biblical reception and further reflection on resurrection theology in all quarters of the expanding Christian world.

The movement started reluctantly: beliefs in some form of afterlife and/or resurrection of the dead were difficult to trace in the ancient societies of Palestine and neighbouring countries. The same counts for pagan culture that "welcomed" Christianity in early mediaeval Northern Europe. Meanwhile, the Christian message of the empty grave and its theological development in 1 Cor 15 and other New Testament texts marked a new era. Christ had risen and, as Paul concludes, so will we. Despite the influence of sharp, ridiculing criticism of authors like Porphyry and Celsus, the body of the Church stuck to the idea of a bodily resurrection, at some point even insisting that the very same bones, veins, and skin we now live in, will be restored to life.

Today, especially in those parts of the world where the influence of secularisation is strong, the ancient reluctance has gained ground again. Whatever one's personal view on that development may be – it calls for further reading, re-reading, and critical interpreting of the sources. Riemer Roukema has contributed a more than fair share to this, with commitment and academic integrity. May this volume follow in his footsteps.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RIEMER ROUKEMA'S ACADEMIC WORK[1]

1. Articles in Journals and Collected Volumes

"The Apostle Paul Meets with Apollos of Alexandria." Pages 247–59 in *Meaningful Meetings with Foreigners in the World of the Bible. Essays in Honour of Klaas Spronk on the Occasion of his Retirement*. Edited by Marjo C.A. Korpel and Paul Sanders. CBET 119. Leuven: Peeters, 2024.

Roukema, Riemer and Joseph O'Leary. "The Shepherds of Christmas: Beyond the Stereotype." *The Japan Mission Journal* 78 (2024): 219–27.

"Motives for Becoming Christian in the Second and Third Centuries." *Church History and Religious Culture* 104 (2024): 501–29.

"Origen." Pages 862–71 in *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity 4*. Edited by David G. Hunter, Paul J.J. van Geest and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte. Leiden: Brill, 2024.

"Origen's Justification of the Diversity in Christianity (1 Cor 11,19) over against Celsus's Ideal of Unity in Diversity." Pages 495–505 in *Origeniana Tredecima*. Edited by Alfons Fürst. BETL 338. Leuven: Peeters, 2024.

"Ambrosius' Brief V, 18 (70) over Micha als christelijk getuigenis van bekering en vrede, afval en boete." Pages 289–308 in *Ambrosiana Neerlandica*. Edited by Marten van Willigen and Anthony Dupont. Leuven: Peeters, 2024.

"Ambrose's Letter V, 18 (70) on Micah as a Christian Testimony to Conversion and Peace, Fall, and Penance." *Augustiniana* 72/2 (2022): 175–92. https://doi.org/10.2143/AUG.72.2.3291569.

"Commentary, Patristic/Ancient." [Коментар, отачки / антички] Pages 324–27 in *Lexicon of Biblical Hermeneutics*. [*Лексикон библијске херменеутике*] Edited by Rodoljub Kubat. Translated by Nenad Božović. Belgrado: Filon & Službeni glasnik, 2022.

"Unavoidable *Haireseis* in the Church: 1 Corinthians 11:19 in Patristic Reception between 350 and 450 AD." Pages 199–216 in *Troubling Texts in the New Testament. Essays in Honour of Rob van Houwelingen*. Edited by Myriam Klinker-De Klerk, Arco den Heijer, and Jermo van Nes. CBET 113. Leuven: Peeters, 2022.

"The Reception of the Hebrew Prophets in Ancient Christianity." *Religions* 13/5 (2022): 408. doi.org/10.3390/rel13050408.

"De waardering van heidense religie in het Nieuwe Testament in relatie tot de kerstening van Noord-Nederland." *Kerk en Theologie* 73 (2022): 46–60. doi.org/10.5117/KT2022.1.007.ROUK.

"The Metaphor of Being Bought at a Price (1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23) in Ancient Christian Interpretation." Pages 245–59 in *Bibel und Patristik. Studien zur Exegese und Rezeption von Septuaginta und Neuem Testament. Festschrift für Martin*

[1] See also the regularly updated overview at http://www.riemerroukema.nl/pubs.

Meiser. Edited by Siegfried Kreuzer, Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Jörg Persch. Biblische Zeitschrift Supplements 3. Leiden: Brill / Paderborn: Schöningh, 2022.

"Christ as Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption (1*Cor*. 1:30): Neglect and Appropriation of Pauline Theology in Ancient Christianity." StPatr 123 (2021): 87–98. doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv27vt545.9.

"Salvation and Victory by Christ's Death and Resurrection in the Ancient Church." *Journal of Reformed Theology* 15 (2021): 304–26. doi.org/10.1163/15697312-bja10016.

"Early Christian Debates about the Image of the Old Testament God Exemplified by the Interpretation of the Book of the Prophet Micah ch. 1." [Дискуссии об образе Ветхозаветного Бога в раннем христианстве на примере толкования книги пророка Михея 1 гл] Pages 150–63 in *The Image of God in Scripture, History, Theology and Art*. [*Образ Бога в библии, истории, теологии и искусстве*]. Translated by Olga Nel. Edited by Valeriy A. Alikin. Trudy SPbCU 12 [*Труды СПБХУ* 12]. Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg Christian University Press, 2021.

"Origen on the Origin of Sin." Pages 201–11 in *The Evil Inclination in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by Hector Patmore, James Aitken, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

"Micah. IV. Christianity." Pages 1109–11 in *EBR* 18. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020. doi.org/10.1515/ebr.micahbookandperson.

"Vergessen, was hinter mir liegt. Die altkirchliche Auslegung von Philipper 3,13b." Pages 45–49 in *Erinnern und Vergessen – Remembering and Forgetting. Essays über zwei theologische Grundvollzüge. Festschrift für Hans-Martin Kirn*. Edited by Markus Matthias, Riemer Roukema, and Gert van Klinken. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020.

"Geheime geschriften in het vroege christendom." *Groniek. Historisch Tijdschrift* 221/51 (2019): 415–27. doi.org/10.21827/groniek.221.37235.

"Philological Observations, Syntax, and Delimitation in the Septuagint Version of Micah according to Patristic Commentaries." Pages 277–97 in *Die Septuaginta – Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz. 6. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXXX.D), Wuppertal 21. – 24. Juli 2016*. Edited by Martin Meiser, Michaela Geiger, Siegfried Kreuzer, and Marcus Sigismund. WUNT 405. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018.

"Origen, the Jews, and the New Testament." Pages 241–53 in *The 'New Testament' as a Polemical Tool: Studies in Ancient Christian Anti-Jewish Rhetoric and Beliefs*. Edited by Riemer Roukema and Hagit Amirav. NTOA 118. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018.

"Origen." In *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. doi.org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00002479.

"De toegang tot de maaltijd van Christus. Paulus, de gereformeerde traditie, en de huidige kerkelijke praktijk." *Kerk en Theologie* 69 (2018): 5–18.

"The Retrieval of Origen's Commentary on Micah." StPatr 94 (2017): 131–42.

"Rollins' a/theïsme: De God die zegt dat hij niet bestaat." *Kerk en Theologie* 68 (2017): 6–15.

"The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity." Pages 33–60 in *"If Christ has not been Raised …" Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and Belief in*

the Resurrection in the Early Church. Edited by Joseph Verheyden, Andreas Merkt, and Tobias Nicklas. NTOA 115. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016.

"The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity." [A feltámadás kérdése az 1Kor 15,35–55 alapján, az ókeresztyénség értelmezésében és hitvitáiban.] *Református Szemle* 108 (2015): 477–87.

"The Value of Patristic Interpretation of the New Testament." *Trudy CPbCU* 6 [*Труды СПБХУ* 6] (2015): 113–22.

"Oudchristelijke visies op het liefhebben van de vijand." *Kerk en Theologie* 66 (2015): 141–55.

"Jezus heeft nooit bestaan – zei de dominee." *Kerk en Theologie* 66 (2015): 184–85.

"Zelfontplooiing en het Nieuwe Testament." Pages 93–106 in *Zelfontplooiing. Een theologische peiling*. Edited by Herman Paul and Wouter Slob. Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2015.

"Good Samaritan. II. Christianity." Pages 639–41 in *EBR* 10. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015. doi.org/10.1515/ebr.goodsamaritan.

"Jezus' doop in het lijden. Een messiaanse lezing van Psalm 69 in Lucas 12:50." Pages 45–54 in *Lucas & Handelingen*. Edited by Nico A. Riemersma. ACEBT 29. Bergambacht: 2VM, 2014.

"Reception and Interpretation of Jesus' Teaching of Love for Enemies in Ancient Christianity." Pages 198–214 in *Violence in Ancient Christianity: Victims and Perpetrators*. Edited by Albert C. Geljon and Riemer Roukema. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 125. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

"Sacrifice in 'Gnostic' Testimonies of the Second and Third Centuries." Pages 153–69 in *The Actuality of Sacrifice: Past and Present*. Edited by Alberdina Houtman, Marcel Poorthuis, Joshua J. Schwartz, and Joseph Turner. Jewish and Christian Perspectives 28. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

"De visie op offers in de vroege gnostiek." *NedTT* 67 (2013): 209–24. dx.doi.org/10.5117/NTT2013.67.209.ROUK.

"The Foolishness of the Message about the Cross (1*Cor*. 1:18–25): Embarrassment and Consent." StPatr 63 (2013): 55–67.

"First Epistle to the Corinthians. II. Christianity." Pages 778–82 in *EBR* 5. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012. doi.org/10.1515/ebr.corinthiansfirstepistletothe.

"Jesus, Gnosis, and the Church." Pages 133–47 in *Jesus in Continuum*. Edited by Tom Holmén. WUNT 289. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

"Two Church Fathers Review Charismatic Worship: Ambrosiaster's and Chrysostom's Comments on 1 Corinthians 11–14." Pages 457–69 in *Strangers and Pilgrims on Earth: Essays in Honour of Abraham van de Beek*. Edited by Eduardus van der Borght and Paul van Geest. Studies in Reformed Theology 22. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

"La présentation de l'*Évangile de Judas* au grand public et son contexte historique." *ETR* 87 (2012): 1–17. doi.org/10.3917/etr.0871.0001.

"Les Églises de réveil dans la perspective du Nouveau Testament." *Revue Congolaise de Théologie Protestante* 21 (2012): 191–204.

"Jesus Tradition in Early Patristic Writings." Pages 2119–47 in vol. 3 of *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. Edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

"Baptism in Early Christianity." *Studia Theologica Debrecinensis* 4 (2011): 33–40.

"Het ambt van bisschop in de oude kerk." *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Kerk en Recht* 5/66 (2011): 66–76.

"Le monothéisme de l'évangile de Marc." Pages 163–79 in *Le monothéisme biblique. Évolution, contextes et perspectives*. Edited by Eberhard Bons and Thierry Legrand. Lectio Divina 244. Paris: Cerf, 2011.

"De vier Evangeliën als geheel." Pages 179–88 in *De Bijbel theologisch. Hoofdlijnen en thema's*. Edited by Klaas Spronk and Archibald van Wieringen. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2011.

"Les Églises de Réveil dans la perspective du Nouveau Testament." *Perspectives Missionnaires* 61 (2011): 58–71.

"Origen's Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15." Pages 329–42 in *Gelitten, Gestorben, Auferstanden. Passions- und Auferstehungstraditionen im antiken Christentum*. Edited by Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt, and Joseph Verheyden. WUNT 273. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

"The Historical Setting of the Gospel of Judas and Its Presentation to the Wider Public. With an Appendix on Its Dependence on the Canonical Gospels." *Református Szemle* 103 (2010): 7–19.

"The Historical Context of the Gospel of Judas and Its Presentation to the Wider Audience. With an Appendix on Its Dependence on the Canonical Gospels." *Journal of Coptic Studies* 12 (2010): 1–18.

"Paul's Admonitions on Idol Offerings (1*Cor.* 8 and 10) in Patristic Interpretation." StPatr 44 (2010): 249–59.

"Patristic Interpretation of Micah: Micah Read as a Book about Christ." Pages 702–19 in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23. – 27.7.2008*. Edited by Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

"'Mijn volk, wat heb ik u gedaan?' Micha 6:3–4a in de Improperia voor Goede Vrijdag en bij de kerkvaders." *NedTT* 64 (2010): 200–17.

"Herman Ridderbos als exegeet en bijbels theoloog". Pages 65–74 in *Herman Ridderbos (1909–2007) herdacht*. Edited by Riemer Roukema. Kampen: Kok, 2010.

"Gods naam in de eerste eeuwen van onze jaartelling." Pages 127–34 in *Studies uit de Kamper School opgedragen aan Willem van der Meer*. Edited by Klaas Spronk, Riemer Roukema, and Gerard van Zanden. Bergambacht: 2VM, 2010.

"Esoterie in het vroege christendom." *Kerk en Theologie* 61 (2010): 349–58.

"Onze geliefde broeder Paulus (2 Petrus 3:15)." *Kerk en Theologie* 60 (2009): 194–96.

"Integratie en afzondering in het vroege Christendom." *Kerk en Theologie* 60 (2009): 317–25.

"Jezus in gebed." *Kerk en Theologie* 59 (2008): 301–9.

"Het vroege christendom en magie." Pages 113–26 in *De magische wereld van de bijbel*. Edited by Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte. De Bijbel: teksten en thema's in beeld 5. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2007.

"Jezus als de HEER in de evangeliën van Marcus en Johannes". Pages 95–110, 197–200 in *Over God*. Edited by Klaas Spronk and Riemer Roukema. De Bijbel: teksten en thema's in beeld 6. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2007.

"Early Christianity and Magic." *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 24 (2007): 367–78.

"Het tranendal in de Bijbel." *Kerk en Theologie* 57 (2006): 2–4.

"The Veil over Moses' Face in Patristic Interpretation." Pages 237–52 in *The Interpretation of Exodus. Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman*. Edited by Riemer Roukema et al. CBET 44. Leuven: Peeters, 2006.

"Jesus and the Divine Name in the Gospel of John". Pages 207–23 in *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses. Perspectives from Judaism, the Pagan Graeco-Roman World, and Early Christianity*. Edited by Geurt-Henk van Kooten. TBN 9. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

"Une église ancienne à Meguiddo." *RHPR* 86 (2006): 389–95.

"De Messias aan Gods rechterhand." Pages 92–107 in *Messianisme en eindtijdverwachting bij joden en christenen*. Edited by Gerard C. den Hertog and Simon Schoon. Zoetermeer: Kok, 2006.

"Paul's Rapture to Paradise in Early Christian Literature." Pages 267–83 in *The Wisdom of Egypt. Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuizen*. Edited by Anthony Hilhorst and Geurt-Henk van Kooten. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 59. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

"L'interprétation patristique de quelques mots hébraïques de la Septante." Pages 269–88 in *L'apport de la Septante aux études sur l'antiquité*. Edited by Jan Joosten and Philippe Le Moigne. Lectio Divina 203. Paris: Cerf, 2005.

"Irenaeus en Origenes over de opstanding der doden." *Kerk en Theologie* 56 (2005): 86–96.

"The Good Samaritan in Ancient Christianity." *VC* 58 (2004): 56–74.

"La tradition apostolique et le canon du Nouveau Testament." Pages 86–103 in *The Apostolic Age in Patristic Thought*. Edited by Anthony Hilhorst. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 70. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

"Herman Ridderbos's Redemptive-Historical Exegesis of the New Testament." *WTJ* 66 (2004): 259–73.

"Salvation *Sola Fide* and *Sola Gratia* in Early Christianity." Pages 27–48 in *Passion of Protestants*. Edited by Pieter N. Holtrop, Frits de Lange, and Riemer Roukema. Kampen: Kok, 2004.

"Transmigration of Souls." Pages 205–7 in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*. Edited by John A. McGuckin. Louisville, KY: John Knox; London: Westminster, 2004.

"Souls." Pages 201–2 in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*.

"Law of Nature." Pages 140–1 in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*.

"De oorsprong van het Kwaad volgens Origenes en zijn bronnen." Pages 103–20, 167–70 in *Kennis van het Kwaad. Zeven visies uit jodendom en christendom*. Edited by Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte and Eibert Tigchelaar. De Bijbel: teksten en thema's in beeld 3. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2004.

"Heilshistorische exegese. Herman Ridderbos." Pages 53–70 in *Profiel. Theologiebeoefening Kampen 1970–1990*. Edited by Jaap van Gelderen and Cees Houtman. Kampen: Kok, 2004.

"Paulus in de verdediging. (Valse) beschuldiging in de Tweede Brief aan de Korintiërs." Pages 156–73 in *De leugen regeert. Valse beschuldiging in de Bijbel en de wereld van de Bijbel*. Edited by Cees Houtman. Kamper Studies. Kampen: Kok, 2004.

"Teaching Newer Insights in Biblical Theology." Pages 42–46 in *Teaching Theology. Papers of a Working Conference Theological University Kampen, Debreceni Református Hittudományi Egyetem*. Edited by Sándor Fazakas and Ruard Ganzevoort. Kampen: Theologische Universiteit Kampen, 2004.

"L'origine du mal selon Origène et dans ses sources." *RHPR* 83 (2003): 405–20.

"De nieuwtestamenticus als theoloog. Antwoord aan Johan Vos." *GTT* 103 (2003): 112–17.

"La résurrection des morts dans l'interprétation origénienne de 1 Corinthiens 15." Pages 161–77 in *La résurrection chez les Pères*. Edited by Jean-Marc Prieur. Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 7. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

"Christendom en reïncarnatie in de eerste eeuwen." Pages 110–19 in *In 's hemels naam. Dialoog tussen oud en nieuw geloof*. Edited by Aart Mak and Otto Sondorp. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2003.

"De belijdenis van Christus' nederdaling ter helle als antwoord op een levensvraag." Pages 83–93 in *Protestants geloven bij bijbel en belijdenis betrokken*. Edited by Marcel Barnard, Luco J. van den Brom, and Frits de Lange. Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003.

"Les anges attendant les âmes des défunts: une comparaison entre Origène et quelques gnostiques." Pages 367–74 in *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*. Edited by Lorenzo Perrone, P. Bernardino, and D. Marchini. BETL 164. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.

"De wijnstok *sorec* en het gebruik van Hebreeuwse woorden in het vroege christendom." Pages 46–50 in *Een handvol koren. Opstellen van enkele vrienden bij het vertrek van Dr. F. Sepmeijer van de Theologische Universiteit Kampen*. Edited by Jan-Wim Wesselius. Kampen: Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, 2003.

"Le Fils du Très-Haut. Sur les anges et la christologie." *ETR* 77 (2002): 343–57.

"La transcendance et la proximité de Dieu dans le christianisme ancien." *RHPR* 82 (2002): 15-31 (also in *Studia Loviciensia* 4 (2002): 149–64).

"De barmhartige Samaritaan in de oude kerk." Pages 59–73 in *Joden, christenen en hun Schrift. Een bundel opstellen aangeboden bij het afscheid van C.J. den Heyer*. Edited by Cees Houtman and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte. Baarn: Ten Have, 2001.

"Het gebruik en de uitleg van de bijbel in de eerste eeuwen van het christendom." Pages 96–112 in vol. 1 of *Internationaal Commentaar op de Bijbel*. Edited by Erik Eynikel, Ed Noort, Tjitze Baarda, and Adelbert Denaux. Kampen: Kok/Averbode, 2001.

"De Zoon van de Allerhoogste. Over engelen en de christologie." *GTT* 100 (2000): 174–83.

"De doorwerking van Paulus in 1 Clemens en in christelijke geschriften uit de tweede eeuw." *Analecta Bruxellensia* 5 (2000): 113–28.

"Gnosis in het Evangelie volgens Filippus." Pages 13–31 in *Het andere christendom. De gnosis en haar geestverwanten*. Edited by Riemer Roukema. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2000.

"Inleiding." Pages 7–12 in *Het andere christendom. De gnosis en haar geestverwanten*.

"Studies about the Alexandrian Tradition in the Dutch Language." *Adamantius* 6 (2000): 98–108.

"The Power of the Cross. Reflections on 1 Cor. 1–2." [A kereszt hatalma (Gondolatok az 1 Kor 1–2-ről)] Translated by Lehel Tunyogi. *Református Szemle* 92 (1999): 302–4.

"'Die Liebe kommt nie zu Fall' (1 Korinther 13,8a) als Argument des Origenes gegen einen neuen Abfall der Seelen von Gott." Pages 15–23 in *Origeniana Septima. Origenes in den Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts*. Edited by Wolfgang Bienert and Uwe Kühneweg. BETL 137. Leuven: Peeters, 1999.

"Jezus' onderdompeling volgens Lucas 12,50 en Psalm 69." Pages 74–80 in *Tussen katheder en kansel. Egbert de Vries – 65 jaar. Een bundel artikelen voor een origineel en eigenzinnig theoloog*. Edited by Cees J. den Heyer. Kamper Oraties 23. Kampen: Theologische Universiteit Kampen, 1998.

"La prédication du Christ crucifié (1 Corinthiens 2,2) selon Origène." Pages 523–29 in *Origeniana Sexta. Actes du Colloquium Origenianum Sextum Chantilly, 30 août – 3 septembre 1993*. Edited by Gilles Dorival and Alain le Boulluec. BETL 118. Leuven: Peeters, 1995.

"Het zelfbewustzijn van een bespotte minderheid. De receptie en uitleg van 1 Kor. 1:26–28 in de tweede en derde eeuw." Pages 37–52 in *Geloven in de minderheid? Een bundel opstellen ter gelegenheid van het 140-jarig bestaan van de Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken te Kampen*. Edited by Frits de Lange. Kampen: Kok, 1994.

"Reïncarnatie in de oude kerk (2)." *GTT* 93 (1993): 33–56.

"New Age en Gnostiek." Pages 87–106 in *Hier beneden is het. Beschouwingen over geloof in New Age*. Edited by Ries Maaswinkel and Yolanda Voorhaar. Baarn: Ten Have, 1993.

"Reïncarnatie in de oude kerk (1)." *GTT* 92 (1992): 199–218.

"The Jews in Lithuania." [Žydai Lietuvoje]. Translated by Rasa Asminavičiúté. *Naujasis Židinys* (1991): 20–25.

"Origenes' visie op de rechtvaardiging volgens zijn Commentaar op Romeinen." *GTT* 89 (1989): 94–105.

"De tale Kanaäns." *Kerk en Theologie* 38 (1987): 265–69.

"Jews and Gentiles in Origen's Commentary on Romans III 19–22." Pages 21–25 in *Origeniana Quarta. Die Referate des 4. Internationalen Origeneskongresses (Innsbruck, 2.–6. September 1985*). Edited by Lothar Lies. Innsbrucker Theologische Studien 19. Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1987.

2. Books

Motieven om christen te worden in de tweede en derde eeuw. Overzicht en analyse van primaire en secundaire getuigenissen. Valedictory speech, Utrecht, 23 June 2023.

Joosten, Jan, Philippe Le Moigne, and Riemer Roukema. *Michée*. La Bible d'Alexandrie. Les douze Prophètes 23.3. Paris: Cerf, 2023.

Micah in Ancient Christianity. Reception and Interpretation. SBR 15. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019.

Jesus, Gnosis and Dogma. [Jezus, de gnosis en het dogma]. London: T&T Clark, 2010.

Gnózis és hit a korai keresztyénségben. Bevezetés a gnoszticizmusba [Gnosis en geloof in het vroege christendom. Een inleiding tot de gnostiek]. Translated by Lehel Tunyogi. Cluj-Napoca: Exit Kiadó, 2009.

Jezus, de gnosis en het dogma. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2007.

Het Evangelie van Thomas. Met de Koptische en Griekse teksten. Ad Fontes 2. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2005.

De studie van het Nieuwe Testament als theologische discipline. Over exegese en hermeneutiek. Kamper Oraties 22. Kampen: Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, 2003.

Gnosis and Faith in Early Christianity: An Introduction to Gnosticism [Gnosis en geloof in het vroege christendom. Een inleiding tot de gnostiek]. Translated by John Bowden. London: SCM, 1999.

Het andere christendom. De gnosis en haar geestverwanten. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2000.

Gnosis en geloof in het vroege christendom. Een inleiding tot de gnostiek. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1998.

Clemens van Alexandrië, Het gebed van de gnosticus en andere teksten. Een keuze uit Stromateis boek VII. Ingeleid, vertaald en van aantekeningen voorzien. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1997.

De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw. Kampen: Kok, 1996.

The Diversity of Laws in Origen's Commentary on Romans. PhD dissertation. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1988.

3. Edited Volumes

With Matthias, Markus, and Gert van Klinken, eds. *Erinnern und Vergessen – Remembering and Forgetting. Essays über zwei theologische Grundvollzüge. Festschrift für Hans-Martin Kirn*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020.

With Amirav, Hagit, eds. *The 'New Testament' as a Polemical Tool: Studies in Ancient Christian Anti-Jewish Rhetoric and Beliefs*. NTOA 118. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018.

With Geljon, Albert C., eds. *Violence in Ancient Christianity: Victims and Perpetrators*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 125. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Herman Ridderbos (1909–2007) herdacht. Kampen: KokBoekencentrum, 2010.

With Spronk, Klaas, and Gerard van Zanden, eds. *Studies uit de Kamper School opgedragen aan Willem van der Meer*. Bergambacht: 2VM, 2010.

With Spronk, Klaas, eds. *Over God*. De Bijbel: teksten en thema's in beeld 6. Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2007.

With Lietaert Peerbolte, Bert Jan, Klaas Spronk, and Jan-Willem Wesselius, eds. *The Interpretation of Exodus. Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman*. CBET 44. Leuven: Peeters, 2006.

With Holtrop, Pieter N., and Frits de Lange, eds. *Passion of Protestants*. Kampen: Kok, 2004.

4. Reviews

Review of *Jesus among the Gods: Early Christology in the Greco-Roman World*, by Michael F. Bird. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2024). https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2024/2024.04.04.

"Tableau du milieu pastoral," review of *Ceux qui appartiennent au jour*, by Emma Doude van Troostwijk. *Echo Wallon. Bulletin des Eglises Wallonnes aux Pays-Bas* 77/2 (2024): 11.

"Pierre Chevallier: un pasteur wallon exhumé des archives," review of *Pierre Chevallier [1760–1825]. Predikant met vergezichten tussen Verlichting en Réveil* by Cees Huisman. *Echo Wallon. Bulletin des Eglises Wallonnes aux Pays-Bas* 76/5 (2023): 22.

Review of Philo van Alexandrië, *De schepping van de wereld*. Ingeleid, vertaald en toegelicht door Albert-Kees Geljon. *SPhiloA* 34 (2022): 278–80.

Review of Aurelius Augustinus, *Als een wachtwoord. Vier preken over christelijke geloofsbelijdenissen [Sermones 212–215]*. Ingeleid, vertaald en van aantekeningen voorzien door Joke Gehlen-Springorum, Vincent Hunink, Hans van Reisen en Annemarie Six-Wienen. *Kerk en Theologie* 73 (2022): 317–18.

Review of Aurelius Augustinus, *De weg komt naar u toe. Preken over teksten uit het Johannesevangelie [Sermones de scripturis 117–147A + 368]*. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door Joke Gehlen-Springorum, Vincent Hunink, Hans van Reisen en Annemarie Six-Wienen; Aurelius Augustinus, *Geef mij te drinken. Verhandelingen 1–23 over het Johannesevangelie [In Iohannis euangelium tractatus]*. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door Hans Tevel en Hans van Reisen; Aurelius Augustinus, *Brood om van te leven. Verhandelingen 24–54 over het Johannesevangelie [In Iohannis euangelium tractatus]*. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door Hans Tevel en Hans van Reisen; Aurelius Augustinus, *De laatste visvangst. Verhandelingen 55–124 over het Johannesevangelie [In Iohannis euangelium tractatus]*. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door Hans Tevel en Hans van Reisen. *Kerk en Theologie* 73 (2022): 203–5.

Review of *Discovering Exodus: Content, Interpretation, Reception* (Discovering Biblical Texts 7), by Ralph K. Hawkins. *RBL* (2022). https://www.sblcentral.org/API/Reviews/1000267_71930.pdf.

Review of *Interpreting the Gospel of John in Antioch and Alexandria* (SBLWGRW 17), by Miriam DeCock. *CBQ* 84/2: 322–24.

Review of *Exegesis and History of Reception. Reading the New Testament Today with the Readers of the Past*, by Régis Burnet. *Kerk en Theologie* 72 (2021): 295–96.

Review of *Frère Roger. De biografie over de stichter van Taizé* (vertaald door Renée Soffers), by Sabine Laplane. *Kerk en Theologie* 72 (2020): 84–85.

Review of *La formation d'une exégèse alexandrine post-origénienne: Les* Commentaires sur les Douze Prophètes *et* sur Isaïe *de Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 17), by Dimitrios Zaganas. *ETL* 96 (2020): 753–56.

Review of Martin Kaehler, *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus. De zogenaamde historische Jezus en de in de geschiedenis*

optredende, Bijbelse Christus. Ingeleid, vertaald, van aantekeningen voorzien met een epiloog door dr. Peter Veldhuizen. *Kerk en Theologie* 71 (2020): 407.

Review of *De evangeliën van Thomas, Maria Magdalena en Judas. Vroegchristelijke esoterie en gnosis*, by Gerard Luttikhuizen. *Gnosis: Journal of Gnostic Studies* 5 (2020): 135–36.

Review of *Hemelse zaken. De kerkvaders over economie. Met een woord vooraf van Paul van Geest*, by Joost Hengstmengel. *Kerk en Theologie* 70 (2019): 385.

Review of *De kern van onze hoop. Over de actualiteit van de christelijke eschatologie*, by John E. Phelan. Translated by Leo Mietus. *Kerk en Theologie* 70 (2019): 375.

Review of *In gesprek met Mor Polycarpus. Aartsbisschop van de Syrisch-orthodoxe Kerk van Antiochië in Nederland*, by Jaap van Slageren, in collaboration with Salaam Somi. *Kerk en Theologie* 70 (2019): 300.

Review of *Het Vergeten evangelie. Het geheim van Jezus verandert alles*, by Reinier Sonneveld. *Marturia* 10/16 (2019): 14–16.

Review of *Het Vergeten evangelie. Het geheim van Jezus verandert alles*, by Reinier Sonneveld. *Kerk en Theologie* 70 (2019): 294.

Review of *Jezus. Het verhaal van een leven*. Ingeleid door Willem Jan Otten, by Shusako Endo. Translated by Ernst Bergboer. *Kerk en Theologie* 69 (2018): 394–95.

Review of *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic. God and Scripture in the Second Century*, by Judith M. Lieu. *Kerk en Theologie* 69 (2018): 301–3.

Review of *De evangeliën van Thomas, Maria Magdalena en Judas. Vroegchristelijke esoterie en gnosis*, by Gerard Luttikhuizen. *Kerk en Theologie* 69 (2018): 393–94.

"De evangelist Johannes geeft in de eerste plaats een geloofsgetuigenis," review of *Jezus volgens Johannes. Meelezen met de evangelist*, by Lieuwe van Kampen. *Friesch Dagblad*, April 22, 2017: 13.

Review of *Der Kommentar Cyrills von Alexandrien zum 1. Korintherbrief. Einleitung, Kritischer Text, Übersetzung, Einzelanalyse* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 16), by K. Zawadzki. *Augustiniana* 66 (2016): 327–31.

Review of *Warum werden wir nicht katholisch? Denkanstöße eines evangelisch-lutherischen Pfarrers*, by Andreas Theurer. *Kerk en Theologie* 67 (2016): 417–18.

Review of *Christendom, De eerste 400 jaar*, by Jonathan Hill. *Friesch Dagblad*, November 16, 2016: 10.

Review of *Jezus en de vijfde evangelist*, by Fik Meijer. *Kerk en Theologie* 67 (2016): 82–83.

Review of *Paulus. Onze liefste vijand*, by Karen Armstrong. Translated by Sjaak de Jong. *Kerk en Theologie* 67 (2016): 81–82.

"Klaus Berger klagt an," review of Klaus Berger, *Die Bibelfälscher. Wie wir um die Wahrheit betrogen werden. Sacra Scripta* 14 (2016): 85–93. [Also published in *Református Szemle* 110 (2017): 299–306.]

Review of *Subliem licht op de lijkwade van Turijn. Ware herkomst van een omstreden middeleeuwse relikwie*, by Ludo Noens. *Kerk en Theologie* 66 (2015): 423–24.

"Hoe vertaal je de Bijbel in gewone taal?," review of *Hoe vertaal je de Bijbel in gewone taal? Uitgangspunten, keuzes, dilemma's*, by Matthijs de Jong and *De Bijbel in gewone taal (BGT)*. *Kerk en Theologie* 66 (2015): 294–98.

Review of *Het Fries Godgeleerd Gezelschap 1838–2013. 'Zooal geen unicum, toch een zeldzaam instituut,'* by Jan Dirk Wassenaar. *Kerk en Theologie* 66 (2015): 99.

Review of Philo van Alexandrië, *Het leven van Mozes. Ingeleid, vertaald en toegelicht door Albert-Kees Geljon*. *Kerk en Theologie* 66 (2015): 97–98.

Review of *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 120), by Ilaria L.E. Ramelli. *Augustiniana* 64 (2014): 282–87.

Review of *Gewoon Jezus. Een nieuwe visie op wie hij was wat hij deed en waarom hij ertoe doet*, by Tom Wright. *Kerk en Theologie* 65 (2014): 195.

"Klaus Berger klaagt aan," review of Klaus Berger, *Die Bibelfälscher. Wie wir um die Wahrheit betrogen werden*. *Kerk en Theologie* 65 (2014): 182–89.

Review of *Sin: The Early History of an Idea*, by Paula Fredriksen. *Radix. Tijdschrift over geloof en wetenschap* 39 (2013): 231–33.

Review of Augustinus, *Aan Simplicianus. Over verschillende kwesties. Vertaald door Izak Wisse, met een inleiding van Paul van Geest*; *Vrouwen naast Paulus. Twee romans uit het vroege christendom. Vertaald door Vincent Hunink, ingeleid door Fik Meijer*. *Kerk en Theologie* 64 (2013): 363–64.

Review of *Paulus. Een leven tussen Jeruzalem en Rome*, by Fik Meijer. *Kerk en Theologie* 64 (2013): 281–82.

Review of *Het Oude Egypte. Bakermat van het jonge christendom*, by Tjeu van den Berk. *Kerk en Theologie* 64 (2013): 190–91.

"Een pleidooi voor christelijke karaktervorming (1)" and "Een pleidooi voor christelijke karaktervorming (2)," review of *Goed leven. Over christelijke karaktervorming*, by Tom Wright. Translated by Martin Strengholt. *Geandewei*, March 22 and May 17, 2013. In slightly modified form also published in *Gezamenlijk Kerkblad voor Drenthe, Overijssel en Flevoland*, March 9 and 16, 2013, and in *Protestantse Kerkbode Groningen* March 16 and 23, 2013; abbridged version published in *Christelijk Weekblad*, March 8, 2013, and *Het Goede Leven*, March 8, 2013.

"De vreemde Openbaring aan Johannes," review of *Het vreemdste Bijbelboek. Visioenen, voorspellingen en politiek in Openbaring*, by Elaine H. Pagels. Translated by Karl van Klaveren. *Geandewei*, November 9, 2012.

Review of "Van wie is dit huis voor de ziel?," chapter 3 of *Een huis voor de ziel. Gedachten over de kerk voor binnen en buiten*, by Henk P. de Roest. *Handelingen* 38 (2011). https://www.handelingen.com/index.php/artikelen/47-van-wie-is-dit-huis-voor-de-ziel-riemer-roukema.

Review of *Engel naast God. Hoe goddelijk is Jezus?*, by André F. Troost. *Kerk en Theologie* 62 (2011): 272–74.

Review of *Frühes Christentum und Gnosis. Eine rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie* (WUNT 225), by Hans-Friedrich Weiß. *ZAC* 15 (2011): 356–57.

Review of *Origen and the History of Justification. The Legacy of Origen's Commentary on Romans*, by Thomas P. Scheck. *VC* 64 (2010): 197–200.

Review of *Die Eucharistie ist Jesus: Anfänge einer Theorie des Sakraments im koptischen Philippusevangelium (NHC 113)* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 88), by Herbert Schmid. *RBL* (2010). https://www.sblcentral.org/home/bookDetails/6296.

"Paulus door twee atheïsten gelezen," review of Paulus, *Aan de Romeinen, vertaald door Gerard Koolschijn met medewerking van Henk Flinterman*, and Alain Badiou, *Paulus. De fundering van het universalisme*. Translated by D. Hoens en J. De Wit. *Kerk en Theologie* 62 (2011): 166–78.

"Evangelie van Judas (vervolg)," review of recent literature on the gospel of Judas. *Kerk en Theologie* 60 (2009): 77–80.

Review of *Buiten de Vesting. Een woord-voor-woord vertaling van alle deuterocanonieke en vele apocriefe boeken,* by Pieter Oussoren and Renate Dekker. *Centraal Weekblad*, January 23, 2009: 11.

Review of *Goddelijke vrijheid. Een heilzame weg*, by Fennie Kruize. *Nederlands Dagblad*, June 5, 2009: 4.

Review of *Early Patristic Readings of Romans*, by Kathy L. Gaca and Larry L. Welborn. *VC* 63 (2009): 409–11.

"Ytsma's twijfels zijn niet nieuw," review of *Van de kaart. Manifest van een gepassioneerde twijfelaar*, by Boele P. Ytsma. *Idea. Gemeenteopbouwblad van de Evangelische Alliantie* 30/6 (2009): 20–21.

Review of *Het Jezus-evangelie. Op zoek naar de oorspronkelijke woorden van Jezus*, by James M. Robinson. *Friesch Dagblad*, December 29, 2008: 2.

Review of *Het boek der verandering. De bijbel als bron voor een alternatief christendom,* by Cees den Heyer. *Kerk en Theologie* 58 (2007): 177.

"Boeken over het *Evangelie van Judas,*" review of recent literature on the gospel of Judas. *Kerk en Theologie* 58 (2007): 78–81.

Review of *Das Corpus Johanneum bei Irenäus von Lyon*, by Bernhard Mutschler. *RBL* (2007). https://www.sblcentral.org/home/bookDetails/5511.

Review of *"Und das Wort ist Fleisch geworden". Zur Rezeption von Joh 1, 14a und zur Theologie der Fleischwerdung in der griechischen vornizänischen Patristik*, by Christian Uhrig. *Adamantius* 13 (2007): 581–84.

Review of *Het graf van Jezus. Het mysterie van de tombe van Jezus, Maria Magdalena en Judas*, by Jacob Slavenburg. *Nederlands Dagblad*, September 28, 2007.

Review of *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity*, by Joseph Blenkinsopp. *RBL* (2007). https://www.sblcentral.org/home/bookDetails/5660.

Review of *Geef mij te drinken: Johannes 4, 4–42 als waterputverhaal*, by Piet van Veldhuizen. *RBL* (2006). https://www.sblcentral.org/home/bookDetails/5054.

Review of *De geliefde discipel. Vroegchristelijke teksten over Maria Magdalena*, by Esther de Boer. *Friesch Dagblad*, August 12, 2006.

Review of *1 Corinthians: Interpreted by Early Church Commentators*, by Judith L. Kovacs. *RBL* (2006). https://www.sblcentral.org/home/bookDetails/5046.

Review of *Le sauveur et l'économie du salut chez les gnostiques (IIe-Ve s.)* (Mélanges de Science Religieuse 55, 2). *BO* 59/506 (2004): 611–12.

"Alternatief vroeg christendom" review of *De Nag Hammadi-geschriften*, by Jacob Slavenburg, and Willem Glaudemans. *Centraal Weekblad*, January 14, 2004: 11.

Review of *De veelvormigheid van het vroegste christendom*, by Gerard P. Luttikhuizen. *Centraal Weekblad*, January 10, 2003: 7.

Review of *Studiebijbel* 1, edited by J.C. Bette, Gijs van den Brink, and Arie W. Zwiep. *Kerk en Theologie* 54 (2003): 366–69.

Review of *De verloren Bijbel* by Roy Porter. Translated by Bonella van Beusekom. *Centraal Weekblad,* May 3, 2002.

Review of *Apocriefe handelingen van de apostelen*, by Albertus F.J. Klijn; and *Tekla, de vrouwelijke apostel*, by Anne Jensen. *Centraal Weekblad*, May 18, 2001: 11.

Review of *De vroege jaren van het christendom*, by Etienne Trocmé. Translated by Marja Pijnenborg. *Friesch Dagblad*, March 4, 1999.

"Boeken over Korintiërs," review of recent literature on the Letters to the Corinthians. *Interpretatie* 5/1 (1997): 18–19.

Review of *Het algemeen betwijfeld christelijk geloof*, by Herman M. Kuitert. *Ouderlingenblad* 70/811 (1992): 8–12.

5. Forthcoming

"Clement of Alexandria's View of Idol Offerings in Comparison with the Apostle Paul and their Different Views of Demons. In *Proceedings of the Clementinum III Conference*. Edited by Veronika Černušková, Vít Husek, and Annewies van den Hoek. Leiden: Brill (forthcoming).

"Sacrifices, Laws and Demons in Origen's Debate with Celsus: The Political Consequences of a Spiritual Struggle." In *The Political and the Demonic: Imaginations of Subject and Collectivity in Abrahamic Traditions*. Edited by Samuel Pomeroy. Adamantia. Münster: Aschendorf (forthcoming).

"Patristic and Medieval Reception of Paul's Quotation of Job 5:13a in 1 Corinthians 3:19b: 'Catching the Wise in their Craftiness.'" In *Job in Early Christianity*. Edited by Nienke Vos, Paula Rose, and Albert-Kees Geljon. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae. Leiden: Brill (forthcoming).

With Van Houwelingen, Rob. "Herman Ridderbos, Redemptive History and the Interpretation of Paul." In *Paul in 20th Century Research.* Edited by Stanley E. Porter.

"L'approche origénienne de la résurrection de la chair. Entre loyauté envers l'Église et une théologie savant." In *Actes du colloque "Résurrection charnelle, entre orthodoxie et hérésie*." Fribourg.

"Origen's Interpretations of *nomos* in the Pauline Epistles." In *Origen and Paul. Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate*. Edited by Paul Blowers and Elizabeth Dively Lauro. London – New York: Bloomsbury.

"Gnostiek en haar aantrekkingskracht op vrijzinnige christenen." In *Vindingrijk Geloven*. Edited by Chris Doude van Troostwijk. Middelburg: Skandalon.

6. Other Books and Articles

"Asjera en het vroege christendom." *Schrift. Tijdschrift over de bijbel* 4 (2023). https://www.theologie.nl/asjera-en-het-vroege-christendom-schrift/

"Johannes de Doper in de eerste eeuwen van de jaartelling." *Schrift. Tijdschrift over de bijbel* 4 (2023). https://www.theologie.nl/johannes-de-doper-in-de-eerste-eeuwen-van-de-jaartelling-schrift/

"De onzekere oorspronk van het Kerstfeest." *Gaandeweg* [Kerkblad van de Protestantse gemeenten Zwolle en Berkum en van de Lutherse gemeente Zwolle] 15/5 (2023): 10.

"Jésus pleura sur Jérusalem…." *Echo Wallon. Bulletin des Eglises Wallonnes aux Pays-Bas* 76/8 (2023): 4–7.

"Johannes de Doper in de eerste eeuwen van de jaartelling." *Schrift: Tijdschrift over de bijbel* 55 (311) (2023).

"Armen en rijken, geld en goed in de Bijbel." Pages 53–63 in *Toegewijd leven. Over recht doen aan al wat leeft*. Edited by Sam Jansse, Bert de Leede, Koos van Noppen, Jacques Schenderling, and Paul Schenderling. Utrecht: Kok-Boekencentrum, 2023.

's Zondags ga ik naar de kerk – of niet. Kritische beschouwingen over de protestantse kerkdienst. Kampen: Van Warven, 2022.

"La visite de Dieu." *Echo Wallon. Bulletin des Eglises Wallonnes aux Pays-Bas* 75/10 (2022): 4–7.

"Aliénation." *Echo Wallon. Bulletin des Eglises Wallonnes aux Pays-Bas* 75/6 (2022): 22.

"Jezus, geboren en gestorven – en zijn leven dan?" *Ouderlingenblad* 100/1142 (2022): 6–9.

"Hopen op het Koninkrijk – in het Nieuwe Testament en nu." *PThUnie* 16 (2022): 11–13.

"Vrouwen die voor Jezus zorgden, dienen Hem weer. *Diakonein* in de NBV en de NBV21." *Met andere woorden* 40 (2021): 63–67.

"Het Evangelie van Tomas in 75 jaar." *Schrift: Tijdschrift over de bijbel* 53/4 (2021): 19–25.

"De verlossing door Christus in de Vroege Kerk." *Marturia* 11/17 (2020): 2–9.

"Christus Victor: oudste model van verzoening? Jezus' kruisdood en opstanding in de oude kerk." Pages 53–71 in *Hoe kan Jezus' kruisdood ons verlossen? Christus Victor en verzoening door voldoening in heden en verleden*. Edited by William den Boer. Amsterdam: Buiten & Schipperheijn, 2020.

"De oecumenische betekenis van de gemeenschap van Taizé." Pages 485–96 in *Spirituele Oecumene. Over de vele vormen van de gezamenlijke en persoonlijke omgang met God*. Edited by Herman Speelman and Klaas van der Zwaag. Kampen: Brevier, 2019.

"Hoe lazen christenen van de eerste eeuwen het boek Micha?" *Marturia* 9/15 (2018): 2–9.

"29 april 2018. Vijfde zondag van Pasen." *Tijdschrift voor Verkondiging*, 29 April 2018. https://www.tijdschriftvoorverkondiging.org/download/5e-zo-van-pasen-b-jaar-29-4-2018/.

"Petrus in de apocriefen." Pages 116–20 in *Steenrots en struikelblok. Petrus in de Evangelies, Handelingen en brieven*. Edited by Henk Janssen and Klaas Touwen. Vught: Skandalon, 2017.

"Hieronymus en de Vulgata." *Schrift: Tijdschrift over de Bijbel* 49 (2017): 25–31.

De Bijbel besproken. Bezinning en gesprek over enkele Bijbelse onderwerpen. Brochurereeks 43. Velp: Bond van Vrije Evangelische Gemeenten, 2016.

"Apocriefe overleveringen over Jezus." *Interpretatie* 21/5 (2013): 15–18.

"Twintigste zondag door het jaar (Jeremia 38:4–10; Lucas 12:49–53)." *Tijdschrift voor Verkondiging* 85 (2013): 206–8.

"Paulus' verhandeling over de opstanding. 1 Korintiërs 15." *Interpretatie* 21/2 (2013): 33–35.

"Het grafopschrift van Aberkios van Hierapolis". In *Liber Amicorum Tertio Adeodato Bolhuis […] dedicatus*. Edited by Riemer Roukema. Kampen: Theologische Universiteit Kampen, 2012.

"Geboorte van de Heer." *Tijdschrift voor Verkondiging* 84 (2012): 372–74.

"Hemelvaart van de Heer." *Tijdschrift voor verkondiging* 84 (2012): 151–53.

"'Roepen' in het Nieuwe Testament. Meer dan een grondwoord." *Interpretatie* 20/4 (2012): 12–13.

"De apostel Thomas in Oost en West." *Tussenruimte* 4/3 (2011): 9–14.

"Opbouw en gedachtegang van de brief aan de Hebreeën." *Schrift* 43 (2011): 151–54.

"Hoe anders is het Judas-evangelie?" *Schrift* 39 (2007): 120–24.

"Een oude kerkvloer in Megiddo." *Theologisch Debat* 3 (2006): 28–32.

"De nieuwtestamentische canon – wat er wel en niet in kwam." *Herademing* 52 (2006): 27–32.

"Irenaeus en Origenes over de opstanding der doden." *Interpretatie* 13/4 (2005): 21–23.

"Godsdienst en protestantse theologie in Frankrijk." *Interpretatie* 12/2 (2004): 25–27.

"2 Korintiers 10:17", "2 Korintiërs 11:14", "2 Korintiërs 12:9," "2 Korintiërs 13:5." Pages 130–40 in *Postille 2001–2002*. Edited by Ab Noordegraaf, Adriana van Harten-Tip, and Evert R. Jonker. Zoetermeer: Kok Boekencentrum, 2001.

"De exegese van de Schrift en de gereformeerde confessie. Een benadering vanuit de Griekse kerkvaders." Pages 11–18 in *Confessie en praktijk*. Edited by Rinse H. Reeling Brouwer. Kamper Oraties 16. Kampen: Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, 2001.

"De christelijke gemeente in het Nieuwe Testament: ideaal en werkelijkheid." Pages 35–46 in *Gemeente gewogen. Theologen in gesprek over de kerkelijke gemeente*. Edited by Jan B.G. Jonkers and Joke Bruinsma-de Beer. Kampen: Kok Boekencentrum, 2000.

"Origenes over het bidden." *Herademing* 8/2 (2000): 29–32.

"Een papyrusvondst in de pers." *Interpretatie* 8/5 (2000): 24–25.

"Steiners christologie." *Interpretatie* 6/5 (1998): 24–25.

Geloven in de Pijp. Amsterdam: Oranjekerk, 1996.

"Ambt, bediening en charisma." *Parakleet* 16/58 (1996): 23–25.

"Waarom het Nieuwe Testament?" *Communiqué* 13/1 (1996): 24–29.

"Wat baat ons de patristiek?" *Communiqué* 11/4 (1995): 35–42.

"Het kerkelijk gesprek met de Charismatische Werkgemeenschap." *Bulletin voor Charismatische Theologie* 35 (1995): 22–36.

"De gnostische Jezus contra de joodse Schepper." *Interpretatie* 2/8 (1994): 24–26.

"Romeinen 13,1–7 in de eerste vier eeuwen." *Kabats. Faculteitsblad van de theologische faculteit van de VU* 7/4 (1994): 15–17.

"How Did Lithuania Become a Christian Nation?" Pages 30–34 in *Protestanten in Litouwen. Verslag van een bezoek aan de Gereformeerde Kerk in Litouwen, 17 april – 2 juni 1991*. Edited by Riemer Roukema. Amsterdam: self-published, 1991.

"The Reformation of the Church." Pages 34–39 in *Protestanten in Litouwen. Verslag van een bezoek aan de Gereformeerde Kerk in Litouwen, 17 april – 2 juni 1991*. Edited by Riemer Roukema. Amsterdam: self-published, 1991.

"The Counter-reformation in Lithuania: Its Recatholicization." Pages 40–44 in *Protestanten in Litouwen. Verslag van een bezoek aan de Gereformeerde Kerk in Litouwen, 17 april – 2 juni 1991*. Edited by Riemer Roukema. Amsterdam: self-published, 1991.

"Van wonderen gesproken." *Bulletin voor Charismatische Theologie* 24 (1989): 2–13.

"Noch de Zoon." *T.S.G. Nieuws. Orgaan van de Theologische Studentengemeenschap Nederland* (1981): 4–5.

PART 1

RESURRECTION IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND THE JEWISH TRADITION

THE ROOTS OF THE BELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD IN THE HEBREW BIBLE: A SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF RECENT RESEARCH

Klaas Spronk

In chapter 12 of the book of Daniel the readers who are suffering in the present are comforted with the prospect of the resurrection of the dead at the end of times, followed by a final judgment that will reward the good and punish the bad. This will not come as a surprise for those who are familiar with and are happy to relate it to the concept as it is found in the New Testament, especially in 1 Corinthians 15, and as part of the later Christian *regula fidei*. For those, however, who are looking for a coherent conception of life after death in the Bible as a whole it will be more problematic. The idea of a resurrection of the dead appears to be a relatively late concept. In my dissertation of 1986[1] I discussed this topic relating it to the Canaanite cult of the dead which most likely was also practised in ancient Israel. Since then many new studies have been published on this subject. In my contribution to this Festschrift for my esteemed colleague Riemer Roukema I want to evaluate the reception of my dissertation. From this perspective I will give an overview and evaluation of recent research as it reflects on the roots of the belief in resurrection as it is attested in the Hebrew Bible and consider some possible directions for future research.

1. Hope in YHWH and the Cult of the Dead

In my dissertation I defended the view that the different conceptions of the afterlife as they are presented in the Hebrew Bible, can best be understood against the background of the practices of a cult of the dead in the southern Levant. In my opinion these practices were more prominent than is usually assumed in modern research. The primary source for this regional

[1] Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 219 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986).

cult of the dead are the texts of Ugarit. The reluctance in the Hebrew Bible to relate the trust in YHWH to hopes for the afterlife, I explained as having been caused by the wish to distinguish it from ancestor worship as it was also practised in ancient Israel. There was a close relationship between ancestor worship, the Canaanite cult of the dead, and the belief in Baal as the dying and rising god of fertility. The biblical idea in this regard would have been that one's wellbeing in the afterlife was not something that could be arranged or manipulated but should be left to YHWH. This makes it principally different from a cult of the dead that was based on the high status of the deceased and on the continued ritual practices after burial. The only legitimate way of describing a blissful afterlife was as a lasting relation with YHWH which transcended the boundaries of death. The chief witness for this view I found in Pss 49 and 73. With regard to the far more explicit description of the afterlife in Dan 12:1–3, I assumed that on the one hand it could have been based on a positive expectation related to the belief in YHWH, which may have been much older than is usually assumed in modern research. On the other hand, I assumed that because within the later Hellenistic context the threat of an unwanted association with the cult of the dead had faded, there was room for taking up elements which had formerly been suspect but were still preserved in popular religion. The idea of the resurrection of the dead could be seen as a revival of the old idea of prominent dead being able to leave the netherworld like Baal, the dying and rising god of fertility. The new element in the Hebrew Bible of a resurrection as part of events that would take place at the end of times, may have been influenced by contacts with the Persian religion.

2. The Discussion about a Ugaritic Ancestor Cult

The reception of my theories was mixed. For one thing, I cannot complain about the attention my dissertation received. For this I have to thank in the first place my recently deceased *Doktervater* Johannes de Moor who suggested the topic for my dissertation. I had worked out his ideas about the new year festival[2] and about the Ugaritic *rp'um*[3] and I was drawn into an ongoing discussion comparing Israelite and Ugaritic texts and customs

[2] Johannes C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, Kamper Cahier 22 (Kampen: Kok, 1972).

[3] Johannes C. de Moor, "*Rāpi'ūma – Rephaim*," *ZAW* 88 (1976): 323–45. Cf. also his later publication "Concepts of Afterlife in Canaan," *UF* 45 (2014): 374–88. He kindly gives me all the credit (377, n. 27), but is far too modest regarding his own role.

concerning matters of life and death between scholars like Mitchell Dahood[4] and Marvin Pope.[5] This discussion continued in the following years with among others, monographs by Theodore Lewis,[6] Josef Tropper,[7] Brian Schmidt,[8] Gisela Kittel,[9] Philip Johnston,[10] Alan Segal,[11] Jon Levenson,[12] Christopher Hays,[13] Alexander Fischer,[14] Matthew Suriano[15] and Casey Elledge,[16] and the volumes edited by Herbert Niehr,[17] Alan Avery-Peck

[4] Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I*. AB 17 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1965), XXXVI; *Psalms II* (1968), XXVI-XXVII; *Psalms III* (1970), XLI-LII.

[5] Marvin H. Pope, "The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit," in *Ugarit in Retrospect*, ed. Gordon D. Young (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 159–79; reprinted in *Probative Pontificating in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature: Collected Essays*, ed. Mark S. Smith (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 225–50.

[6] Theodore J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*, HSM 39 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989); cf. my review in *BiOr* 48 (1991): 234–40.

[7] Josef Tropper, *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*, AOAT 223 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989).

[8] Brian Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*, FAT 11 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994); cf. my review in *BiOr* 53 (1996): 508–10.

[9] Gisela Kittel, *Befreit aus dem Rachen des Todes: Tod und Todesüberwindung im Alten und Neuen Testament*, Biblisch-theologische Schwerpunkte 17 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

[10] Philip S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002).

[11] Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death: A History of the Afterlife in Western Religion*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2004).

[12] Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

[13] Christopher B. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II and in First Isaiah*, FAT 79 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011). See also Alexander Massmann and Christopher B. Hays, ed., *Deathless Hopes: Reinventions of Afterlife and Eschatological Beliefs*. Altes Testament und Moderne 31 (Wien: Lit, 2018) and Christopher B. Hays, "Death and Afterlife," in *The Ancient Israelite World*, ed. Kyle H. Keimer and George A. Pierce (London: Routledge, 2023), 505–19.

[14] Alexander F. Fischer, *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament: Eine Reise durch antike Vorstellungs- und Textwelten* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014).

[15] Matthew J. Suriano, *A History of Death in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); cf. the review article by Christopher B. Hays, "How Many Histories of Death Does the Hebrew Bible Contain?," *CBQ* 81 (2019): 679–92. See also Matthew J. Suriano, *The Politics of Dead Kings: Dynastic Ancestors in the Book of Kings and Ancient Israel*, FAT 48 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); cf. my review in *JAOS* 134 (2012): 132–33.

[16] Casey D. Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism: 200 BCE–CE 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). See also his article "Resurrection of the Dead: Exploring Our Earliest Evidence Today," in *Resurrection: The Origin and Future of a Biblical Doctrine*, ed. James H. Charlesworth et al. (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 22–52.

[17] Herbert Niehr, ed., "Der Umgang mit dem Tod in Israel und Juda," *TQ* 177/2 (1997): 81–133.

and Jacob Neusner,[18] James Charlesworth,[19] and by Angelika Berlejung and Bernd Janowski.[20]

I was honoured with three extensive review articles of my dissertation by Marvin Pope,[21] Mark Smith and Elizabeth Bloch-Smith[22] and Karel van der Toorn.[23] In these and in a number of shorter reviews it was remarked that my interpretations were "often new and challenging"[24] but also "open to question".[25] This concerns in the first place the translation and interpretation of the relevant Ugaritic texts, which were mostly the result of my cooperation with De Moor.[26] The reviewers rightly point to the fact that in many cases the translation is uncertain or debatable. Given the state of the tablets, which are often damaged, and the ambiguities of the written Ugaritic language, this comes as no surprise. My approach can be seen as "maximalist," making as much as possible of the indications found in texts and archaeological data about the cult of the dead and the related views about the afterlife.[27] This inevitably invoked a "minimalist" counterreaction.[28] Dennis Pardee, a specialist in the field of Semitic studies, states that "contrary to the opinion of some of my dearest friends and colleagues in the field, I find virtually only hints and allusions to that cult, with practically no textual material attesting directly to it".[29] Also many

[18] Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner, ed., *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part 4, Death, Life-after-Death, Resurrection and the World to Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[19] James L. Charlesworth et al., ed., *Resurrection: the Origin and Future of a Biblical Doctrine* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006).

[20] Angelika Berlejung and Bernd Janowski, ed., *Tod und Jenseits im alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt*, FAT 64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

[21] Marvin H. Pope, "Rezensionen. Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife* etc.," *UF* 19 (1987): 452–63.

[22] Mark S. Smith and Elizabeth M. Bloch-Smith, "Death and Afterlife in Ugarit and Israel," *JAOS* 108 (1988): 277–84.

[23] Karel van der Toorn, "Funerary Rituals and Beatific Afterlife in Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible," *BiOr* 48 (1991): 40–66.

[24] Bernhard Lang, *IZBG* 34 (1986–87): 390.

[25] Wilfred G.E. Watson, *SOTS Booklist 1987*, 99. Cf. Otto Kaiser, *ZAW* 100 (1988): 154: "Die ungewöhnlich stoff- und gedankenreiche Arbeit ist anregend, auch dort, wo sie zum Widerspruch reizt." John F. Healey, "The Ugaritic Dead: Some Live Issues," *UF* 18 (1986): 27–32: "not every detail … will find acceptance" (28).

[26] In the years I was working on my dissertation I also collaborated with De Moor on the publication of the religious texts from Ugarit, both as autograph and in translation: Johannes C. de Moor and Klaas Spronk, *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Semitic Study Series VI (Leiden: Brill, 1987); Johannes C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*, NISABA 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

[27] Cf. Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 118.

[28] Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 117–21.

[29] Dennis Pardee, "Marzihu, Kispu, and the Ugaritic Funerary Cult: A Minimalist View," in *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Essays Presented in Honour of Professor John*

biblical scholars were not convinced. Schmidt calls the assumed ancient Israelite ancestor worship "a cherished relic of nineteenth century anthropology".[30] According to Johnston the suggestion of a widespread cult of the dead in pre-exilic Israel is based on a "hypothetical reconstruction without any textual basis".[31] In their monographs on the views on death and the dead in ancient Israel, Schmidt and Johnston stick to the traditional interpretation of the relevant texts, concluding that there are no clear indications for an ancestor cult in Ugarit and early Israel. In their turn, however, they are blamed of overreacting, as can be concluded from reviewers like Smith who finds their conclusion that the dead in Syria-Palestine were believed to have no powers at all "unpersuasive".[32] Schmidt and Johnston can be seen as representatives of the scholarly *communis opinio* of the sixties and seventies of the previous century, which in the eyes of others is now no longer tenable.[33]

The discussion about the ancestor cult is well described by Hays, who places it within the broader framework of Ugaritic studies of the last decades.[34] He speaks of the "Spronk synthesis" as "the most ambitious attempt to argue for widespread cults of the dead throughout the ancient Near East"[35] building on the previous work of scholars like De Moor and Pope. In his final evaluation he takes a position himself somewhere in the middle, stating that "it does not seem likely that the Ugaritic cult of the dead will be reduced to the small scale that they (i.e. scholars like Pardee; KS) would prefer".[36]

As could be expected on the basis of his previous work, Pope is in agreement with many of my suggestions. Nevertheless, he also criticizes some of the interpretations of Ugaritic texts and would have liked more

C. L. Gibson, ed. Nick Wyatt et al., UBL 12 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996), 273–87, quote on 287. Pardee does not mention my study, but he clearly opposes my conclusions.

30 Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 292.

31 Johnston, *Shades of Sheol*, 168.

32 Mark S. Smith, *CBQ* 58 (1996): 724–25. Cf. also André Lemaire, *JNES* 58 (1999): 217–19, who calls them "quelque peu forcée." In his review of the book of Schmidt in *JSS* 42 (1997): 362–68, Pardee agrees with his conclusion that care for the dead should not be mistaken for veneration of the ancestors. Nevertheless, Pardee notices the dangers of biblical scholars entering the fields of Semitic studies without the necessary expertise.

33 De Moor, "Concepts of Afterlife in Canaan," 377, n. 27, speaks of "the crude, now totally superseded criticism of Brian Schmidt." Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 143, qualifies the book of Johnston as "something of a throwback."

34 Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 105–22.

35 Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 106.

36 Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 120.

attention to what he calls "the Eros-Thanatos, or Sex-Death connection": "No treatment of ideas of death and hopes for beatific afterlife can properly ignore the inevitable question whether the exquisite pleasures of sexuality (relieved of some of its unpleasant and painful aspects) should be a feature of blissful afterlife".[37] According to Smith and Bloch-Smith my diachronic reconstruction of the Israelite ideas about afterlife is too speculative and based on a too strict division between Canaanite and Yahwistic religion and between official Yahwistic and folk religion.[38] In their view my study is "a significant probing of the possibilities pertaining to resurrection and afterlife in ancient Israel",[39] which in the end does no justice to the complex situation of ancient Israelite religion and its development over time. Karel van der Toorn primarily expresses his doubts about "any formative influence" of the Ugaritic conceptions on "the birth of the belief in eternal salvation" in ancient Israel.[40] He finds no conclusive evidence for a belief in the revivification of the dead in the Ugaritic texts and sticks to the common view that in Israel a more positive conception of the afterlife arose only in the period of the second temple.

3. The Discussion about the Roots of the Belief in Resurrection

In their overview of discussions about the roots of the belief in resurrection Friedman and Overton rank my study among "scholarly models of linear progressions, seeing Israel as moving from periods of belief to complete rejection (Job 14:12–14; Ec. 9:5–10) to a final full-blown belief (Dan. 12:2)".[41] Better than assuming a linear historical progression is in their opinion to leave room for different, sometimes conflicting views. One can question, however, whether it is not also possible and even desirable to do both: describe different views next to each other, and at the same time look for indications of the development of these views over time.

[37] Pope, *UF* 19, 460.

[38] Cf. also Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, ²2002), 162, pointing to my theory as an example of attempting "to minimize the Canaanite/Israelite nature of Israelite customs pertaining to the dead by distinguishing between Yahwistic religion and popular religion."

[39] Smith and Bloch-Smith, "Death and Afterlife," 284.

[40] Van der Toorn, "Funerary Rituals," 66.

[41] Richard E. Friedman and Shawna D. Overton, "Death and Afterlife: The Biblical Silence," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part 4, Death, Life-after-Death, Resurrection and the World to Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity*, ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner, Handbook of Oriental Studies 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 35–59, quote on 55.

John Day calls my "novel explanation about Canaanite influence on the development of resurrection in ancient Israel … highly speculative".[42] He bases this judgment on the reviews by Van der Toorn and Smith and Bloch-Smith and does not discuss my arguments. Apparently, he missed what I wrote about Hos 6, because his theory about the origin of resurrection imagery has much in common with my views. Day assumes a connection between Dan 12 and the resurrection imagery in Hos 6 and 13–14 through Isa 26:19. This imagery would have originated in the Baal mythology, as we know it from Ugaritic texts. He "postulate[s] a process in which mythological imagery was first demythologised and subsequently remythologised."[43] In my opinion the resurrection imagery was not demythologised in Hos 6, but was used by the opponents of Hosea to picture YHWH as a god like Baal, who will reverse his judgment just like spring comes after winter and rains comes after drought. This is a blasphemy in the eyes of the prophet, as can be clearly seen in Hos 6:4–6.[44] Only centuries later, when the Baal religion was no longer seen as a threat, could this imagery be used again, in a different context, as seen in texts like Dan 12.

[42] John Day, "The Development of Belief in Life after Death in Ancient Israel," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honor of Rex Mason*, ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 231–57, esp. 235. See also his article "Resurrection Imagery from Baal to the book of Daniel," in *Congress Volume Cambridge 1995*, ed. John A. Emerton (Leiden: Brill 1997), 125–33, which repeats parts of the article published one year before.

[43] Day, "The Development of Belief in Life after Death", 247. This interpretation is taken over by Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 206–7.

[44] Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 272–77, 344–46; See also Klaas Spronk, "'Ten derden dage opgestaan volgens de Schriften': opmerkingen bij het gebruik van Hosea 6:2 als verwijzing naar het geloof in de opstanding uit de dood," in *Joden, christenen en hun Schrift: Een bundel opstellen aangeboden bij het afscheid van C.J. den Heyer*, ed. Cees Houtman and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte (Baarn: Ten Have 2001), 31–42. A similar interpretation was already given by Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, ATD 24/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 86. See also Marius G. Swanepoel, "Solutions to the *crux interpretum* of Hosea 6:2," *OTE* 7 (1994): 39–59; Elisabeth Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, New International Bible Commentary (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 50–51; Marjo C.A. Korpel, "The Demarcation of Hymns and Prayers in the Prophets (I)," in *The Impact of Unit Delimitation on Exegesis*, ed. Raymond de Hoop, Marjo C.A. Korpel, and Stanley E. Porter, Pericope 7 (Leiden: Brill 2009), 115–45, 122–29. See for a different opinion Göran Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert. Metaphors, Models and Themes in Hosea 4–14* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996), 91–99; Andrew A. MacIntosh, *Hosea*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 218–19; Joshua N. Moon, *Hosea*, ApOTC 21 (London: IVP Academic, 2018), 117–18.

Nicolas Wyatt puts me on a par with Dahood.[45] In his commentary on Psalms in the Anchor Bible series Dahood claimed to have found many references to an early Israelite belief in resurrection and immortality.[46] This was primarily based on his controversial interpretation of the Hebrew based on the comparison with the Ugaritic language. Although Wyatt was familiar with my critical evaluation,[47] he still maintained that I endorsed Dahood's "valiant attempt to discern a beatific afterlife not only in the Hebrew Psalms, but in the older Ugaritic literature." He considers Dahood's attempt to be "a magnificent failure".[48] The reference in the accompanying footnote to "the later attempt by Spronk" indicates that my study did not convince him either. It can be noted, however, that in his own discussion of the Ugaritic texts Wyatt like me relates the royal ideology to the story about the death and resurrection of Baal. When he speaks of the Ugaritic king "sharing in the ontology of Baal",[49] this is very much in line with my theory about the relationship between the royal cult of the dead and the myth of Baal in ancient Ugarit. Wyatt may have been misled by the title of my book, which seems to suggest the presence of clear-cut conceptions of a blissful post-mortem life in Ugarit and ancient Israel. The most important result of my study, however, is that it is an attempt to demonstrate the prominent place of the cult of the dead in the world of ancient Israel and the related reluctance concerning the status of the dead in the religion of ancient Israel.

Next to these negative and in my opinion not always justified judgments I found my book more properly presented and evaluated by Carlos Blanco.[50] In his search for "the origin of the idea of resurrection in Judaism",[51] he distinguishes "three fundamental orientations": (1) resurrection as a sudden and radical rupture with the earlier beliefs in the afterlife; (2) the

[45] Nicolas Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell: Its Nature and Development in West Semitic Thought," *Numen* 56 (2009): 161–84, esp. 164; and "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," in *Life and Death: Social Perspectives on Biblical Bodies*, ed. Francesca Stavrakopoulou (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 141–69, esp. 155–56.

[46] See especially Dahood, *Psalms III*, XLI-LII.

[47] Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 77–81; cf. Nicolas Wyatt, "After Death has us Parted: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in the Ancient Semitic World," in *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks: Studies in Honour of Wilfred G. E. Watson*, ed. Gregorio del Olmo Lete, Jordi Vidal, and Wilfred G.E. Watson, AOAT 394 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), 259–92, esp. 259 n. 3.

[48] Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell," 164.

[49] Wyatt, "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," 156; cf. his article "Ilimilku's Ideological Programme: Ugaritic Royal Propaganda, and a Biblical Postscript," *UF* 29 (1997): 775–96.

[50] Carlos Blanco, *Why Resurrection? An Introduction to the Belief in the Afterlife in Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2011), 155–59.

[51] Blanco, *Why Resurrection*, 143–81.

perspective of continuity between traditional Yahwism and the resurrection of the dead; (3) a synthesis assuming agreement between the belief in resurrection and the traditional views, and at the same time accepting the originality of this new faith which may have been influenced by foreign cultures. Blanco places my dissertation in the second category, together with the studies by Émile Puech,[52] Simcha P. Raphael,[53] and Levenson.[54] One could be in worse company, albeit that these authors do not share my ideas about the relationship between belief in the resurrection of the dead and the cult of the dead. Nevertheless, I am happy with the way Blanco summarizes it: "An interesting contribution of this author is his linking the Jahwistic silence on the afterlife to the opposition to Baalistic cults of Canaanite origin. This would explain why it was not until a relatively late age that the topic of the afterlife became central in Jewish theology".[55] In his own discussion Blanco argues that the best thing to do is to use both a philological-literary and a social-historical perspective. In line with the third orientation and especially influenced by the work of Stefan Beyerle[56] he reaches the conclusion that "the belief in resurrection was born in a social and historical context shaped by the opposition between Hellenism and Judaism (…), assimilated fundamental elements of the Israelite faith within the frame propitiated by apocalypticism and featured, in its most general terms, a gradual emphasis on the idea of transcendence in the conception of the sovereignty of God over world, life, and the human being".[57]

4. A Mid-Term Review: How to Search for the Roots of the Belief in Resurrection

The overview by Blanco and especially the fact that for all three perspectives he can refer to recent studies shows that the discussion about the roots of the biblical faith in resurrection is far from settled. Very important in all this is to use clear definitions in order to distinguish

[52] Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future : immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, EBib 20–21 (Paris: Gabalda, 1993).

[53] Simcha P. Raphael, *Jewish Views of the Afterlife* (North Vale, NJ: Aronson, 1994).

[54] Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*.

[55] Blanco, *Why Resurrection*, 159.

[56] Stefan Beyerle, *Die Gottesvorstellungen in der antik-jüdischen Apokalyptik*, JSJSup 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 189–268. In his view we only find in Dan 12 "die Durchbrechung der Todesgrenze" (265), but this was prepared by older texts, beginning with Hos 6 and followed by Pss 73 and 49 and by the vision of Ezek 37, showing an ongoing "Transzendierung" of God's saving acts.

[57] Blanco, *Why Resurrection*, 180.

between the different conceptions related to death and the afterlife. A returning question, for instance, is when does care for the dead turn into veneration of the dead. I also agree with my critics that the cult of the dead in the southern Levant cannot be simply related to the hope for revivification like the dying and rising god Baal. Nor can this alleged repeated revivification be equated with a belief in the once-only resurrection of the dead at the end of times.

It has also become clear that in ancient Israel different views of the afterlife existed next to each other and that we have to reckon with the possibility that, as Hays formulates it, "many histories of death (…) remain mostly untold".[58] Even when we focus on the resurrection of the dead, leaving aside other ways of conquering death, we have to realize that in the ancient Jewish texts there is a great deal of diversity. This not only concerns the way the resurrection of the dead is described in Dan 12, 1 En 1–36 (The Book of Watchers) and in the later writings in early Judaism, suggesting that Jews were "relatively open to differing explorations of what resurrection would be like",[59] it also has repercussions for the quest for the origin of this belief. According to Elledge "(t)he variety expressed in the literary evidence makes it challenging, if not impossible, to trace the emergence of resurrection to a simple, direct line of development from a single point of origin".[60] His own reconstruction of the way in which the idea of resurrection emerged within the scribal circles of early Judaism, is a combination of internal development and external influence, especially of Zoroastrianism and Canaanite myth.[61]

Klaus Bieberstein has reservations concerning the likelihood of external influence. Like Elledge, he points to different aspects of the hopes (plural!) for an afterlife.[62] He distinguishes between four models, partly overlapping in content and time:[63] (1) the just taken up in death ("Die Aufnahme der Gerechten im Tod", especially in Isa 53; Pss 49 and 73; 1 En 37–71); (2) the resurrection of those who were left to go unpunished,

[58] Hays, "How Many Histories of Death Does the Hebrew Bible Contain?," 692.

[59] See the survey by Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 19–43; quote on 43.

[60] Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 44.

[61] Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 44–65.

[62] Klaus Bieberstein, "Jenseits der Todesschwelle: Die Entstehung der Auferweckungshoffnungen in der alttestamentlich-frühjüdischen Literatur," in *Tod und Jenseits im alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt*, ed. Angelika Berlejung and Bernd Janowski, FAT 64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 423–46.

[63] Bieberstein, "Jenseits der Todesschwelle," 424: "vier sich zeitlich überlagernde und einander schließlich ablösende Modelle."

or were not reconciled ("Die Auferweckung der Ungestraften und Ungesühnten", especially in 1 En 22 and Dan 12); (3) the resurrection of the just ("Die Auferweckung [nur] der Gerechten", especially in Isa 24–27 and 2 Macc 7); (4) the resurrection of all the dead ("Die Auferweckung aller Toten", especially in 1 En 51 and T.Benj. 10:6–8). In his opinion this sketches the development of the belief in resurrection. According to Bieberstein it was an internal process. External (Zoroastrian or Hellenistic) conceptions may have been stimulating but are not the basis of these beliefs.[64] This raises the question however, of how this stimulus worked and what precisely was taken over from these external sources.

In his recent discussion of "the rise of resurrection" Wyatt advocates a more open approach, stating that it is "wrong to identify any single cause for the rise in resurrection belief."[65] He lists more or less objectively all the possibilities. He begins with the common view that the hope for the resurrection of the dead expressed in Dan 12 was an answer at the time of the persecution under Antiochus IV Ephiphanes in the second century BCE to the question of how the martyrs and their executioners could be duly rewarded for their faithful perseverance and respectively, their evil deeds. After this theodicy in the Maccabaean period (2nd century BCE) he continues going backwards in time, mentioning: (2) Persian influence, (3) Exilic influence, (4) Egyptian practice, (5) Ugaritic royal beliefs, (6) Judahite royal beliefs, and (7) Levitical beliefs.[66] In what follows I will make some remarks on three of them. First about the renewed interest in a possible Persian influence (2), then about the impact of the cult of the dead (5+6), and finally about the new theory concerning Levitical beliefs (7).

5. Persian Influence

At the beginning of the twentieth century many scholars were convinced that the sudden appearance of the belief in the resurrection of the dead at the end of times, should be ascribed to Persian influence.[67] A basic problem however, was the relatively late date of the written

[64] Bieberstein, "Jenseits der Todesschwelle," 444: "Zwar können solche Vorgaben durchaus stimulierend gewesen sein, doch wird aus fremden Symbolsystemen nur aufgenommen, was im eigenen Symbolsystem sinnvoll integriert werden kann."

[65] Wyatt, "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," 163.

[66] Wyatt, "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," 150–63.

[67] See the surveys of previous research by Franz König, *Zarathustras Jenseitsvorstellungen und das Alte Testament* (Wien: Herder 1964), 8–39; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 57–59; and Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 45–53.

sources, well after the Persian period. This casts doubt on the assumption that the Zoroastrian belief in the resurrection of the dead preceded the second century BCE. In addition to the many differences between the biblical and the Zoroastrian conceptions, this question of dating was an important reason for Franz König to deny *any* Persian influence.[68] In his opinion it was also not necessary to assume foreign influence because of clear indications of an internal development. This view is still held by many modern scholars.[69] Jan Bremmer even turned things around by stating that the belief in resurrection as attested in the Zoroastrian texts does not testify to ancient traditions, but that the thematizing of the resurrection in these texts was influenced by Christian belief, showing the resilience of the belief in resurrection in the context of the Roman persecutions.[70] Nowadays most scholars adopt the more moderate view, well represented by James Barr, "that Iranian religious influence, if it did come in, came in through the admixture of Oriental ideas in the Hellenistic world and was adopted because it was part of the anti-Hellenistic reaction".[71] This should not be seen as a way of accepting or even of submitting to the other religion, but more as a way of recognizing certain common concepts and elements appropriate to internal developments. Similar views can be found amongst others with Segal, who gives a useful overview of the Iranian views of the afterlife.[72] He finds much "Zoroastrian-Jewish interaction" in Isa 44–47, where the prophet polemicizes against Zoroastrianism. In the text of Isa 66, however, he notes that some elements are taken up positively, especially the hope that YHWH will "make their bones flourish like the grass" (verse 14) and that YHWH "will come in fire and his

[68] König, *Zarathustras Jenseitsvorstellungen*, 285.

[69] According to Levenson (*Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 216) "it would be better to describe Zoroastrian theology as at most a collateral relation whose influence is indirect." According to Hays (*Death in the Iron Age II*, 331 n. 584) "(t)he idea that physical resurrection was imported from Zoroastrianism is not only unnecessary but relies on a highly contestable reconstruction of Zoroastrian resurrection beliefs in the sixth century BCE." Cf. also Stephen L. Cook, "Apocalyptic Prophecy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014), 19–35, esp. 26–27.

[70] Jan N. Bremmer, "The Resurrection between Zarathustra and Jonathan Z. Smith," *NTT* 50 (1996): 98–107; and *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London: Routledge, 2002), 47–55.

[71] James Barr, "The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity," *JAAR* 53 (1985): 229; cf. also Yaakov Elman and Shai Secunda, "Judaism," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*, ed. Michael Stausberg and Yuhan S.-D. Vevaina (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 425; Elledge, *Resurrection of the dead in Early Judaism*, 53.

[72] Segal, *Life after Death*, 173–203.

chariots like the stormwind" (verse 15). According to Segal "(w)ithin this passage is the scriptural root of Israelite notions of the resurrection of the dead, though the atmosphere in which it developed was Persian. It took centuries before the root produced a plant – the book of Daniel, in which the concept of bodily resurrection finally flowers".[73]

According to Bernhard Lang already the prophet Ezekiel and the author of the Isaiah apocalypse were influenced by the Zoroastrian belief that one distant day God would resurrect the dead. It would have inspired the vision in Ezek 37 of the valley of the dry bones.[74] Lang bases his theory on the work of Mary Boyce, an expert in the field of Zoroastrian studies, who extensively described the Zoroastrian views on the afterlife, stating that they go back to the early Persian period.[75] She maintains that Persian doctrines, like the coming of a cosmic saviour, heaven and hell, a resurrection of the dead and a last judgment "all came to be adopted by various Jewish schools in the post-Exilic period, for the Jews were one of the peoples, it seems, most open to Zoroastrian influences – a tiny minority, holding staunchly to their own beliefs, but evidently admiring their Persian benefactors, and finding congenial elements in their faith".[76] More recently Almut Hintze, Professor of Zoroastrianism at the University of London, once again underlined the "undeniable connections" between Jewish eschatology in the second century BCE and the Zoroastrian beliefs. An important argument for the Zoroastrian belief as the dominant one is in her opinion

[73] Segal, *Life after Death*, 203. The image of the seed was already used by Wilhelm Bousset in his book *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 21 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], ^{3}1926), 470: "Auch wer die Einwirkung fremder Religionen für wahrscheinlich hält, wird doch zunächst auf die *innerjüdische Entwicklung* achten müssen; denn das Judentum konnte das Fremde nur dann in sich aufnehmen, wenn es selbst reif dafür geworden war. Keine Saat wächst, es sei denn der Boden für sie bereitet."

[74] Bernhard Lang, "Street Theater, Raising the Dead, and the Zoroastrian Connection in Ezekiel's Prophecy," in *Ezekiel and his Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation*, ed. Johan Lust, BETL 74 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 297–316; esp. 308–14; see also his "Life after Death in the Prophetic Promise," in *Congress Volume Jerusalem 1986*, ed. John A. Emerton, VTSup 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 144–56; "A Zoroastrian Prophecy of Resurrection: A New Reading of Ezekiel 37," in *Hebrew Life and Literature: Selected Essays of Bernhard Lang* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 83–91; and (with Colleen McDannell) *Heaven: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press ^{2}2001), 12–13.

[75] Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (Leiden: Brill 1975), 109–29; *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1979); "Persian Religion in the Achaemenid Age," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Vol. 1: Introduction; The Persian Period*, ed. William D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 279–307. My own summary of the Persian views in *Beatific Afterlife*, 125–29, is also based on her work.

[76] Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 77.

the inconsistencies in the Jewish sources about the time of the judgment: immediately after death? or after the resurrection of the body? In this regard the Zoroastrian belief is more coherent.[77] The probability of Persian influence is further endorsed by the recent studies of Shaul Shaked[78] and Jason Silverman about the Persian influence on other elements of Second Temple Judaism.[79]

An interesting concept within Zoroastrianism is that of the *Fravashi*.[80] It was taken over from ancient Persian belief preceding Zarathustra. Originally the *fravashis* were the objects of a hero-cult and they were venerated as heroic protectors of the living. Within Zoroastrianism their role changed into that of the pre-existent spirit which is born into this world in a physical body. After death they live on to be re-united again with the body after the resurrection of the dead. It would be interesting to compare this to the alleged similar development of playing down the role of venerated ancestors in ancient Israel.

6. The Cult of the Dead

Elizabeth Bloch-Smith notices a cycle in scholarship regarding the debate over the preexilic Israelite cult of the dead.[81] In the beginning of the twentieth century many biblical scholars interpreted, influenced by anthropologists like Fustel de Coulange and James Frazer, funerary and mourning rites as features of an Israelite cult of the dead. A shift occurred after World War II, amongst others in the Biblical Theology movement, emphasizing Israel's uniqueness in the ancient Near Eastern world. Steps in the

[77] Almut Hintze, "Defeating Death: Eschatology in Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity," in *Irano-Judaica VII. Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture throughout the Ages*, ed. Julia Rubanovich and Geoffrey Herman (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2019), 23–72.

[78] Shaul Shaked, "Iranian Influence on Judaism: First Century B.C.E. to Second Century C.E.," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Vol. 1*, 308–25; "Eschatology. i. In Zoroastrianism and Zoroastrian Influence," *EIr* VIII/6: 565–69, accessible via https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/eschatology-i.

[79] Jason M. Silverman, "Persian Influence on Jewish Apocalyptic," *PIBA* 32 (2009): 49–52; *Persepolis and Jerusalem: Iranian Influence on the Apocalyptic Hermeneutic*. LHB/OTS 558 (London: T&T Clark, 2012); *Persian Royal-Judaean Elite Engagements in the Early Teispid and Achaemenid Empire: The King's Acolytes* (London: T&T Clark, 2020).

[80] Cf. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 117–29; and "Fravaši," *EIr* X/2: 195–99 accessible via https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fravasi-.

[81] Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Death in the Life of Israel," in *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, ed. Barry M. Gittlen (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 139–43.

other direction were taken between the late fifties and mid-nineties, when again the similarities between ancient Israel and her neighbours concerning the role of the dead were stressed by scholars like Dahood, Pope and myself. This was followed again by a reaction by scholars like Johnston and Schmidt seeking to minimize the role of the dead. In his introduction to the special issue of the *Theologische Quartalschrift* in 1999 on the attitude towards death in Israel and Judah, Herbert Niehr seems to ignore the final step noted by Bloch-Smith. In his opinion the present state of scholarship is still influenced by the change that took place in the second half of the eighties of the twentieth century.[82] He notes that before that time the cult of the dead in ancient Israel was seen as an unimportant relic of the past. New information from the comparison with surrounding cultures of places like Ebla, Ugarit and Mari and from archaeology, indicated that it is worthwhile to look at the relevant texts again and also to look behind these texts to their social and historical background. In the issue introduced by Niehr this is well illustrated by the contribution by Van der Toorn, who speaks of a hidden legacy.[83] Niehr himself underscored it four years later with an article on "the changed status of the dead in Yehud".[84]

Hays notes a similar change with regard to the interpretation of the Ugaritic material,[85] referring to the work of Gregorio del Olmo Lete[86] and Wyatt.[87] Also Pardee seems to be edging away from his earlier minimalism, as he now also acknowledges the existence of a royal mortuary cult on the basis of the newly found Akkadian text RS 94.2158, which points to sacrificial rites for the deified deceased king.[88] More evidence of a royal cult of the dead in that region was found in Sam'al, modern day Zinçirli, a city in south-eastern Turkey, situated about 200 km north of Ugarit. In 2008 they found there a well-preserved basalt stele with a very

[82] Niehr, "Der Umgang mit dem Tod," 81.

[83] Karel van der Toorn, "Ein verborgenes Erbe: Totenkult im frühen Israel," *TQ* 177 (1997): 105–20. See also his article "The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence," *CBQ* 52 (1990): 203–22, identifying the teraphim as ancestor statuettes.

[84] Herbert Niehr, "The Changed Status of the Dead in Yehud," in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 136–55. See also Herbert Niehr, "Aspekte des Totengedenkens im Juda der Königszeit," *TQ* 178 (1998): 1–13; esp. 5–6.

[85] Hays, *Death in the Iron Age II*, 118–21; "How Many Histories of Death," 683.

[86] Gregorio del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion according to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1999), 213–53.

[87] Nicolas Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, [2]2002), 430–31.

[88] Dennis Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, SBL Writings from the Ancient World 10 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 199–201.

interesting inscription by king Katumuwa.[89] With this stele Katumuwa the "still living" (line 2) king makes arrangements for sacrifices to the gods and a feast at his burial chamber. He himself will be present after his death with "my soul (*nbš*) in this stele" (line 5). To this can now be added the funerary stele of the earlier king Hayyan from the same city of Sam'al. This was already found in 1888, but only recently it was possible to decipher it on the basis of new photographs.[90] This stele describes the same situation of the deceased king being present as a "soul" (*nbš*, line 1) ordering his sons to bring sacrifices to the gods and also to feed him, "so that I can eat and enjoy a good name, so that I, the soul of Hayyan, drink in my eternity" (line 10).[91]

Very interesting in this connection is also the recent discovery of a tomb below the palace of ancient Qatna, located about 150 km to the south-east of Ugarit. In 2002 archaeologists discovered a 40 m long corridor leading down to a rock-cut chamber with two ancestor figurines at the entrance and dishes for the offerings before them. The material remains point to ancestor worship practised in this place from about 1800 until 1340 BCE, when the city was destroyed.[92] It confirms what had already been indicated by the findings in ancient Ugarit and other places in this area, that ancestor worship was important in the Levantine kingdoms in the Late Bronze Age.[93]

Also in biblical studies, the idea of a cult of the dead in ancient Israel is becoming more and more acceptable.[94] The question remains if and then how this phenomenon was related to the belief in the resurrection of the dead.

[89] Cf. Virginia R. Herrmann and J. David Schloen, ed., *Remembrance of Me: Feasting with the Dead in the Ancient Middle East*, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 37 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014). Cf. also Dennis Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," *BASOR* 356 (2009): 51–71; and De Moor, "Concepts of Afterlife," 381–82.

[90] Cf. Émile Puech, "La stèle funéraire Araméenne de Ḥayyan, roi de Sam'al, à Ördekburnu," *RB* 128 (2021): 332–53.

[91] Puech, "La stèle funéraire Araméenne de Ḥayyan," 339: "afin que je mange et que soit favorable le bon renom, alors que moi, 'la personne' de Ḥayyan, je bois '(dans) mon éternité.'"

[92] Cf. Peter Pfälzner, ed., *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qaṭna* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

[93] Cf. Herbert Niehr, "The Royal Funeral in Ancient Syria: A Comparative View on the Tombs in the Palaces of Qatna, Kumidi and Ugarit," *JNSL* 32 (2006): 1–24; "Die Königsbestattung im Palast von Ugarit: Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch der Übergangsriten aufgrund schriftlicher und archäologischer Daten," in *Tod und Jenseits im alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt*, ed. Angelika Berlejung and Bernd Janowski, FAT 64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 323–46; Peter Pfälzner et al., ed., *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East*, Qatna-Studien Supplementa 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012).

[94] Cf. Fischer, *Tod und Jenseits*, 138–54, who answers the question in the title of the paragraph on this subject ("Gab es im alten Israel einen Totenkult?") positively.

7. Levitical Invention?

Wyatt ends his list of possible contexts for the rise of resurrection beliefs with a very positive evaluation of a new theory launched by Bernhard Lang in an article published in 2017,[95] in which he maintains that the hope for a heavenly afterlife started in ancient Israel as "the exclusive privilege of the landless Levites".[96] In the Hebrew Bible it is told that the Levites did not get their share of the promised land. According to Lang this must have had repercussions for the way they looked at death. For the other tribes death was more or less acceptable because of the continuity of the family, in what the sociologist Fustel de Coulange a century ago described as the complex of kin, cult, land and afterlife. In Old Testament studies this concept was introduced by Herbert Brichto as present in ancient Israel as well.[97] The family lives on in the offspring, and the bond with the previous generations is kept alive in the ancestor cult at the graves in the land in which it had been living in the past and would continue to live in the future. The Levites were forced to develop another way of coping with death. Their inheritance was not in land, but with YHWH (Num 18:20). Especially in Pss 16, 49, 73, which according to Lang are Levitical, it is indicated that being with YHWH goes beyond the border of death. Especially interesting in this connection is Ps 16, in which the psalmist renounces ancestor worship when he states (in Lang's translation): "I shall not [place] above You the saints who are in the netherworld. Cursed [be] all who take delight in them, in the large number of [ancestor] idols! I shall not pour out their drink offerings of blood, nor will I take their names upon my lips" (verses 2b-4).[98]

Lang's interpretation of Ps 16 comes close to the one I gave in my dissertation, assuming a connection between "the saints" with the venerated ancestors,[99] and also to my interpretation of Pss 49 and 73 as pointing to an ancient Israelite belief in a beatific afterlife as being forever "with

[95] Bernhard Lang, "New Light on the Levites: The Biblical Group that Invented Belief in Life after Death in Heaven," in *What is Human? Theological Encounters with Anthropology*, ed. Eve-Marie Becker, Jan Dietrich, and Bo Holm (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 65–85; Wyatt, "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," 159–63.

[96] Lang, "New light on the Levites," 77.

[97] Herbert C. Brichto, "Kin, Cult, Land, and Afterlife – a Biblical Complex," *HUCA* 44 (1973): 1–54; see also my critical evaluation of Brichto's study in *Beatific Afterlife*, 48–51. See on the close relation between land and views on the afterlife, now also Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *Land of Our Fathers: The Roles of Ancestor Veneration in Biblical Land Claims*, LHB/OTS 473 (London: T&T Clark, 2010).

[98] Lang, "New light on the Levites," 71.

[99] Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 334–38.

YHWH".[100] This is also noted by Wyatt, when he remarks on the basis of Lang's work that "(a) close reading of Ps 16 requires a partial reappraisal of the line taken by Dahood and Spronk on the matter of 'eternal life'."[101] With this he seems to retract his earlier negative judgment. Although he still thinks that Dahood and I are too optimistic concerning the Ugaritic material, he does see reason to look again at the biblical material.[102]

An important question that remains is how this positive conception of the afterlife relates to the belief in the resurrection of the dead which Lang, as was mentioned above, attributes to Persian influence. Apparently, he assumes that both concepts existed next to each other. Another question is when and, if so, how this "Levitical afterlife" may have become a more general expectation. Moreover, one can question whether it was exclusively Levitical after all.

8. Conclusion

Wyatt adds to the remark quoted above that "a complete reappraisal is beyond the scope of this chapter." It would indeed need another monograph to do so. This may be a fitting conclusion of this overview. It shows that the discussion about the roots of the biblical faith in the resurrection of the dead is still far from settled. I also learned and have to admit that my attempt in 1986 to reconstruct the rise of this belief in ancient Israel may have been too bold and based on a maximalist interpretation of the relevant Ugaritic and Hebrew texts. Nevertheless, the recent developments do show me that it was not wrong to assume that the cult of the dead played an important role and that we cannot fully understand the ancient Israelite views concerning the afterlife without comparing them to those about the venerated dead in their cultural environment. Important questions that remain after this survey concern especially the impact of the new discoveries in the Levantine kingdoms; the influence of the contact with Persian beliefs, and the precise relationship between different concepts of the afterlife as they jostled each other within ancient Israel. Just as the retirement of my esteemed colleague Riemer Roukema will, as I have got to know him, certainly (*Deo volente*) not be the end of his studies, so my contribution to this volume honouring him may be for me the start of a new thorough study on the ever-intriguing subject of life after death.

[100] Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 315–34. See also Mark S. Smith, "The Invocation of Deceased Ancestors in Psalm 49 12c," *JBL* 112 (1993): 105–7, showing that a similar repudiation of invoking the ancestors can be found in Ps 49.

[101] Wyatt, "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," 163.

[102] Wyatt, "Immortality and the Rise of Resurrection," 156 n. 42.

A LONG LIFE AS A BLESSING IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT LEVANT

Paul SANDERS

1. Earthly Expectations

The Old Testament can sometimes be confusing to Christians. I remember a discussion from the time when the Decalogue was still read during most of the Sunday morning services of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands. This discussion concerned the meaning of the phrase "that your days may be numerous in the land which the LORD your God gives you," which follows immediately after the commandment to "honour your father and your mother" (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16). The question was whether the phrase relates to the hereafter and, if so, how the days could be numerous for those who in the hereafter would be immortal anyway.

This discussion illustrates what can happen if Biblical texts are interpreted without attention to their contexts: the Decalogue is given to the Israelites who are travelling to the land of Canaan, which is clearly "the land which the LORD your God gives you." More importantly, it shows that Christian expectations of what God has to offer may differ quite radically from those expressed in the Old Testament. Of course, the Christian expectations are heavily influenced by New Testament thinking, such as this well-known observation by Paul: "If in this life only we have put our hope in Christ, we are of all humans most pitiable" (1 Cor 15:19).[1]

John Calvin was one of the theologians who explicitly addressed the earthly character of most of the blessings and curses in the Old Testament.

[1] For the interpretation of this verse, see Riemer Roukema, "Origen's Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15," in *Gelitten, Gestorben, Auferstanden: Passions- und Ostertraditionen im antiken Christentum*, ed. Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt, Joseph Verheyden, WUNT 273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 329–42, 331 n. 10; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 825–26. Paul's remark is often compared with Baruch Apocalypse 21:13 (Syriac): ܐܠܐ ܕܗܢ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܝܬ ܫܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܡܪ ܡܢ ܗܢ – "for if there were this life only, which belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this."

In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* he argued that these earthbound blessings and curses already represent God's ultimate goal, which is heavenly or spiritual welfare that transcends earthly fortune. Calvin warned that in this respect the Old Testament should not be misunderstood:

> Those who do not pay attention to this plan of God think that the ancient people did not transcend those benefits promised to the body. They hear that the Land of Canaan is very often characterized as the excellent and even sole reward for the keepers of God's law. They hear that the Lord threatens the transgressors of his law with nothing harsher than expulsion from possession of this land, and dispersion into foreign regions. They see herein almost the sum total of the blessings and curses uttered by Moses. … The point of our quarrel with men of this sort is this: they teach that the Israelites deemed the possession of the Land of Canaan their highest and ultimate blessedness … We contend, on the contrary, that, in the earthly possession they enjoyed, they looked, as in a mirror, upon the future inheritance they believed to have been prepared for them in heaven.[2]

Calvin's observation that most of the blessings and curses in the Old Testament visibly concern only our earthly reality is certainly correct, but his suggestion that they also pertain to a heavenly reality is, of course, dubious from a modern exegetical perspective.

In this article, I will analyse the meaning of the Biblical expressions concerning the "lengthening" of the days in the light of similar expressions in ancient Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic texts.

2. Lengthening of One's Days: The Hebrew Bible

The phrase "that your days may be numerous" has parallels in other parts of the Hebrew Bible, especially in the book of Deuteronomy. Most of these phrases relate directly to the age of humans. As far as the syntax is concerned, several subgroups can be distinguished. It is helpful to first give a short description of each of these subgroups.

The phrase לְמַעַן יַאֲרִכֻן יָמֶיךָ, "that your days may be numerous," occurs not only in the Decalogue (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16), but also in Deut 6:2 and 25:15. In this phrase, יָמֶיךָ is the subject of a *hiphil* form of the verb ארך, which means "to become long." With the same meaning, the *qal* of the verb ארך can be used; see Gen 26:8 and Ezek 12:22, with הַיָּמִים, "the days," as the subject in both cases.

[2] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book II, chapter 11, section 1, ed. John T. McNeill, translation of the Latin edition (1559) by Ford Lewis Battles, Library of Christian Classics 1 (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1960), 450–51.

In other verses, the phrase includes the plural form יָמִים, "days," but this word is the object instead of the subject of the verb ארך *hiphil*. In all those cases, the verb ארך has a personal subject and means "to prolong." An example of this rather frequent construction occurs in Deut 5:33:[3]

וְהַאֲרַכְתֶּם יָמִים בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר תִּירָשׁוּן

And you will prolong the days in the land that you will inherit.

Only in 1 Kgs 3:14 is God the subject of the verb ארך *hiphil*. He addresses Solomon as follows:

וְהַאֲרַכְתִּי אֶת יָמֶיךָ

And I will prolong your days.

Finally, the expression אֹרֶךְ יָמִים, "length of days," is used to refer to a long period in Deut 30:20; Pss 21:5; 23:6; 91:16; 93:5; Job 12:12; Prov 3:2, 16; Lam 5:20.

The use of the expressions demonstrates that reaching an advanced age was regarded as a blessing. But how long is the period to which the expressions refer? In Gen 26:8 the expression indicates that quite a lot of time had passed and that Isaac had become relatively old. Josh 24:31 and Judg 2:7 refer to elders who outlived Joshua. In these three verses the expressions pertain to a relatively high age, not necessarily an exceptionally high age. On the other hand, in Ps 21:5 the expression אֹרֶךְ יָמִים is specified by the following words עוֹלָם וָעֶד, while in Lam 5:20 לְאֹרֶךְ יָמִים occurs in parallelism with לָנֶצַח. Both עוֹלָם וָעֶד and לָנֶצַח pertain to an extremely long duration, although not to eternity as we usually understand it.[4]

When the expressions relate to reaching a high age, they are sometimes specified by additional phrases showing that the character of the blessing is not only quantitative but also qualitative.[5] In Exod 20:12, the commandment "honour your father and your mother" is followed only by "that your days may be numerous in the land which the LORD your God gives you." However, Deut 5:16 supplements the blessing with a phrase including the verb יטב/טוב, "to go well":

[3] Additional examples in Deut 4:26, 40; 11:9; 17:20; 22:7; 30:18; 32:47; Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7; Isa 53:10; Prov 28:16; Eccl 8:13.

[4] For נֶצַח, see *TDOT* 9, 531; for עוֹלָם, see *TDOT* 10, 534–36.

[5] In addition to the examples in this article, see Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 345–46; see also the discussion at 307–13.

לְמַעַן יַאֲרִיכֻן יָמֶיךָ וּלְמַעַן יִיטַב לָךְ עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ

… that your days may be numerous and that it may go well for you in the land which the LORD your God gives you.

Similar specifying phrases with the verb **יטב/טוב** precede the phrase regarding the prolonging of the days in Deut 4:40; 5:33; 22:7. In Deut 5:33, there is also the additional expression תִּחְיוּן, "that you may live," in which the verb "to live" has the sense of "to prosper" (see also 4:1; 8:1; 16:20). Other passages relating to future blessings also include the verb **ברך**, "to bless," for instance (Deut 30:16):

וְחָיִיתָ וְרָבִיתָ וּבֵרַכְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה בָא לְרִשְׁתָּהּ

And you will live and you will become numerous and the LORD your God will bless you in the land you are entering to take possession of it.

Especially in Deuteronomy, the phrases concerning future blessings are used to express the idea of retribution. According to Deut 30:15–20, a choice for life (חַיִּים) involves a choice for what is good, while a choice for evil implies a choice for death (מָוֶת). There will be blisses for those who obey the commandments of God.[6] On the other hand, those who refuse to obey God's commandments will miss those blisses, as becomes clear in Deut 30:18 (cf. 4:26):

לֹא תַאֲרִיכֻן יָמִים עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עֹבֵר אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן לָבוֹא שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ

You will not prolong your days in the land which you are entering by crossing the Jordan to take possession of it.

3. Lengthening of One's Days: Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic Texts

In his renowned monograph *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, Moshe Weinfeld already indicated that the Biblical expressions with regard to the lengthening of days have parallels in other ancient texts from the Levant, namely the Phoenician texts *KAI* 4, 6, 7, 10, and the Aramaic text *KAI* 226.[7] As we will see, the Aramaic text *KAI* 309, which was discovered later, also contains a similar expression. Moreover, the Phoenician text *KAI* 26 and the Ugaritic text *KTU* 2.23 contain a parallel to the Biblical expression **אֹרֶךְ יָמִים**, "length of days," while a comparable expression occurs also in *KAI* 25. There are additional parallel expressions in

[6] See also Exod 20:12; 1 Kgs 3:14; Isa 53:10; Prov 3:2, 16; 28:16; Eccl 8:13.
[7] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 345.

Akkadian literature,[8] but for the present article it will suffice to present the Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic evidence from the ancient Levant.

The Phoenician and Aramaic quotations are based on the transcriptions in the fifth edition of *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (*KAI*),[9] while the Ugaritic transcriptions have been taken over from the third edition of *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (*KTU*).[10] If translations are available in *Context of Scripture* (*COS*), volumes 2 and 3,[11] the translations below usually follow those translations quite closely, with some minor adaptations.

3.1 *Ancient Phoenician Texts*

Most of the relevant Phoenician texts (*KAI* 4, 6, 7, 10) are from ancient Gubal, present-day Byblos. *KAI* 26 is a text from Karatepe (Cilicia), while *KAI* 25 comes from Sam'al, which is present-day Zincirli, and *KAI* 14 comes from Sidon.[12]

***KAI* 4** is the oldest relevant Phoenician text, a seven-line building inscription from Byblos, dating from the reign of King Yaḥimilk (ca. 950 BCE). The following section occurs in lines 3–7.[13]

> יארך בעל שמם ובעל<ת> גבל ומפחרת אל גבל קדשם ימת יחמלך ושנתו על גבל
> כ מלך צדק ומלך ישר לפן אל גבל קדשם [הא]
>
> May Baal of Heavens and Baal<at> of Gubal and the assembly of holy gods of Gubal prolong the days of Yaḥimilk and his years over Gubal, for [he is] a righteous king and just king before the holy gods of Gubal.

[8] For comparable Akkadian expressions including the verb *arāku*, "to be long," and plural forms of the noun *ūmu*, "day," see *CAD* A2, 223–26; Laura Quick, *Deuteronomy 28 and the Aramaic Curse Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2018, 145–46. In the epilogue of Codex Hammurabi (first half 18th cent. BCE), Hammurabi describes Ea as a god *mušāriku ūm balāṭiya*, "who prolongs the days of my life" (XLIX.103-L.1). Inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (first half 9th cent. BCE) include the expression *arāk ūmēya šum'ud šanātiya*, "that my days might be long, my years many" (RIMA 2, 231, text 4; 352, text 98).

[9] *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, ed. Herbert Donner, Wolfgang Röllig, Volume 1, 5th rev. ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

[10] Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, Joaquin Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten*, 3rd, enlarged ed., AOAT, 360/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013).

[11] *The Context of Scripture*, Vol. 2: *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Vol. 3: *Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo, K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[12] A seventh-century dedicatory inscription from the Philistine city of Eqron (*KAI* 286; *COS* 2, 164) is written in a dialect of Phoenician and contains the wish that the goddess PTGYH may prolong the days of the king (line 4: ותארך ימה).

[13] See also *COS* 2, 146–47.

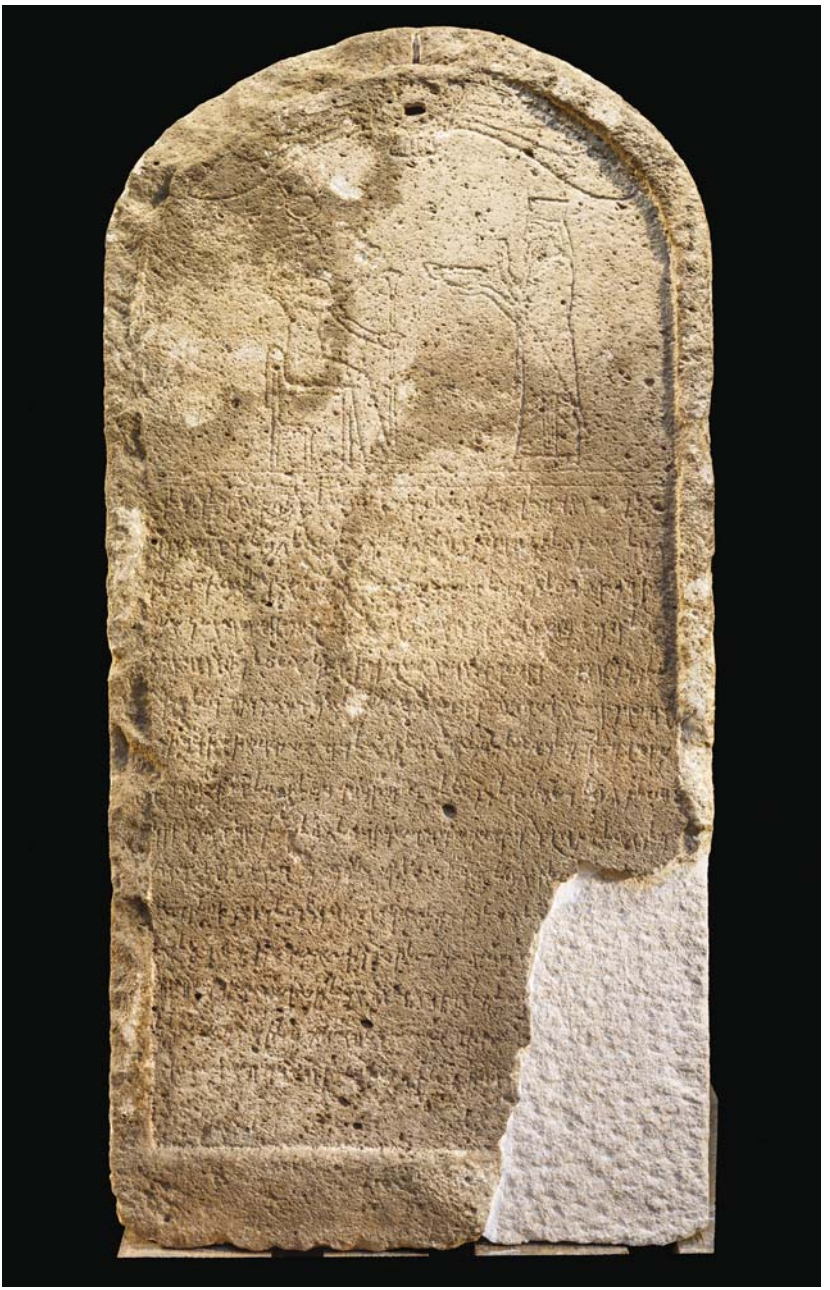


Image 1. Stele of Yeḥawmilk (*KAI* 10),
photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Christian Larrieu

In the inscription, בעל גבל, "Baal of Gubal," should probably be read as בעלת גבל, "Baalat (or: Lady) of Gubal." The following texts confirm the impression that this goddess was a leading deity in Byblos. In Egypt, she was equated with the goddess Hathor.[14]

***KAI* 6** is a short inscription on a statue dating from the reign of Yaḥimilk's son Elibaal (ca. 915 BCE). It includes the following section in lines 2–3.[15]

תארך בעלת [גבל] [ימת א]לבעל ושנתו על [גבל]

> May Baalat [of Gubal] prolong [the days of E]libaal and his years upon [Gubal].

***KAI* 7**, a building inscription from the reign of Elibaal's son Shipitbaal (ca. 900 BCE), includes a similar section in lines 4–5.[16]

תארך בעלת גבל ימת שפטבעל ושנתו על גבל

> May Baalat of Gubal prolong the days of Shipitbaal and his years upon Gubal.

***KAI* 10** is a lengthy, 16-line text written on a stele. It was engraved under a depiction of King Yeḥawmilk standing in audience before Baalat of Gubal, who sits on a throne and wears a headdress associated with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (see image 1). This inscription is much younger than the previous texts from Byblos and dates from the fifth century BCE. The relevant section occurs in lines 8–11:[17]

תברך בעלת גבל אית יחומלך מלך גבל ותחוו ותארך ימו ושנתו על גבל כ מלך צדק הא
ותתן [לו הרבת ב]עלת גבל חן לען אלנם ולען עם ארץ ז וחן עם ארץ ז

> May Baalat of Gubal bless Yeḥawmilk, king of Gubal, and may she keep him alive, and may she prolong his days and his years upon Gubal, for he is a righteous king.
> And may [the Lady, Ba]alat of Gubal, give [him] favour in the eyes of the gods, and in the eyes of the people of this land and favour of the people of this land.

***KAI* 26** is a text from Karatepe in Cilicia. The Phoenician text was written at three different locations, while a parallel Hieroglyphic Luwian text has also been found.[18] The inscriptions seem to date from the eighth century BCE.

[14] See *DDD*[2], 139, 385.
[15] See also John C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, Vol. 3: *Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 21–22.
[16] See also Gibson, *Textbook*, Vol. 3, 23–24.
[17] See also *COS* 2, 151–52.
[18] For a translation of the Luwian text, see *COS* 2, 124–26.

The protagonist is Azatiwada, not a king but a subordinate regent, who ruled on behalf of the royal house in Adana. The following section from text A, column III, lines 2–7, includes the expression ארך ימם, "length of days."[19]

וברך בעל כר[נ]תריש אית אזתוד חים ושלם ועז אדר על כל מלך
לתתי בעל כרנתריש וכל אלן קרת לאזתוד ארך ימם ורב שנת ורשאת נעמת ועז אדר על כל מלך

> And Baʿal KRNTRYŠ[20] blessed[21] Azatiwada with life and health, and mighty strength above every king,
> as Baʿal KRNTRYŠ and all the gods of the city gave Azatiwada length of days and multitude of years and good prosperity, and mighty strength above every king.

***KAI* 25** is a short inscription on a small sheath from Sam'al, present-day Zincirli, which dates from the reign of King Kilamuwa (ca. 825 BCE). Some scholars regard the language as Phoenician, but according to others it is Aramaic. While *KAI* 26 contains the expression ארך ימם, "length of days," this inscription expresses the wish that the god Rakib-El give ארך חי, "length of life" (lines 5–7).[22]

יתן לה רכבאל ארך חי

> May Rakib-El give him length of life.

***KAI* 14** does not contain an expression regarding the lengthening of days, but it is of interest because it refers to a premature death. This mortuary inscription was written on the Egyptian-style coffin of King 'Eshmunʿazor of Sidon, who reigned during the fifth century BCE. In the text, the deceased king tells that he was an orphan and that he died at the age of fourteen. The following section occurs in lines 2–3.[23]

נגזלת בל עתי בן מסך ימם

> I was snatched away before my time, a man of a limited number of days.

The same exact text occurs also in lines 12–13, where it is preceded by כ אנך נחן, "yes, I deserve pity."

[19] See also *COS* 2, 148–50.
[20] The precise meaning of KRNTRYŠ is unknown.
[21] *COS* 2, 150: "Now may Baʿal KRNTRYŠ bless." For the interpretation of וברך as referring to past events ("and he blessed"), see Krzysztof J. Baranowski, "A Blessing in the Phoenician Karatepe Inscription?," *JSS* 60 (2015), 317–30.
[22] See also Gibson, *Textbook*, Vol. 3, 39–41.
[23] See also *COS* 2, 182–83.

3.2 *Ancient Aramaic Texts*

Both *KAI* 226 and *KAI* 309 appear to contain an interesting phrase with regard to the lengthening of days. Since the latter text was only discovered in 1979, it could not yet be mentioned by Moshe Weinfeld. Reference can also be made to a papyrus from the late fifth century BCE. It displays an Aramaic translation of the multilingual Behistun inscription and includes the following phrase, in which Darius the Great addresses the beholders of the inscription:[24]

ויומיך יארכון

> And your days may be numerous.

***KAI* 226** is an Aramaic tomb inscription from Nerab near Aleppo. It dates from the seventh century BCE. In the text, Si'gabbar, priest of the moon-god Sahar, speaks from his grave and claims that he enjoyed a long life because Sahar paid attention to his righteousness. The following section was taken over from lines 2–5.[25]

בצדקתי קדמוה שמני שם טב והארך יומי
ביום מתת פמי לאתאחז מן מלן ובעיני מחזה אנה בני בני רבע

> Because of my righteousness in his presence, he gave me a good name and prolonged my days.
> On the day I died, my mouth was not deprived of words, and with my eyes I saw children of the fourth generation.

***KAI* 309** dates from the ninth century BCE, probably from the third quarter of that century, and is the oldest long Aramaic inscription that has been published. The statue of governor Hadad-Yithʿi, on whose back it was inscribed, was found in Tell Fekheriye (north-eastern Syria). According to the Aramaic text and the Akkadian parallel text, which was inscribed on the front, Hadad-Yithʿi set up the statue for the god Hadad of Sikan, hoping that this god would reward him. The following section in lines 7–10 of the Aramaic text describes the blessings that Hadad-Yithʿi hopes to receive.[26]

[24] See *DNWSI*, 108 (*qal* form of the verb *'rk*$_1$); Jonas C. Greenfield, Bezalel Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Aramaic Version, Text, Translation and Commentary*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum (London: Humphries, 1982), 50–51.

[25] See also *COS* 2, 184–85.

[26] See also *COS* 2, 153–54. The Akkadian text corresponding with ולמארך יומוה ולכבר שנוה is *arāk* (or D stem: *urruk*) *ūmēšu šum'ud šanātišu*; see *KAI* 309 and Quick, *Deuteronomy 28*, 144 n. 17.

לחיי נבשה ולמארך יומוה ולכבר שנוה
ולשלם ביתה ולשלם זרעה ולשלם אנשוה
ולמלד מרק מנה ולמשמע תצלותה ולמלקח אמרת פמה

.... so that his soul may live, and his days be long, and to increase his years,
and so that his house may flourish, and his progeny may flourish, and his people may flourish,
and to remove illness from him, and for making his prayer heard, and for accepting the words of his mouth.

In this translation, the forms חיי, מארך, כבר, etc., are rendered as verbs, but others interpret the Aramaic forms as nouns in the construct state: "for the life of his soul, and for the length of his days, and for the increase of his years."[27]

3.3 *Ancient Ugaritic Texts*

Relevant expressions occur also in two texts that were found in the royal palace of Ugarit, *KTU* 2.23 and *KTU* 5.9.[28]

***KTU* 2.23** seems to be a draft for a letter that had to be sent to the king of Egypt. The text dates from the thirteenth century BCE. The relevant section is slightly damaged (lines 17–22):[29]

p l ḫy np[š[30] ʾa]*rš l pn bʿ*[l] *ṣpn bʿly*
w ʾurk ym bʿly l pn ʾamn w l pn ʾil mṣrm

Moreover, life of sou[l I re]quest before Baʿ[lu] Ṣapanu, my master, and length of days of my master before Amon and before the gods of Egypt.

The sender calls not only his god Baʿlu Ṣapanu "my master," but addresses also the king of Egypt politely as "my master." The reconstruction of this section is probably correct and the sender appears to wish the king of Egypt two things that seem to be related: *ḫy npš*, "life of soul," and *ʾurk ym bʿly*, "length of days of my master."

[27] See the discussions in *DNWSI*, s.v. *ḫy*$_1$, *ʾrk*$_1$, *kbr*$_2$, etc. See also *TUAT*, Vol. 1: *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden, historisch-chronologische Texte*, 636 (Wilhelmus C. Delsman).

[28] The relevance of these texts was already noted by Michael L. Barré, "An Analysis of the Royal Blessing in the Karatepe Inscription," *Maarav* 3/2 (1982): 177–94, esp. 180 n. 11, 184.

[29] For this text, see *COS* 3, 98–100, and Manfried Dietrich, "*buluṭ bēlī* 'Lebe, mein König!' Ein Krönungshymnus aus Emar und Ugarit und sein Verhältnis zu mesopotamischen und westlichen Inthronisationsliedern," *UF* 30 (1998): 155–200, esp. 183–84.

[30] Or *np*[šh ʾa], "his soul …"

KTU 5.9, a text from ca. 1200 BCE, includes the following wish (lines 2–6):[31]

> *ʾilm tġrk tšlmk tʿzzk*
> *ʾalp ym wrbt šnt bʿd ʿlm*
>
> May the gods guard you, may they keep you well, may they strengthen you, for a thousand days and ten thousand years, forever.

The text is a scribal exercise and includes also partial Ugaritic alphabets, but this wish probably corresponds with actual blessings. Just like the expressions אֹרֶךְ יָמִים and עוֹלָם וָעֶד in Ps 21:5, the expressions in the Ugaritic wish pertain to an extremely long duration, not to eternity. The phrase "for a thousand days and ten thousand years" is clearly poetic, while *ʿlm* in *bʿd ʿlm* is the Ugaritic counterpart of Hebrew עוֹלָם.[32]

4. Similarities

People in the ancient Levant appear to have hoped for a long and happy life. This hope is expressed in Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic texts, and also in the Hebrew Bible. Contrary to most of the Biblical evidence, virtually all the ancient Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic texts concern only people with high positions. However, there is no reason to doubt that people with a lower status shared the same hope for a long and blissful life. Actually, the Aramaic wish ויומיך יארכון, "and your days may be numerous," in the translation of the Behistun inscription suggests that the beholders of this inscription were supposed to have exactly the same hope.

Of course, each of the texts displayed above is unique, often with distinctive descriptions of past or future blessings, but there appear to be conspicuous correspondences between what Israelites saw as a blessed life and the blessings that others in the ancient Levant hoped for. Even part of the terminology in Biblical Hebrew appears to be remarkably similar to the ancient Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic terminology, despite the linguistic differences.

The terminological correspondences concern in the first place the combination of the verb ארך, "to be long," and plural forms of ים/יום, "day." Not only the Hebrew Bible but also the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions describe the ideal of longevity with combinations of those words. In the Phoenician and Aramaic texts, a deity or a group of deities constitutes the subject of the verb ארך *hiphil*, while the plural form of

[31] See also *COS* 3, 115.
[32] See also the expression *mlk ʿlm*, "enduring kingship," in *KTU* 2.42 line 9 (*COS* 3, 104).

ים is the direct object of that verb (*KAI* 4, 6, 7, 10, 226), often together with a plural form of שת/שנה, "year" (*KAI* 4, 6, 7, 10; cf. *KAI* 26, 309). In Biblical Hebrew, God is the subject of the verb only in 1 Kgs 3:14, while the construction with a plural form of יום as the subject of the verb is more common in the Hebrew Bible. The expression in the Aramaic translation of the Behistun inscription is similar to this Biblical usage. The construction in which the verb ארך *hiphil* has a human personal subject and in which ימים, "days," is the direct object is even more frequent in Biblical Hebrew, but it has no close parallel in the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. This construction occurs often in Deuteronomy,[33] but also in Isa 53:10: יִרְאֶה זֶרַע יַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים, "he will see progeny, he will prolong the days." Seeing new generations is also described as a blessing in the inscription of Si'gabbar (*KAI* 226), but there the deity is the one who prolongs the days.

Two Phoenician texts contain the notion that deities "give" (נתן/יתן) the ruler a long life, namely *KAI* 26 (ארך ימם, "length of days") and *KAI* 25 (ארך חי, "length of life"). In the royal Psalm 21, אֹרֶךְ יָמִים, "length of days," is also the direct object of נתן, "to give," with God as the subject of this verb (21:5). In other words, God is also described as the one who gives "length of days" in Ps 91:16. In *KAI* 309 it is unclear whether מארך (line 7) is a verbal form or a noun, but there also the implicit idea is that the deity can prolong the king's life. The Ugaritic texts also suppose that the gods can give longevity.

Some expressions describing the quality of the divine blessings also occur both in the Hebrew Bible and in the Phoenician or Aramaic texts. The verb ברך *piel*, "to bless," occurs with a divine subject in *KAI* 10 and *KAI* 26 and also, for instance, in Deut 30:16. In Biblical descriptions of blessings, the verb חיה, "to live" or "to prosper," is used in the *qal* (e.g., Deut 5:33) and the *piel* ("to preserve alive"; Deut 6:24), while the *piel* of the corresponding Phoenician verb חוה is used in *KAI* 10 (cf. חיי in *KAI* 309; possibly *pael*). Also comparable are the uses of the noun חי(י)ם, "life," in *KAI* 26 (cf. *KAI* 25) and in Deut 30:15, 19–20.

There is one additional correspondence that deserves to be mentioned. Many passages in the Hebrew Bible contain the idea that those who obey God will receive a good and long life. A similar idea seems to occur in two Phoenician texts, the Yaḥimilk inscription (*KAI* 4), which includes the phrase מלך צדק ומלך ישר, and the Yeḥawmilk inscription (*KAI* 10), which has the shorter phrase מלך צדק. The interpretation of these phrases is disputed: do the adjectives צדק and ישר refer to the righteousness of the

[33] See note 3 above.

king to demonstrate that he deserves a long life (see the translations above)? Some scholars interpret צדק as "legitimate" and ישר as "rightful," pointing out that Yaḥimilk probably was a usurper and needed to defend the legitimacy of his kingship.[34] As a matter of fact, however, this interpretation is quite unlikely for צדק in the Yeḥawmilk inscription, since Yeḥawmilk was not a usurper.[35] Furthermore, in the Aramaic Si'gabbar inscription (*KAI* 226) it is beyond doubt that בצדקתי does refer to Si'gabbar's righteousness as the reason why he had received a long life.[36] Therefore, it is better to maintain the interpretation of צדק as "righteous" and of ישר as "just" in the Yaḥimilk and Yeḥawmilk inscriptions.[37]

This means that there is a shared supposition in these Phoenician and Aramaic texts and in the Hebrew Bible: it is the righteous who deserve a good and long life. In the case of the Bible, one may be inclined to regard the idea of retribution and the terminology concerning the prolonging of the days as typically Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic and as characteristic of a relatively late period.[38] However, the Yaḥimilk inscription shows that similar thinking and terminology occurred already in the tenth century BCE.

5. Unlimited Hope

None of the Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic and Ugaritic texts discussed above holds out the prospect of blessings in the hereafter. It is true that not only in the Hebrew Bible but also in other texts from the ancient Levant there are occasional expressions of the hope that in the hereafter there will still be divine care for the deceased.[39] However, the blessings discussed above seem to be more characteristic. The supposition that blessings pertain mainly to this life seems to have been widespread.

No less illustrative is a cluster of remarkable passages in the Hebrew Bible indicating that in the hereafter the dead will not be able to praise God or to remember his faithfulness; see Isa 38:18–19; Pss 6:6; 30:10; 88:11–13; 115:17. Here the suggestion is that it would be unwise of God

[34] Gibson, *Textbook*, Vol. 3, 17, 19; similarly *TUAT*, Vol. 2: *Religiöse Texte*, 584 (Hans-Peter Müller).

[35] Cf. Gibson, *Textbook*, Vol. 3, 98. *TUAT*, Vol. 2, 587: "gerechter" (Christel Butterweck).

[36] See John C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, Vol. 2: *Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 97; similarly *TUAT*, Vol. 2, 574 (Wilhelmus C. Delsman).

[37] For more literature about the interpretation of צדק and ישר, see *DNWSI*, 962–63.

[38] Cf. Samuel R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), xxii-xxiii, xxxii-xxxiii.

[39] See the contribution by Klaas Spronk in the present volume.

to let his servants perish, since that would damage his own interests.[40] None of these passages describes the hereafter as a reality in which the faithful will still enjoy God's blessings.

Abraham, Gideon and David are said to have died בְּשֵׂיבָה טוֹבָה, "in a good old age," with Abraham dying זָקֵן וְשָׂבֵעַ, "old and satisfied" (Gen 15:15; 25:8; Judg 8:32; 1 Chr 29:28). Isaac, Job and David are said to have died שְׂבַע יָמִים, "full of days" (Gen 35:29; Job 42:17; 1 Chr 29:28).

The description of life after the creation of a new heaven and a new earth in Isaiah 65 is also significant: life will be exceptionally blissful and people will reach extremely high ages, but even in this chapter the premise is that people will still be mortal and that especially sinners will die relatively early.[41] Of course, the idea that on the new earth people will still die is confusing to those who suppose that in the future death will be banished (see Rev 21:4).[42] However, it is helpful to observe that Isaiah 65 refers to mortality only in passing, while the text focusses on the high expectations that the faithful may have. This means that the differences between the ideas about blessing in the Old Testament and those in the New Testament are sometimes more relative than they may seem at first sight.

Although the apostle Paul firmly believed that God's creation of a new heaven and a new earth implies that God's blessings can be enjoyed in the hereafter, he was convinced that this new creation had already begun in Jesus Christ and those who belong to him (see 2 Cor 5:17). This means that according to Paul God's blessings can also be enjoyed in this life. I dedicate this article to my highly esteemed colleague Professor Riemer Roukema on the occasion of his retirement, wishing that after his retirement he will enjoy many joyful years.

[40] A Babylonian prayer to Marduk expresses the same idea: "Let him not be killed in your fury, spare his life! Do not destroy the servant that your hands have made! What profit is there in one who has become clay? Only alive a servant can reverence his lord. What benefit is dead dust to a god?" For this text, see Wilfred G. Lambert, "Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians," *AfO* 19 (1959/1960): 47–66, esp. 57. The last line of the quotation has only partially survived but can be reconstructed on the basis of an older version of the prayer; see *TUAT*, Vol. 2, 756 (Karl Hecker).

[41] See Paul Sanders, "No Death without Sin on the New Earth: Isaiah 65:20 in Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic," in *Septuagint, Targum and Beyond: Comparing Aramaic and Greek Versions from Jewish Antiquity*, ed. David J. Shepherd, Jan Joosten, Michaël N. van der Meer, SupJSJ 193 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 129–40.

[42] The free translations of the Septuagint and Targum Jonathan already reflect similar questions with regard to the Hebrew parent text; see Sanders, "No Death without Sin," 135-37.

THE FANGS OF DEATH (1 COR 15:55): A FEROCIOUS MONSTER CONQUERED

Marjo Korpel

The text of 1 Cor 15:55 is well-known among Christians, "O death, where is your sting?" and believers often effortlessly connect it to Jesus' victory over death, his resurrection on Easter's day, a text that is part of 1 Cor 15 that formed the focus of several publications by Riemer Roukema.[1] It is with thanks to the editors who gave me time to finish this article, that I dedicate with pleasure this contribution to an eminent scholar, a fine colleague and an engaging person.[2]

In this volume Martin Meiser[3] examines the reception history of 1 Cor 15:55 and analyses the way the apostle Paul reuses and reworks the text of Hos 13:14 and how the text of Paul has been reinterpreted in patristic and medieval Christian exegesis. The present article discusses the Near

[1] E.g. Riemer Roukema, "La résurrection des morts dans l'interprétation origénienne de 1 Corinthiens 15," in *La résurrection chez les Pères*, ed. Jean-Marc Prieur, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 161–77; Idem, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity" in *"If Christ has not been Raised …" Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, Andreas Merkt and Tobias Nicklas, NTOA 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), also published in Hungarian in *Református Szemle* 108 (2015): 477–87; see also his "Origen's Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15," in *Gelitten–Gestorben–Auferstanden: Passion und Auferstehungstraditionen im antiken Christentum*, ed. Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt and Joseph Verheyden, WUNT 273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Idem, "First Epistle to the Corinthians. II. Christianity," in *EBR* 5 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012). doi-org/10.1515/ebr.corinthiansfirstepistletothe.

[2] Because of lack of time, I was unable to contribute to the first phase of this volume, and on the day of Riemer's farewell speech in Utrecht on 23 June 2023 the volume was already presented, be it as a dummy. On that lovely summer day there was a long break in the afternoon programme, so I walked along the Nieuwegracht and back through the park and found a bench and started reading a novel, when Riemer passed by, stopped and greeted me, asking, "it must be you who wrote an article with a lot of Ugaritics in the volume presented to me?" I hesitated and stammered "I am afraid not," but in fact he was right. I had an idea for an article on Ugaritics and 1 Cor 15, a text that is not only dear to Riemer, but also to myself and to so many others, a text that touches all of us, as scholars and as pastors, and I therefore dedicate this contribution with pleasure to Riemer on the occasion of his retirement, wishing him lots of time to write new articles and books.

[3] See the article by Martin Meiser in this volume.

Eastern and especially Canaanite background[4] of Hos 13:14 that formed the basis for Paul's hopeful utterance in 1 Cor 15:55 on the defeat of death and therefore on the resurrection of the dead.

Though this text might be a strong, spiritual weapon in the hands of Christians, the reader who is reading carefully has to put forward the question, what view of death is described here that it has a sting? It is clear that Paul took the metaphor of the sting of death in a different way than the prophet Hosea, who in Hebrew used the word קֶטֶב (*qeṭeb*), referring to a demon closely related to the personified Death.

In 1 Cor 15:56 the sting seemed to be described as the abstract concept of "sin" (ἁμαρτία), but Paul nevertheless considered it to be living (Rom 7:9), deceiving and producing (Rom 7:13) as were it a living being.[5] This observation evokes the Canaanite view of death as a deity, craving for dead bodies as food (*KTU* 1.5:I.19) and with a throat (*npš*) hungering for humans continuously (*KTU* 1.6:II.17–19). Later, similar wording was used in ancient Israel as it is present in Isa 5:14, where Sheol widened its throat (נֶפֶשׁ) and opened its mouth in order to swallow Israelite sinners.[6] In the description of God's eternal victory over death in 1 Cor 15:54 this imagery is turned upside down – as also in Isaiah 25:8 – and God in turn will swallow up death for ever and wipe away the tears from all faces.

Paul in 1 Cor 15:55 seems to base himself on Hos 13:14 where in its context God accuses the Israelites of forgetting their real saviour, thus kindling God's anger, turning God into their enemy, who in turn summons his helpers, Death and Sheol together with their assistants, to take part in the punishment of Israel, asking them,

[4] Canaanite language even pops up again in the New Testament which is understandable from the view that the Hebrew Bible itself does not hide its Canaanite background, see e.g. Gen 12:4 (Abraham coming from Haran) and Deut 26:5 (the forefather described as a wandering Aramean), and the Hebrew Bible shares a big part of its language, metaphors and phrases with that of ancient Canaan. For the spreading of the Canaanite culture in the ancient Near East, as far as Cyprus, Sicily, Malta, Egypt and the region of the Hittites, see e.g. Meindert Dijkstra, "The stele of Ramesses II from Sheikh Sacad, Syria (The Stone of Job) rediscovered and reconsidered," *UF* 49 (2018): 71–93, esp. 85–86 with further literature; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Importing and Exporting Gods? On the Flow of Deities Between Egypt and Its Neighboring Countries," in *The Dynamics of Transculturality: Concepts and Institutions in Motion*, ed. Antje Flüchter and Jivanti Schüttli (Heidelberg: Springer, 2015), 255–77, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-09740-4_11.

[5] Cf. Johannes C. de Moor, "'O Death, Where is Thy Sting?'," in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, ed. Lyle Eslinger and Glen Taylor, JSOTS 67 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 99–107. See also James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, WBC 38A (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 403, "Sin seeks to deceive about its connection with death (You will not die: Gen 3:4)."

[6] Mawet/Sheol as a greedy monster is also attested in Num 16:30, 32; 26:10; Prov 1:12.

O Death, where are your Debers?	אֱהִי דְבָרֵיךְ מָוֶת
O Sheol, where is your Qeṭeb?	אֱהִי קָטָבֵךְ שְׁאוֹל

The word דְּבָרִים here is a plural of the name Deber, a demon known from Canaan. In the Hebrew Bible this demon occurs as a kind of assistant of God, and the name in later times received the more abstract meaning of "pestilence."[7] The demon also occurs in a personified way in Hab 3:5 and Ps 91:6. In the latter text he occurs on a par with Qeṭeb, as in Hos 13:14 and the fact that Deber is used in the plural here shows that he already has undergone a change into a more abstract meaning like "plague." The Masoretic text no doubt presents a later version of the text, for De Rossi listed no less than 132 Hebrew manuscripts reading a singular here,[8] which is supported by LXX, Symmachus, Theodotion, Peshiṭta and Vulgate.[9] The Canaanite, demonic background of Deber in Hos 13:14 cannot be denied.[10] This is also in line with Hosea's fight against Canaanite Baalism.[11]

Qeṭeb-Ḥoran in Ugarit

Recently, my late colleague Johannes de Moor and I investigated a Ugaritic text anew,[12] dealing with the protagonist Adammu and the antagonist Ḥoran, two Canaanite deities, and discovered that two clay tablets (*KTU* 1.100 and 1.107)[13] that read in reversed order than had been done

[7] For an overview, see Gregorio del Olmo Lete, "Deber רבד," *DDD*: 231–32; Gerrit Vreugdenhil, *Psalm 91 and Demonic Menace*, OTS 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 284–93.

[8] Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, vol. 3 (Parma: Bodoni, 1786), 182.

[9] *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, prepared by Anthony Gelston, BHQ 13 (Stuttgart: DBG, 2010), 72*.

[10] Cf. Francis Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (New York: Doubeday, 1980), 639–40; Douglas Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, WBC 31 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 207.

[11] See Brad E. Kelle, *Hosea 2: Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective*, AcBib 20 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), esp. 122–68, Ch. 5: "The Metaphors of Lovers and Baal(s)."

[12] Marjo C.A. Korpel and Johannes C. de Moor, *Adam, Eve, and the Devil: A New Beginning*, 2nd enl. ed., Hebrew Bible Monographs 65 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2015). For a translation of the text see pages 265–82.

[13] In both texts an identical list of ten deities is mentioned, in a similar order, only Ḥoran in 1.107 is at the top of the list, even on a par with the head of the pantheon, the god Ilu, whereas in tablet 1.100 he appears to have received the lowest position in the list, which shows that in any case in a literary manner he tumbled down from almost the highest position to the lowest. The fact that in the 19th cent. BCE two Palestinian princes borne the name of *Ḥaurânu-'abum* "Ḥaurôn-is-the-Father" seems to prove that in earlier

until then, presented an ancient story – comparable to the biblical story in Gen 2–3 – on Adammu and his combat with the primordial serpent. In the Ugaritic text the serpent appears to be the god Ḥoran, who in the text also occurred with the epithet Qeṭeb. The name Ḥoran means "the blazing one, the burning one".[14] It seems that Ḥoran also was known in the Hebrew Bible (see below on Exod 15:7). In contrast to the biblical text of Gen 2–3, the Canaanite Ḥoran/Qeṭeb-serpent did not start a discussion on some fruit in a tree but apparently poisoned the tree of life in the vineyard garden of the gods out of anger for his (probably) being thrown from the mountain of the gods as a punishment for his assumed aspirations to take over the first place in the pantheon of the highest god El. Then a toxic fog swept through the garden of the gods, a reference to snake venom.[15] Fragments of this primeval story seem to be reflected in several biblical and parabiblical texts such as Isa 14:9–21,[16] Luke 10:18–19, 1 En. 6–11 (the rebellion of the Watchers and its leader), and 1 En. 85–86.

The god Adammu (his name is equal to the Hebrew name of Adam) was appointed by the congregation of the gods to fight Ḥoran (Qeṭeb), but before he was able to do so he was already bitten by the poisonous teeth of Ḥoran who, transformed into a huge serpent, probably had coiled himself into the tree of life. Thus, the tree of life[17] had become inaccessible and Adammu had to attack the serpent but failed miserably, being bitten by the monster. Ḥoran, transformed into this serpent of divine proportions,

times Ḥoran indeed stood on a par with the god Ilu. See William F. Albright, "The Egypto-Canaanite Deity Ḥaurôn", *BASOR* 84 (1941): 7–12, esp. 11.

[14] The Ḥauron or Ḥauran mountain ridge (also called Bashan and nowadays known as the Golan Heights) still forms a relic of this serpentine god, that might have formed the background for the name of the Ḥauran mountains because they look like a huge congealed snake. As it it was depicted by Johann G. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* (Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 1860), 13, 19, who made a line drawing of it, resembling the skin of a giant serpent. The volcanic holes in it formed dark caves. It will be not without reason that it is just in this region to the East of the Lake of Galilee that the dead and spirits resided, where Jesus met people living in graves, possessed by demons.

[15] Blane W. Conklin, "Arslan Tash I and other Vestiges of a Particular Syrian Incantatory Thread," *Biblica* 84 (2003): 89–101, esp. 95.

[16] Cf. Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BKAT 10/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 543–44; Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 219 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), 220–21; Wim A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja 13–27*, HThAK (Freiburg: Herder, 2007), 86–91.

[17] The tree of life is not mentioned explicitly, but the tree of death is and this seems to be the result of Ḥoran's evil activities, *KTU* 1.100:65. The tree is described in two halves where the first is positive, probably describing the tree of life, with fruits of juniper and date, but the second half is negative, being a ruined tree with warts.

equals the monster Lotanu/Tunannu (Hebrew Leviathan/Tannin) as mentioned so often in the Ugaritic texts.[18]

The translation the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.107 is quite difficult and still up to discussion, but the fact that Qeṭeb (his name means "poison fang, venomous tooth", a hendiadys for the serpent's mouth and as such an epithet of Ḥoran) has bitten Adammu with his poisonous fangs cannot be denied in *KTU* 1.107 and 1.100, where one of the refrain lines is "a serpent has bitten." That Qeṭeb is related to the god of Death (as also the later biblical text of Hos 13:14 and Paul in 1 Cor 15:55 assume) can be proved by a passage in the Ugaritic Baal myth where the god of death Motu, who almost triumphed over Baal and opened his mouth wide, ready to swallow Baal up (*KTU* 1.5:II.3–4, cf. Isa 5:14), probably then boasted, in an unfortunately broken text, that he fathered Qeṭeb.[19] The text is reminiscent of Job 18:13 where it is said that the wicked will be "eaten by the firstborn of Mawet (death)." On his part, Ḥoran was the father of all serpents and snakes, crawling in the sea and on the earth (*KTU* 1.100:61–62) and though he showed remorse over his poisoning of heaven and earth, thus even threatening his own offspring, the damage he had caused could only partly be reversed, for his turnabout meant that his offspring survived and that there always would be new serpents and snakes, new serpentine monsters like Leviathan and Tannin, albeit only by procreation, for he himself had destroyed forever the supposed "tree of life" that apparently was indispensable even for the eternal life of the gods.[20]

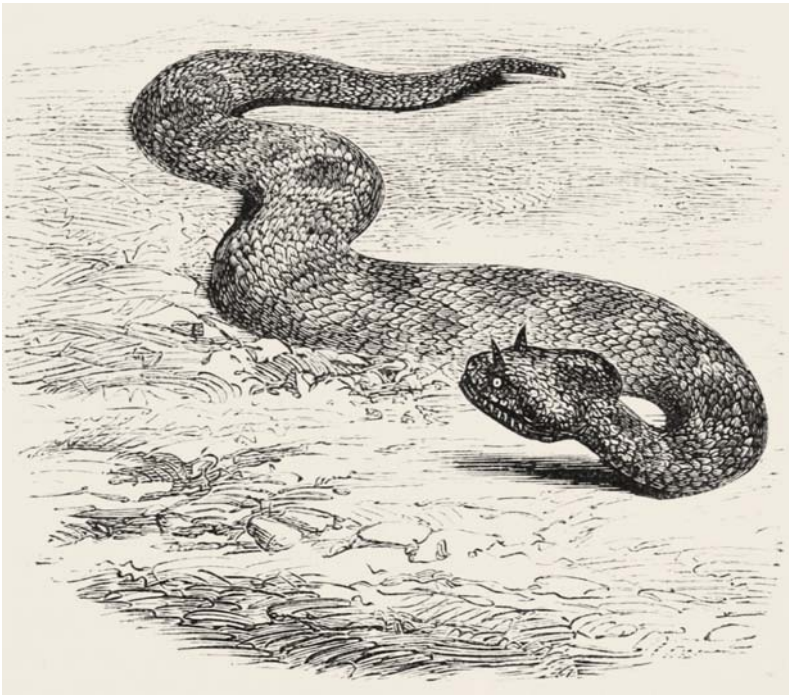
Just like Death in Ugarit and in the Hebrew Bible also the deity Ḥoran (Qeṭeb) is designated as one who devours and bites (*'akl // nṯk*) (*KTU* 1.107:35, 45).[21] Because ancient images of the primordial serpent often show an enormous snake with horns, and because of the extremely venomous teeth described, it seems likely that the poisonous serpent *Cerastes cerastes*, well-known in the region of Syria, may have served as a model for

[18] For Lotanu, also written Līṯanu (Hebr. Leviathan), see Christoph Uehlinger, "Leviathan לויתן," *DDD*: 511–15; for Tunannu (Hebr. Tannin) see George C. Heider, "Tannin תנין," *DDD*: 834–36; for both see, e.g., *Playing with Leviathan: Interpretation and Reception of Monsters from the Biblical World*, ed. Koert van Bekkum et al., TBN 21, (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Rachel Adelmann et al., "Leviathan in the Ancient Near East," *EBR* 16 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 292–310, https://doi.org/10.1515/ebr.leviathan.

[19] Reading [š]*lt. qẓb, where* [š]lt is a causative Š-stem of yld, 'to bear' (Hebr. ילד). The word *qẓb* is a variant spelling of *qṭb*, cf. Donna Freilich and Dennis Pardee, "{ẓ} and {ṭ} in Ugaritic: A Re-examination of the Sign-Forms," *Syria* 61 (1984): 25–36.

[20] Cf. Korpel and De Moor, *Adam, Eve, and the Devil*, 82, 280.

[21] Part of what is said here is based on Korpel and De Moor, *Adam, Eve, and the Devil*, esp. par. 4.8, "The Serpent Tamed" (pp. 172–77).



Horned viper (*Cerastes hasselquistii*) (Image: H.B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, London 1875, 273).

Ḥoran (Qeṭeb). A look at the jaws[22] of this serpent in a state of attack might fit the description of Ḥoran (Qeṭeb) as a devourer and a biter extremely well, as *KTU* 1:107:4–6 proves, describing his poisonous fangs,

KTU 1.107:4–6

h*n p bl*.	Look! The devouring mouth!
h*n* (5) [šnt(?)] q*ṭ*b*t* .	Look! The stinging [fangs(?)]!
pẓr.pẓr [.]	Frantically he tried to loosen (it),
w *.p nḥš* (6) [’aḫd(?)]	but the mouth of the serpent [stuck(?)]
[*yṯ*]q.nṯ*k.l yd*^{c} .	He did not know how to bind the Biter,
l bn.lpq ḥmt	nor did he understand how to conquer the poison.

If Qeṭeb indeed was fathered by the god Motu (death) and was his first-born and was also known by the name Ḥoran, then it is understandable

[22] For the jaws of an attacking *Cerastes Cerastes* see Fig. 35 in Korpel and De Moor, *Adam, Eve, and the Devil*, 175.

that Ḥoran received the epithet of "Prince" (*KTU* 1.23:8–11)[23] as he is also known in Islam, be it as an epithet of Iblīs, the Arabic name of the devil. One of the problems in ancient mythology is that deities and demons were often known with many names and epithets in different regions.[24] Also Philo apparently might have known Ḥoran, be it as Ὥραν, when he reported about the star that had fallen from heaven and had been found by the goddess Astarte and been consecrated in Tyre.[25]

As a rebellious deity Ḥoran (Qeṭeb) seemed to have been demoted and temporarily banned from the world of the gods, but after his repentance had been rehabilitated as a kind of assistant of the gods with the special role of licensed executioner of rebels, as becomes clear from several Ugaritic texts where Ḥoran was summoned to punish a divine or human youngster who rebelled against an older authority. So, Ḥoran is ordered to smash the skull of the god Baal who rose in revolt to Ilu, the head of the pantheon (*KTU* 1.2:I.7–8). Similarly, a human king cursed his son wishing his father to abdicate in his favour with the argument that his father would neglect the duties of a king due to severe illness. The king then prayed Ḥoran to smash the head of his rebellious son (*KTU* 1.16:VI.54–57). In both curses the rebels were bid to fall down at the summit of their years (*KTU* 1.2:I.9; 1.16:VI.57–58). This makes all the more sense if Ḥoran specifically was rehabilitated and appointed as divine executioner of rebels because in primordial times he himself had been the first to rebel against the highest god, and therefore was seen as well acquainted to punish other rebels by smashing them and letting them fall down from great height, as also would have been the punishment of the pompous king described in Isa 14:4, 12.[26]

In a third text it seems that the author gave some insight in how the people in Ugarit imagined such punishments by Ḥoran. When a human prince brutally stood up against a goddess who promised him immortality, and he described her words as lies he is punished almost immediately, probably by Ḥoran. It is described as follows: The goddess sent a raptor[27]

[23] On this epithet see Korpel and De Moor, *Adam, Eve, and the Devil*, 53–56.

[24] Compare the God of Israel in the Hebrew Bible who can be designated as El, Eloah, Elohim, YHWH, Elyon, Shaddai, Adonai, but also as Rofe' (healer), Creator, etc.

[25] For the text of Philo, cf. Harold W. Attridge and Robert A. Oden, *Philo of Byblos, The Phoenician History*, CBQMS 9 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 52–55. In general, the Greek Ὥραν is translated "Period" or "Season". Cf. Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2421–23.

[26] Cf. the haughty and arrogant nobles and other rulers who will fall because of their rebellion against God, e.g. Isa 3:8, 25; 8:15; 10:4, 15–18, 34; 24:30.

[27] Designated as the "soldier of the lady" and the symbolic name Yattupanu "the render, the ripper," someone who tears out (as a raptor does). Cf. Wilfred G.E. Watson, "Puzzling Passages in the Tale of Aqhat," *UF* 8 (1976): 371–78, esp. 371.

(probably a falcon) down to the young boy, who struck him on the temple, right above the eye (*KTU* 1.18:IV.17–26). Ḥoran often operated transformed into a raptor like a falcon, comparable to the Egyptian god Horus.[28] In this view the curse in Egyptian papyrus Harris 501 provides clarification, invoking the god Ḥauron / Ḥoran as follows, "Ḥauron makes your fangs impotent, your foreleg is cut off by Arasphes."[29]

Qeṭeb (Ḥoran) in Ancient Israel

The demon Qeṭeb (Ḥoran) is attested a few times in the Old Testament. In Hosea 13:14 he is mentioned as an assistant of the God of Israel and summoned by God to punish the Israelites because of their rebellion against him, and it is this text that has been reinterpreted by Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians. In the poetic lines of Hos 13:14 (see above) Qeṭeb is on a par with the demon Deber. Characteristic in this text are the personal suffixes, your Deber and your Qeṭeb. Interesting detail is in the next verse, Hos 13:15 where also the scorching east wind[30] is ordered to partake in the punishment. In the Ugaritic myth of Baal the sirocco winds are assistants of Motu, the god of death (*KTU* 1.4:VII.55ff.).[31]

[28] The raptor often is a falcon and related to Egyptian Horus. However, in ancient times the two gods were often more or less equated, cf. Herman te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, 2nd ed., PAe 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 63–73; William F. Albright, "The Egypto-Canaanite Deity Ḥaurôn", *BASOR* 84 (1941): 7–12, esp. 11.

[29] For the translation see William F. Albright, "The Canaanite God Ḥaurôn," *AJSL* 53 (1936): 1–12, esp. 3, where Arashphes is the same as Rashpu (Reshep) in Ugarit and Israel, cf. Keiko Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence*, BARIS 1965 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 71, Doc. 35. On Ḥoran in Egypt, see also Jacobus van Dijk, "The Canaanite God Ḥauron and his cult in Egypt," *Göttinger Miszellen* 108 (1989): 59–68.

[30] For the sirocco in Hos 13:14 and in other biblical texts, see Aloysius Fitzgerald, F.S.C., *The Lord of the East Wind*, CBQMS 23 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2002), esp. Part 2.

[31] Cf. Ola Wikander, *Drought, Death, and the Sun in Ugarit and Ancient Israel: A Philological and Comparative Study*, ConBOT 61 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014). In my opinion Wikander misinterprets the role of the sun in the Myth of Baal, suggesting that there in fact is no clear relation between the hot sun and the sirocco and the god of death Motu, thus overemphasising the verb *ṣḥr* which he translates as "to burn" proved by the then misspelled Akkadian verb *ṣaraḫu* "to heat, to scorch" (p. 48). The common and even more logic translation would be "to turn brown," which is exactly what happens when the sirocco wind is blowing. The Semitic root *ṣḥr* can still be observed in the name of modern Sahara, meaning "to be/become red/brown" as also is the meaning in Hebrew, see Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, vol. 5, ed. D. Rudolf Meyer, and Herbert Donner (Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer, 2009), 1113–14; DCH, vol. 7: 112; HAL, vol. 3: 956. It is a verb denoting a colour, not heat and burning. Wikander in reading the text does not take into account the natural phenomena described in the myth that even nowadays still can be observed.

In Deut 32:23–24 רָעָב, "Hunger," possibly an epithet of Hebr. Mawet (death),[32] רֶשֶׁף, "Resheph" and קֶטֶב, "Qeṭeb" are the "arrows" shot by God. Where in ancient Ugarit Qeṭeb was demoted but rehabilitated as an assistant of the gods, with the task of licensed executioner of rebels, in ancient Israel former Canaanite chthonic deities were demoted to the status of demons who lost their independence and could only act with God's permission. As in Ugarit they also seem to function as executioners of punishment, particularly against rebels, as said in Deut 32,[33]

(22) For a fire has kindled in my nose,	כִּי־אֵשׁ קָדְחָה בְאַפִּי
it will burn unto the lowest parts of Sheol,	וַתִּיקַד עַד־שְׁאוֹל תַּחְתִּית
it will devour the earth and its produce;	וַתֹּאכַל אֶרֶץ וִיבֻלָהּ
it will scorch the foundations of the mountains.	וַתְּלַהֵט מוֹסְדֵי הָרִים׃
(23)I will assemble evil against them,	אַסְפֶּה עָלֵימוֹ רָעוֹת
I will use up my arrows on them:	חִצַּי אֲכַלֶּה־בָּם׃
(24)Hunger, my sucker,[34]	מְזֵי רָעָב
Resheph, my warrior,	וּלְחֻמֵי רֶשֶׁף
and Qeṭeb, my poisonous one.	וְקֶטֶב מְרִירִי
And I will send the teeth of beasts among them,	וְשֶׁן־בְּהֵמוֹת אֲשַׁלַּח־בָּם
with venom of creatures crawling in the dust.	עִם־חֲמַת זוֹחֲלֵי עָפָר׃
(25) In the open the sword will bereave of children,	מִחוּץ תְּשַׁכֵּל־חָרֶב
and inside terror,	וּמֵחֲדָרִים אֵימָה
both young man and young woman,	גַּם־בָּחוּר גַּם־בְּתוּלָה
suckling and grey-haired man together.	יוֹנֵק עִם־אִישׁ שֵׂיבָה׃

In a meticulous analysis of Deut 32 Paul Sanders showed that verses 22–25 formed a unit,[35] the passage describing the impact of former demons assisting God who are summarised as "arrows" (32:23) and "terror" (32:25). The text starts with a burning fire (32:22), possibly related to Ḥoran "the blazing one," the other name of Qeṭeb. In ancient Israelite monotheism negative powers no longer could act independently but they were allowed to play their role, be it only on God's command. Theologically, this is in

KTU 1.4:VII.55 describes the day(light) as being obscured as if a large shadow (*ẓlm*) is thrown over the earth and the wings of the sun getting the colour of dust. So, it might be clear that Hosea used Canaanite religious language here to counter those Israelites who paid more attention to the religion of Baal than to belief in the God of Israel.

[32] Cf. Nick Wyatt, "Qeteb קטב," *DDD*: 673–74, esp. 673, col. 1, who takes רעב "Hunger" in Deut 32:24 as an eptihet of Mawet (death). This is not far-fetched in view of the descriptions in the Baal myth where Motu (Hebr. Mawet) is craving for dead bodies and seems to be insatiable (*KTU* 1.6:II.17–19).

[33] See the translation and philological details see De Moor, "'O Death, Where is Thy Sting," 105; Paul Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy 32*, OTS 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 193–200, 401–3.

[34] Related to Hebr. מזה, "to make empty".

[35] Sanders, *Deuteronomy 32*, 292, and see his discussion, 191–203.

line with a henotheistic view on God, leaving some distance between God and the negative powers. Evil is not directly related to God but is executed indirectly via lower demons.

Qeṭeb also is mentioned in Ps 91:6, again in the context of other demons, and again described as flying arrows (91:5). LXX makes it quite clear that the scribes were acquainted with the chthonic and demonic background of the terrors and in the translation put Qeṭeb on a par with ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπορευομένου ἐν σκότει, ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ, "the 'deed' that passes through the darkness and mishap and the demon at noonday," where the latter is LXX' rendering of Qeṭeb.[36]

Finally, the Isaiah Apocalypse[37] mentions Qeṭeb in the description of the disasters sent to the proud and drunk elite of Ephraim (Isa 28:2), be it that the demon's name is worked into the construction שַׂעַר קֶטֶב "storm of Qeṭeb". This in fact makes sense, if the relationship to Ḥoran (Hebr. Ḥaron) is taken into account, as attested in Hos 13:15,[38] where the scorching east wind (sirocco) is related to Qeṭeb.[39] Generally, the phrase is translated as a kind of devastating wind or storm.[40]

Ḥoran (Qeṭeb) in ancient Israel

It is striking that the helpers of God in Hos 13:14 are specified by personal suffixes. This is not unusual; it also occurs in Deut 32:24 where God calls Qeṭeb "*my* poisonous one", and also two other demons in Deut 32:23–24 are provided with the suffix 1st sg. Well-known are the texts speaking of YHWH and his Asherah, for example, in the ancient text from Kuntillet Agrud.[41]

[36] Cf. Vreugdenhil, *Psalm 91*, 341. The Vulgate here translates *a sagitta volante in die a negotio perambulante in tenebris ab incursu et daemonio meridiano* "the arrow flying by day, the affair passing through the darkness and the attack and the demon of noonday."

[37] For the use of Isa 28:2 by Paul see Łukas Popko, "Why Paul Was not Wrong in Quoting Hosea 13:14," *BibAn* 9 (2013): 493–512, esp. 496–98.

[38] For the dependence of Isa 26–27 on Hos 13–14 see John Day, "The Dependance of Isaiah 26:13–27:11 on Hosea 13:4–14:10 and its Relevance to Some Theories of the Redaction of the 'Isaiah Apocalypse'," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup 70,2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 357–68.

[39] William Henry Irwin, *Isaiah 28–33: Translation with Philological Notes*, BibOr 30 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1973), 8, with further literature–probably influenced by Dahood who acted as the director of his thesis, referring at this point to Qeṭeb as "one of Death's agents" and in Isa 28:2 translating "tempest hell-sent," noting that literally the text reads "tempest of Qeṭeb." Irwin here takes the name of the demon as a superlative and refers to English "a devil of a storm."

[40] E.g. KJV: "destroying storm"; RSV and NJB: "destroying tempest"; NIV: "destructive wind"; JPS: "a shower of pestilence"; Dutch Naardense Bijbel: "verwoestende storm."

[41] KAgr(9):8:2 and KAgr(9):9:6, see Johannes Renz and Wolfgang Röllig, *Handbuch der Althebräischen Epigraphik*, vol. I (Darmstadt: WBG, 1995), 59–63.

However, this use of the suffix also occurs with the Hebrew noun חָרוֹן in Exod 15:7, a verse in the so-called *Song of the Sea*.[42] In this song victory over the enemy and rebels are claimed for YHWH, and it is described how YHWH conquered enemies and rebels by sending *his* Ḥoran,

(6) Your right hand, o YHWH, is glorious in power,	יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה נֶאְדָּרִי בַּכֹּחַ
Your right hand, o YHWH, shatters the enemy!	יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה תִּרְעַץ אוֹיֵב:
(7) Yea, by the greatness of your majesty	וּבְרֹב גְּאוֹנְךָ
you overthrew those who rebel against you,	תַּהֲרֹס קָמֶיךָ
you sent your Ḥoran,	תְּשַׁלַּח חֲרֹנְךָ
he devoured them like chaff.	יֹאכְלֵמוֹ כַּקַּשׁ:

Generally the Hebrew word is translated "your fury", however, Exod 15:7 is the only attestation in the Hebrew Bible of the shortened spelling *ḥrn* (חָרֹן) instead of the common *ḥrwn* (חָרוֹן).With the meaning of "fury" or "blazing" in most cases it is combined with "nose" (אַף) where the suffix is only connected to the word "nose," and not to the "fury" or "blazing." Furthermore, Exod 15:7 is the only passage where *ḥrn* (חָרֹן) is personified, for he is *sent* (just like the demons in Deut 32:24) and it *eats* or even *devours* (אכל) the rebels. This picture of *ḥrn* gives the impression of an object sent as a servant or assistant, a divine being made subservient to God and with a similar task as the Ugaritic Ḥoran, namely to execute the punishment of rebels who revolt against his master. That indeed *ḥrn* in Exod 15:7 has to be taken as a demon like those mentioned in Deut 32 and Ps 91 seems to be confirmed by Ps 78:49, a text that must be considered the earliest text reusing Exod 15:7, interpreting *ḥr(w)n* (accompanied by "anger" and "wrath") as a company (lit. *that which is sent*) of evil angels. It is remarkable in this Psalm that Ḥaron in the next line is paralleled by Mawet (death) and the demon Deber.[43]

Now, if Hosea raises the question "O Death, where is your Deber? O Sheol, where is your Qeṭeb?" the latter must be another name of Ḥoran as known in Ugarit. The first-born son of Mot/Mawet (death), who is able to transform himself into an enormous (sea) serpent, even resembling the sea monster Leviathan, with its characteristic poisonous fangs. A ferocious and enlarged monster for whom possibly the venomous serpent *Cerastes cerastes* stood model. The fact that the word *ḥrn* or *ḥrwn*, seems to be reserved for God and is not used for human beings also argues for taking it as the name of a demon, serving God. In this view it makes sense that

[42] Part of the discussion here is based on an earlier article, Marjo C.A. Korpel, "A Subdued Demon in Exodus 15:7–8," *VT* 69 (2019): 60–68.

[43] For further details, see Korpel, "A Subdued Demon", 63–64, with more parallels.

on a Jewish magic bowl with a picture of the demon Lilith, Exod 15:7 is inscribed on the bowl as a kind of curse.[44] The biblical text on the bowl is surrounded by two serpents, maybe Leviathan and Tannin or Behemoth, and the bowl thus summons the biblical Ḥaron to thwart off all evil.

Conclusion

The sting of death, mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:55, originally might have been known as the Canaanite Ḥoran with the epithet of Qeṭeb and demoted to a lower assistant of God in the Hebrew Bible known as both Qeṭeb and Ḥaron. The epithet Qeṭeb only could be understood well from this Canaanite background. As the father of the snakes and able to transform himself into a huge poisonous, primordial serpent the god Ḥoran must have derived his epithet "Poisonous Fang" (Qeṭeb). In the apocalyptic text of Isa 27:1 it is prophesied that God will conquer this enormous coiling serpent.[45] Paul, however, has new information: he is convinced that Jesus with his resurrection from death conquered the ferocious monster with its venomous sting forever. Though in modern times we no longer believe in monsters, the use of this kind of metaphors is understandable. Even nowadays, people need metaphors for the description of evil. In the field of medicine, it is quite common for doctors to use metaphors of war and combat deliberately in helping patients to overcome diseases and giving patients some relief, for the doctor is fighting with them against the disease.[46]

If in the time of Paul the monster was still known as related to the primordial story of Adammu and Adam, it is at least remarkable that in 1 Cor 15 verses 54–55 are preceded by the passage on Adam as a living soul (15:45–50). Regarding the "sting," Paul further elaborates on the text of Hos 13:14, for the victory over the "sting" is not new. Already Ps 91:5 assured those who believed in God that they never would have to fear Qeṭeb, the venomous serpent, that destroys at noonday. At the same

[44] Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1985), 198–214.

[45] The phrase of the "coiling serpent" being a literal quotation from the Baal myth, referring to the primordial serpent (*KTU* 1.5:I.1–3), *ltn . bṯn . brḥ* / *bṯn . ʿqltn*, "Lotanu, the fleeing serpent, the coiling serpent," slightly adapted by the Hebrew author into *lwytn nḥš brḥ* / *lwytn nḥš ʿqltn*, "Leviathan, the fleeing serpent, Leviathan, the coiling serpent."

[46] See, e.g., Brigitte Nerlich, "Metaphors in the time of coronavirus" (https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/makingsciencepublic/2020/03/17/metaphors-in-the-timeof-coronavirus/ retrieved 5 September 2023) and Asunción Villamil Touriño, "Metaphor in Scientific Language: A Study on Medical Texts," in *Metaphor, Blending and their Application to Semantic Analysis*, ed. Mara José Luzón Marco et al. (Zaragossa: Anubar Ediciones, 2006), 171–89.

time, however, Paul also transcended Hosea's message by reusing elements of the belief in the resurrection as mentioned in Hos 6:2, that by the prophet was used in a fully opposite and negative way. Paul turns the text upside down and is convinced something fully new happened in his own time: Christ died for our sins but also was raised on the third day, "in accordance with the scriptures" (1 Cor 15:3). As later reused again by Geoffrey Chaucer[47] in his Canterbury Tales (dated to 1387 CE) where the Pardoner in the Pardoner's Tales claimed that a sheep bone could heal sheep bitten by a serpent (C 350–57) and remarkably the Pardoner then compared himself to a serpent that stung with poisonous spittle everyone who rebelled against him. As stated by Dolores Noll the references by Chaucer to the serpent and its poisonous fangs are based on the text of Paul in 1 Cor. 15:55 and his use of Hos 13:14 and are used in an ironic way, for "the bone of 'an hooly Jewes sheep' cannot really cure an animal stung by a serpent; but one Holy Jew, the Lamb of God, does have the power to heal the sting of Death." Or, as an American pastor recently said in a sermon on John 20, "The fangs of death have been pulled out for those who believe. There is no venom in it."[48] It is remarkable to see that the idea of Paul's "sting" might go back on the concept of a Canaanite deity, but even without this background, it has been taken up also by others in their independent considerations on 1 Cor 15:55, interpreting the sting as the fangs of a or *the* serpent. Apparently, the idea is not far-fetched, and I agree, for when Jesus Christ rose from the dead, he also conquered the ferocious monster of death, with its poisonous fang.

[47] Dolores L. Noll, "The Serpent and the Sting in the 'Pardoner's Prologue' and 'Tale'," *The Chaucer Review* 17 (1982): 159–62.

[48] Pastor Jason Wolin on https://satisfiedinjesus.org/sermons/breaking-the-jaws-of-death/, retrieved 5 September 2023.

"HOW CAN SOME OF YOU SAY THAT THERE IS NO RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD?" A SHARED RABBINIC AND PAULINE CONCERN

Alberdina HOUTMAN

1. Introduction*

In chapter 15 of his first letter to the Corinthians, Paul asserts the crucial importance of belief in the resurrection of the body. He notes with concern that there are congregants who deny the revival of the dead at the end of time. In his view it is impossible to be a Christian without firmly subscribing to this belief. For Paul, the creed of the resurrection marks a distinct boundary between the in-group and the out-group.[1] This comes to no surprise, given his Pharisaic background, and the schismatic nature of belief in resurrection in the relationship between the Pharisees and the Sadducees.[2] His Pharisaic education served him well in his fight against the deniers of resurrection in the young church of Corinth. He tried to convince his mixed Jewish and Greek audience[3] in the way he learned from his teachers, namely with regular reference to Scriptures, in order not to give space to opponents who do not accept extra-biblical arguments.[4] Accordingly, he

* This article was written to honor my esteemed colleague Riemer Roukema on the occasion of his retirement as Professor of New Testament and Early Church at the PThU. A revised version of this article is published in: Alberdina Houtman, *Studies in Targum Isaiah. Textual Witnesses, Translation Techniques, and Theological Explorations*, Supplements to Aramaic Studies 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2025).

[1] Claudia Setzer, *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 3–6.

[2] He used this as a tactical argument in his appearance before the Sanhedrin (Acts 23:6–8): "When Paul noticed that some were Sadducees and others were Pharisees, he called out in the council: 'Brothers, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees. I am on trial concerning the hope of the resurrection of the dead.' When he said this a dissension began between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and the assembly was divided."

[3] Acts 18:4.

[4] In verse 4 he alludes to Hos 6:2, verse 27 probably refers to Ps 8:7 and Ps 110:1, verse 32 refers to Isa 22:13. Verse 45 refers to Gen 1:7b, verse 54 to Isa 25:8a, and verse 55 to Hos 13:14b. The quote in verse 33 may be a common saying that originated in the play "Thais" by the Greek poet Menander (342–291 BC). For the Jewish hearers there was obviously also an echo of the exhortations against bad company in the Book of Proverbs.

alluded to Hos 6:2 as biblical proof of the resurrection,[5] and referred to Isa 22:13 to show the consequence of denying it.[6]

In scholarly research on Paul since the seventies of the last century there has been growing interest in Paul's Jewish identity and way of thinking.[7] Nowadays it is good usage to consider the background of Paul as a learned Pharisee in the study of his letters besides his background in the Greco-Roman world of which he was also part. His teaching on resurrection has been shown to stand firmly within the Jewish apocalyptic-mystical tradition.[8] It is, however, not just what Paul thought, but also the method he used in proving his arguments from Scripture that should be studied in its Jewish context. In this paper I will therefore compare some relevant rabbinic material with 1 Cor 15 in both method and content and investigate if the Targumic reading of the Scriptural citations may have played a role in the hermeneutic process. I will restrict myself to the principal defence of the future resurrection that is described in the first half of the chapter, without getting into the practical and physical details that are described in the second half. I will start with a short review of the relevant material in Tanakh before turning to the rabbinic material.

2. Scriptural Base

Scripture is surprisingly quiet about the fate of the body after dying and the possibility of resurrection.[9] There are, of course, the stories about Elijah and Elisha reviving persons who died,[10] but these fall within the genre of miracle stories and it must be assumed that these persons eventually died like everyone else.[11] Moreover, these stories are about a revival

[5] 1 Cor 15:4.

[6] 1 Cor 15:32.

[7] The so-called New Perspective on Paul and the Radical New Perspective on Paul. See e.g. the bibliographic overview by Murray J. Smith, "Paul in the Twenty-First Century," in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks and Romans*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013): 1–33.

[8] Alan F. Segal, "Paul's Thinking About Resurrection in Its Jewish Context," *NTS* 44 (1998): 400–419.

[9] Richard E. Friedman and Shawna D. Overton, "Death and Afterlife: The Biblical Silence," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part Four: Death, Life-after-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck, Handbook of Oriental Studies 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 33–59.

[10] 1 Kgs 17:17–24, 2 Kgs 4:31–37, and 2 Kgs 13:20–21; see also Sir 48:13–14.

[11] See e.g. Leila L. Bronner, "The Resurrection Motif in the Hebrew Bible: Allusions or Illusions?," *JBQ* 30 (2002): 143–54.

immediately after death,[12] and not at the end of time.[13] References to the resurrection of the dead at the end of time are scarce. Apart from some texts in the Prophets that might possibly allude to an eventual resurrection of the body, but equally well to a national restoration,[14] there is only the text in Dan 12:1–3 that deals explicitly with a future resurrection of the body. This apocalyptic vision dates probably from the Maccabean revolt, the period often taken as instigating the development of a theology of afterlife.[15] However, there are also scriptural passages that seem to exclude a resurrection, such as Psalms 88:11–13 and 115:17, and Eccl 2:16, 3:19 and 11:8. Understandably, therefore, some factions within Judaism did not hold belief in resurrection to be self-evident, and within the group of believers there were also different views on the physical and practical details of the process. For the teachers who believed in resurrection it was a challenge to find scriptural support, not only from the Prophets and the Writings, but also from the Torah, the most authoritative part of the Hebrew Bible.[16]

3. Talmud

To get closer to the rabbinic line of reasoning that may have resonated in Paul's mind, we turn now to a discussion in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Sanhedrin 90ab. Although the Talmud in its redacted final form is quite late,[17] it contains much old material, such as the *mishnayot* and the *beraitot*, but also other orally transmitted traditions. Dating these individual traditions is notoriously hard because different rabbis have the same or similar names and the attribution of sayings to certain rabbis may be

[12] In the first two stories, about the son of the widow of Zarephat and the son of the Shunamite, it is not even sure the boys were dead or just severely ill.

[13] In this way they are comparable to the miracle stories about Jesus raising the dead in the New Testament, such as the raising of the widow's son (Luke 7:11–17), the daughter of Jairus (Matt 9:18–19, 23–25; Mark 5:22–24, 35–42; Luke 8:41–42, 49–55), and Lazarus (John 11:38–44).

[14] Hos 6:1–3, Ezek 37:4–6, Isa 26:19.

[15] See also 2 Macc 12:43–45.

[16] Arguments from the Torah were also especially important in discussions with the Samaritans, who only accepted the Torah as Holy Writ. See e.g. the discussion with the Samaritans in b. Sanh. 90b.

[17] It has a complicated redaction history. Traditionally the final stage was dated to around 500 CE, but lately scholars assume a much later date for the final closure, namely the beginning of the eighth century. See Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, trans. Markus Bockmuehl, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 190–208.

pseudepigraphic to give them greater authority.[18] Despite these uncertainties I think it is warranted to take this material into account as an inside view into the rabbinic way of thinking.[19] Our section starts with a rule from Mishnah Sanhedrin 10:1a[20] that reads as follows: [21]

> All Israelites have a share in the World to Come, for it is said "And your people, all of them righteous, shall inherit the land forever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands to be glorified" (Isa 60:21). And these are they that have no share in the World to Come: he that says that there is no resurrection of the dead,[22] and [he that says] that the Torah is not from heaven, and an Epicurean.[23]

After a discussion on the severity of the punishment and several explanations about the derivation of the dogma from Scripture, we then come to a passage where Rabban Gamliel[24] is in discussion with some heretics about our subject:

> Sectarians (*minim*)[25] asked Rabban Gamliel: "Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will resurrect the dead?" He answered them from the Torah, and from the Prophets, and from the Writings. But

[18] Stemberger, *Introduction*, 57–62.

[19] See also the discussion about this problem in Miguel Pérez Fernandez, "Rabbinic Texts in the Exegesis of the New Testament," in *Judaism and Christianity: New Directions for Dialogue and Understanding*, ed. Alan Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner, BRLA 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 83–107.

[20] The first mishnah of a chapter that considers the World to Come and who is barred from it. This in itself is rather surprising in a tractate that describes the organization and tasks of the assembly of judges, but for now we will accept it at face value.

[21] The translation of the rabbinic texts is mine. I have added some text between square brackets for better understanding. The Hebrew/Aramaic texts can easily be consulted at the website www.sefaria.org.

[22] In some Mishnah manuscripts, and in a reference to this mishnah in b. ʿAbod. Zar, 18a, the words מן התורה "[deducible] from the Torah" are added. See the discussion in Harry Sysling, *Tehiyyat Ha-Metim: The Resurrection of the Dead in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch and Parallel Traditions in Classical Rabbinic Literature*, TSAJ 57 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 125–26.

[23] A frequent appellation for libertines/heretics. It is not necessarily associated with teachings deriving from the philosopher Epicurus; to Jewish ears it also conveys the sense of √פקר "to be free, licentious, irreverent, skeptical," though in this specific context it seems quite appropriate. It is plausible that in the Mishnaic period Jews were aware of the general tenets of Epicureanism such as the denial of providence. See Jenny R. Labendz, "'Know What to Answer the Epicurean': A Diachronic Study of the 'Apiqoros in Rabbinic Literature," *HUCA* 74 (2003): 175–214.

[24] Probably Gamaliel II (ca. 90–130 CE), the grandson of Gamaliel I (first half of the first century CE), who was Paul's teacher.

[25] This word may mean "sectarians/infidels" in general but is often used specifically for Judeo-Christians. See e.g. Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 54–58.

> they did not accept it from him [as conclusive proof]. From the Torah: for it is written (Deut 31:16), "And the LORD said to Moses, 'Behold, you are soon to lie with your fathers and rise up [again].'" They said to him: "But perhaps [it means] 'this people will rise up and stray.'"[26] From the Prophets: for it is written (Isa 26:19) "Your dead shall live, let corpses[27] arise. Awake and shout for joy [you] that dwell in the dust. For your dew is like the dew of lights,[28] and the earth shall cast out its dead[29]." [They replied] "But perhaps this refers to the dead whom Ezekiel resurrected?"[30] From the Writings: for it is written (Cant 7:10) "And your palate is like the best wine, which glides down smoothly to my beloved, making the lips of the sleeping speak."[31] [They countered] "But perhaps it means merely that their lips will move, in accordance with R. Joḥanan."[32] As R. Joḥanan said in the name of R. Shimon ben Jehotsadaq:[33] "If a halacha is said in any person's name in this world, his lips speak in the grave, as it is said (Cant 7:10b), 'making the lips of the sleeping speak.'"
>
> Until he (Rabban Gamaliel) quoted to them this verse from Scripture (Deut 11:21c) "[in the land] that the LORD swore to your fathers to assign to them." Not "to *you*" it is said, but "to *them*." Hence resurrection is derived from the Torah. Others say that he proved it from this verse from Scripture (Deut 4:4) "While you, who cleave unto the LORD your God are all alive today." Just as you are all alive today, so shall you all live again in the World to Come.

This discussion is a good example of the problems the rabbis faced in persuading the doubters. As we saw above, the mishnah underlying this discussion mentions three categories of Israelites who have no share in the World to Come: deniers of the resurrection, deniers of the divine origin of the Torah, and Epicureans.[34] The first category resembles the doubters whom Paul addressed in 1 Cor 15:12-19 with the argument that if they deny the resurrection, they deny in fact the gospel which they had received. The last category resembles the words of Paul in 1 Cor 15:32b where he sarcastically cites Isa 22:13b, caricaturing Epicureanism without explicitly naming it: "If the dead are not raised, 'let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die,'" in this way making a connection between the denial

[26] Reading וקם as part of the second verse half in line with the later Masoretic reading.
[27] Meaning unclear.
[28] Meaning unclear, another possible meaning is "light-herb."
[29] Literally "ghosts/shades."
[30] Ezek 37:1–10, symbolizing the restoration of the people of Israel.
[31] Meaning unclear. According to Rashi דובב means "moving the lips to speak."
[32] Third-century leading Palestinian rabbi.
[33] Palestinian rabbi of the early third century whose sayings were transmitted by R. Joḥanan.
[34] For a thorough discussion of the mishnah, see Labendz, "'Know What to Answer the Epicurean.'"

of resurrection of the dead and a licentious lifestyle.[35] It has been argued convincingly that some of the problems in Corinth that Paul pointed out and tried to control had to do with Epicurean sympathies within the young church.[36] For Epicurus, death was simply the end, the soul died with the body, there was no afterlife and no World to Come.[37] The rabbis of the Mishnah and Paul thus faced a shared ideological enemy.

In the discussion between Rabban Gamliel and the heretics, Rabban Gamliel supports proof of the resurrection of the dead from all three parts of Tanakh. His adversaries, however, are initially not convinced. They dismiss the proof from Deut 31:16 on the basis of the verse division. Just like the Masoretes later, they propose to take the word וקם "and rise up" with the second half of the verse: וקם העם הזה וזנה "this people will rise up and play the harlot." The proof from Isa 26:19 is dismissed because it probably refers to a national revival as in Ezek 37. The proof from Canticles is rejected as inconclusive with reference to a tradition about famous teachers moving their lips in their graves whenever they are cited. However, finally they seem convinced, although opinions differ on which verse from Deuteronomy tipped the scale: Deut 11:21c or Deut 4:4.

Those not familiar with rabbinic works should note here that discussions like these are literary constructs rather than records of actual discussions between the rabbis mentioned, as in this case becomes clear for instance from the introduction of the third-century rabbis R. Shimon ben Jehotsadaq and R. Joḥanan in an early second-century setting. Stories like these served primarily an educational purpose.

[35] This ridicules the Epicureans. In his letter to Menoeceus Epicurus formulated the aim of pleasure as follows: "But when we say that pleasure is our goal, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the self-indulgent, as the ignorant think, or those who disagree with or misinterpret our views. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of torment in the soul. For it is not drinking bouts and continuous carousals, nor the pleasures to be had with boys and women, nor the enjoyment of fish and all the other delicacies a luxurious table furnishes that produce a pleasant life, but the sober reasoning that examines the basis of every choice and aversion, and banishes the beliefs that afflict the soul with its worst torments." (Book 10, 131–32, cited from Pamela Mensch and James Miller, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers. By Diogenes Laertius* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018], 535.)

[36] E.g. Graham Tomlin, "Christians and Epicureans in 1 Corinthians," *JSNT* 68 (1997): 51–71.

[37] As he wrote in his letter to Menoeceus: "Accustom yourself to the idea that death is nothing to us. For all good and all bad are vested in sense perception, and death is deprivation of sense perception. Hence, a correct understanding that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by giving life an unlimited span but by dispelling the desire for immortality. (Book 10, 124–25, cited from Mensch and Miller, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, 533.)

4. Targums

The prooftexts that are brought up by Paul and Gamliel are not very convincing to modern readers. Some of them, however, had good credentials as testimonies to the creed of the resurrection of the body, witness the early Aramaic interpretative translations, the Targums. As a learned Pharisee and pupil of Rabban Gamliel the Elder, Paul would have been familiar with some of the traditions they contained, even if the texts had not yet been finalized as a written corpus.[38] We will see that if the cited texts are viewed through this lens they make much more sense. I will consider and discuss the following cases: the references to Hos 6:2 and to Isa 22:13 by Paul, and the reference to Isa 26:19 by Rabban Gamliel.[39] All three cases come from Targum Jonathan, the authoritative translation of the prophets. I will render the texts in English, giving the Hebrew and Aramaic base texts only when necessary. Words in the Targum that deviate from the Hebrew text, either as addition or as free translation, are italicized.[40]

4.1 *Isa 22:13–14*

The biblical context of the passage from Isa 22 is the prediction of calamity for Jerusalem that called for humbling and lament. Verse 13 recounts the inappropriate behavior of part of the population. The Targum renders it as follows:

> Tg. Isa 22:13 And see, there is rejoicing and merriment, *they say* "*Let us* kill cattle and slaughter sheep, *let us* eat meat and drink wine, *let us* eat and drink, for we will die *and not live*!"

By means of a few adaptations of the Hebrew base text the translator redirected the text in the direction of the afterlife. Tg. Isa adds the words "they say" in order to avoid the impression that these are the words of

[38] See e.g. Delio DelRio, *Paul and the Synagogue: Romans and the Isaiah Targum* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013). The dating of individual traditions in Targum Jonathan is notoriously difficult, there are parts that certainly date back to the early tannaitic before 132 CE, while other parts are probably from the Amoraic period.

[39] The references to Deuteronomy are translated quite literally in the Targums to the Torah. Only Tg PsJon has a relevant expansion, but this work is notoriously hard to date. The Targum to Canticles is exegetically interesting but for our purposes too young (probably early Middle Ages).

[40] The Aramaic texts are published in Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic: The Latter Prophets*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, reprint 1992). They can also be consulted on the website of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (https://cal.huc.edu).

the prophet. The last clause of the Hebrew text reads כי מחר נמות "for tomorrow we die." In tannaitic literature the word "tomorrow" is occasionally interpreted as "some day in the future."[41] Apparently the translator applied this interpretation here, suggesting that the persons concerned do not believe in an afterlife and eventual resurrection: dead is dead. This is further strengthened by the addition "and not live." So, they can as well try and make the best of it in this life.[42] In this way it serves as an upbeat for the next verse, which we will therefore also consider.

> Tg. Isa 22:14 *The prophet said*, with my ears *I was hearing when this was decreed from before* the LORD of Hosts: "This inequity shall never be forgiven you until you die *the second death*," said the LORD God of Hosts.

According to the Hebrew text of this verse, God's reaction to the foresaid behavior was: "This iniquity shall never be forgiven you until you die." In the eyes of the translator, the wrong inference of the people concerned was that they thought that death was the end.[43] According to this view, the sentence of the Hebrew text was then not a real threat. Until their death they would eat, drink and be merry, and then it would be finished. The warning of the translator is that death is *not* the end. In his view, after the physical death there will be a judgment where God will decide who will live an eternal life of bliss and who will die an everlasting death.[44] The expression "the second death" occurs several times in the Book of Revelation[45] and in early rabbinic and Jewish Hellenistic literature.[46] Given its occurrence in Revelation the *terminus a quo* for the concept is the late first century. Apparently, it refers to the punishment of the wicked after the Last Judgement.

[41] Mek. Pisha 18 (L.1.166).

[42] Cf. 1 Cor 15:32. Later on, Rashi also adopted this interpretation: "In the World to Come we will die. The prophets tell us from above that we will not have a part in the World to Come, let us therefore seek pleasure in our lives."

[43] In rabbinic literature several known wicked persons are accused of "epicureanism." Within targumic literature we find the example of Cain, who in the Palestinian Targums on Gen 4:8 is made to say to Abel "there is no judgment and no judge and there is no other world; there is no bestowal of recompense for the just and there is no reckoning for the wicked." This nihilistic world view made it easy for him to kill his brother.

[44] This fits in with the rabbinic teaching in m. Sanh. 10:1 discussed above.

[45] Rev 2:11, 20:6, 20:14, 21:8.

[46] Alberdina Houtman and Magda Misset-van de Weg, "The Fate of the Wicked: Second Death in Early Jewish and Christian Texts," in *Empsychoi Logoi: Religious Innovations in Antiquity*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong, and Magda Misset-van de Weg, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 405–24.

4.2 *Isa 26:19*

Isa 26:19 is generally seen as one of the most concrete references to a bodily resurrection of the dead alongside the reference in Daniel. The similarity in wording between הקיצו ורננו שכני עפר "awake and shout for joy, those who dwell in the dust" in Isa 26:19 and ורבים מישני אדמת־עפר יקיצו "many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake" in Dan 12:2 probably caused the eschatological reading of this verse in Isaiah.[47]

> Tg. Isa 26:19 *You are the one who revives the* dead; *You cause the bones of their* corpses *to* arise! *They shall live* and sing praise *before You*, *all who were thrown* in the dust! For Your dew is a dew of light *unto them that perform Your Torah. Yet the wicked, to whom You gave might, but who went against Your Memra*, You will *surrender to Gehenna*.

The first part of the verse is translated almost literally, except that the translator obviously wanted to remove the ambiguity in the Hebrew text as to who revives the dead. In his view it is clear that it is God himself.[48] Another small but significant adaptation of the Hebrew text is the addition of the word כל.[49] In the development of the concept of resurrection, at first only special individuals were granted new life after death, such as the patriarchs, Moses, and Elijah. The next stage also included the martyrs, and still later all the righteous. The ultimate stage was the resurrection of all the dead, righteous and wicked alike.[50] It seems that in the Hebrew text the expression "your dead" refers explicitly to the Israelite dead who will participate in a national restoration of the kind described in Ezek 37:1-14, so it is not yet witness to the belief in a general resurrection. The Targum of this verse, on the other hand, reflects the later stage of the belief in a general resurrection.

The dew in the Hebrew text is seen as an allusion to the resurrection: just as rain is life-giving to nature, so is dew. There is an interesting tradition

[47] A difficult text can be explained by a more explicit one. See e.g. Rimon Kasher, "The Interpretation of Scripture in Rabbinic Literature," in *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, CRINT 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 547–94, here 592.

[48] See also Tg. Isa 38:16 and 57:16.

[49] NB this is a development in relation to Dan 12:2, where it says רפע־תמדא ינשימ מיברו "*many* that sleep in the dust of the earth."

[50] Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur dargestellt* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1934), 235–47.

in the Palestinian Talmud that explains the connection between rain/dew and resurrection by means of a parable. In tractate y. Taʿan. 1:1,63cd[51] it says:

> Just as the resurrection of the dead [brings life] to the world, so rainfall [brings life] to the world. Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Abba understood it from here: "In two days He will make us whole again; on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live before Him. We shall know, we shall strive to know the LORD; like morning His appearance is as sure as daybreak." (Hos 6:2–3a) It is written: "Elijah the Tishbite, an inhabitant of Gilead, said to Aḥab: As the LORD lives, the God of Israel whom I serve, there will be no dew or rain these years except by my word." (1 Kgs 17:1). [So] Rabbi Berekhia said. [As to] Rabbi Yose and the rabbis, one of them said, "he was heard both for dew and for rain," the other one said, "he was heard for rain but was not heard for dew." He who said, "he was heard for rain, but he was not heard for dew," [based it on] this [verse from] Scripture: "Go, appear before Aḥab, then I will send rain on the earth." (1 Kgs 18:1b) Concerning him who said, "he was heard for rain as well as for dew," where was the vow of dew dissolved? Rabbi Tanḥum from Edrei said, "They are of the opinion that a vow that was dissolved partially is dissolved totally." Some want to say, in relation to the son of the woman from Zarephat: "He called on the LORD and said, O LORD, my God, will you bring calamity upon this widow whose guest I am, and let her son die?" (1 Kgs 17:20) Rabbi Judah bar Pazi said, "[This is similar] to one who stole a doctor's bag. When he left, his son was injured. He returned to him and said: 'Please, sir doctor, heal my son.' He said to him: 'Go and return my bag because it is full of designated medicines, and I shall heal your son.' So, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Elijah: 'Go and lift the vow of dew because the dead are resurrected only by dew, then I shall resurrect the son of the woman from Zarephat.' And whence will the dead live [again] only by dews? 'Your dead shall live, let corpses arise. Awake and shout for joy [you] that dwell in the dust. For your dew is like the dew of lights (אוֹרֹת), and the earth shall cast out its dead.'" (Isa 26:19)

The rare Hebrew word אוֹרֹת means either "mallow," a light-sensitive herb with showy flowers,[52] or it may be an intensive plural of אוֹרָה, "light."[53] As we saw above in the targum of Isa 26:19, the translator obviously chose the latter option, providing him with the occasion to make a connection with the performers of the Torah, whom he supposed to be the

[51] With a parallel in y. Ber 5:1,9ab.

[52] KBL, s.v. אורה; *HALOT*, s.v. II אוֹרָה.

[53] *HALOT*, s.v. I אוֹרָה. John Day, "טַל אוֹרֹת in Isaiah 26_{19}," *ZAW* 90 (1978): 265–69. See also Sysling, *Tehiyyat Ha-Metim*, 160–61. Modern Bible translations are divided on this issue.

hidden indirect object of the clause.[54] Probably he felt justified in doing so because of the resemblance between the Hebrew word אורה "light" and the Aramaic word אוריתא "Torah,"[55] and because of the frequent combination of light and Torah in the Hebrew Bible and in the history of interpretation.[56]

The last clause of the Hebrew verse, ארץ רפאים תפיל, is a crux. Some take ארץ as the subject of the clause, translating "the earth will give birth to the ghosts of the dead,"[57] others take God as the subject and the compound ארץ רפאים as object, translating "You make the land of the shades come to life."[58] The Aramaic translator took a third route, using the technique of supplying hidden information. He took God as subject and ארץ רפאים as the indirect object. As object of the verb, he introduced the wicked. In this way he created a sensible antithesis between the fate of the righteous and the fate of the wicked. After the resurrection of the dead, the righteous will live forever in the light of God, while the wicked will be thrown into Gehennah, the place of everlasting suffering.

4.3 *Hos 6:2*

We turn now to Hos 6:2. Whereas the context in the Hebrew Bible suggests that this verse is about the political restoration of Israel, the Targum translators apparently had no scruples to read it as referring to Messianic times and the resurrection of the dead. This interpretation is probably prompted by the mention of the גשם "rain" and the מלקוש "latter rain" that refreshes the earth in the next verse.[59]

> Tg. Hos 6:2 He will sustain us *for* the days *of consolation that will come*; on the day *of the resurrection of the dead* he will *raise us up* and we shall live before him.

[54] Wherever grammatical information necessary for the understanding of the text seemed to be missing, the meturgeman adduced the information from the context and made it explicit. See e.g. Yehuda Komlosh, *The Bible in the Light of the Aramaic Translations* [המקרא באור התרגום], Series of Research Monographs in Memory of the University Founder and First President Pinchas Churgin 12 (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1973), 352.

[55] Wordplay is an accepted translational principle in the Targums.

[56] E.g., Prov 6:23a reads כי נר מצוה ותורה אור "the commandment is a lamp, the Torah is a light." In b. Meg. 16b the word אורה "light" in Esth 8:16 is explained as "Torah" on the basis of analogy to this verse.

[57] See Nicholas J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, BibOr 21 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 29.

[58] JPS Translation.

[59] Martin MacNamara, *Targum and New Testament: Collected Essays*, WUNT 279 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 506.

The two days of the biblical text are explained as the days of consolation that will come, which is a rabbinic way of referring to the Messianic Era.[60] The "third day" is explicated as the "day of the resurrection." In the symbolic language of the Bible the third day is always a day of providential intervention, of revelation, healing, victory, or salvation. The theme is also popular in rabbinic literature.[61] It is used here in Hosea as the divine deliverance from well-deserved punishments, confessing the faith that if they return to the LORD (Hos 6:1), He will be merciful in granting them part in the World to Come.

5. Summary and Concluding Remarks

Paul's desperate question of how it is possible that there are people in the church of Corinth who deny the resurrection prompted me to investigate this question from a Jewish perspective. It is clear that besides a shared belief between Paul and the Tannaim in the bodily resurrection of the dead, and the desire to provide this with a clear biblical basis, there is also a clear difference between Paul's reasoning and the rabbinic arguments. Paul builds his argument around the resurrection of Jesus, which he describes as the first fruits of those who have died[62] (1 Cor 15:20), indicating that the great harvest will soon occur at Christ's return. For obvious reasons, the case of Jesus' resurrection did not qualify for the rabbis. The Jewish exegetes generally ignored examples of persons who were dead for only a brief time before they were resurrected, such as the revivification of the son of the widow of Zarephat and the son of the Shunamite. The story of the resurrection of the son of the widow of Zarephat is indeed cited in the Palestinian Talmud but is used there to explain the widespread tradition about the connection between dew and resurrection rather than to prove the dogma of resurrection fundamentally. The whole rabbinic resurrection theology was built around the general resurrection at the end of time when all mortals would rise and be judged.

In m. Sanh. 10:1, the Epicureans are mentioned among the categories that have no share in the World to Come. Whereas in later rabbinic sources the indication "Epicurean" is often simply a cipher for sceptics or heretics, in early sources – like the Mishnah – it is probably more specific. In the

[60] For the use of the concept in the Targums, see Sysling, *Tehiyyat Ha-Metim*, 44–48. Note the change of preposition from Hebrew מן "from" to Aramaic ל "to/for."

[61] E.g. Genesis Rabba 56:1. See Harvey K. McArthur, "'On the Third Day'," *NTS* 18 (1971): 81–86.

[62] Κεκοιμημένων, literally "have been put to sleep," a word choice that brings in mind the "sleepers in the dust" of Dan 12:2.

tannaitic period, which partly overlaps with the lifetime of Paul, Epicureanism was quite popular and posed a threat both to the Jewish religion and to the young church. Both the author of our anonymous mishnah and Paul warned against this body of thought as dangerous for the true faith. It seems, however, that they cautioned about different aspects of Epicureanism. Paul referred to their thinking in terms of licentious behavior related to their conviction that death is the end. As he says in 1 Cor 15:32, "If the dead are not raised, 'Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die.'" The rabbis of the Mishnah, on the other hand, mention the Epicureans as the third group after those who deny resurrection and who deny the divine origin of the Torah. Within the logic of rabbinic enumeration,[63] one would also expect as the third member a denial of a main theological principle. Given that resurrection already had been mentioned explicitly, it had to be another principle, such as for instance divine providence, which was denied by the Epicureans.[64]

As proof of the resurrection Paul alluded to Hos 6:2, "that he was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures." Although Gamliel did not use this text as proof of resurrection in the section from b. Sanh. 90b that we discussed, it was well-known in rabbinic literature, as we saw for example in the halakhah from the Palestinian Talmud passage y. Taʿan. 1:1,63cd. Also, Targum Jonathan rephrased the text in a way that unequivocally referred to the resurrection of the body in the Messianic Era.

Gamliel cited Isa 26:9 as proof from the Prophets, which is an obvious choice. The Targum translators finetuned the text in an almost doctrinal way. It is remarkable therefore that Paul did not use this text. The clearest prooftext for resurrection, Dan 12:2, was used neither by Paul nor by Gamliel. It is, however, used in another passage a little further on in the Babylonian Talmud tractate Sanhedrin where Rabina[65] argues that resurrection is based on this verse (b. Sanh. 92a), while his colleague Rav Ashi[66] gave an alternative.

[63] See e.g. Lennart Lehmhaus, "Lore and Order? – Rabbinic Lists and Epistemology," in *Forms of List-Making: Epistemic, Literary, and Visual Enumeration*, ed. Roman A. Barton et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmilian, 2022), 53–80.

[64] In the conclusion of Epicurus' letter to Menoeceus he describes the ideal person as follows: "As for fate, which some have posited as ruler over all things, he laughs at the notion, and claims instead that some things occur by chance, others through our own agency; for he sees that necessity is beyond human control and that chance is unstable, whereas our own actions, to which blame and its opposite naturally attach, are free." (Book 10, 133–34, cited from Mensch and Miller, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, 536.)

[65] Either Rabina 1 (died ≈ 420) or Rabina 2 (died ≈ 475).

[66] Babylonian rabbi, who lived from 352–427. Rav Ashi and Rabina are seen as the main editors of the Babylonian Talmud.

It seems suitable therefore to end this short overview of rabbinic resurrection traditions with this text.

> Rabina says [that resurrection is derived] from here: "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will awaken, some to eternal life, others to reproaches, to everlasting abhorrence." (Dan 12:2) Rav Ashi says [proof is derived] from here: "But you, go on to the end; you shall rest, and arise to your destiny at the end of the days." (Dan 12:13)

ELIJAH AND JESUS: CONQUERING DEATH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND RABBINIC SOURCES

Lieve TEUGELS

In this paper I want to highlight some elements from Paul's statements about Jesus' resurrection and the general resurrection of the dead in 1 Cor 15 by putting them next to classical rabbinic (3rd-7th cent.) traditions about Elijah. With this choice for the rabbinic evidence, I do in no way claim that this is the only or even the best source for early Jewish statements about resurrection or about Elijah. There are many Second Temple texts that relate to both topics with arguments that may be closer to Paul's, and that may offer a more contemporary background for the New Testament.[1] I want to present the rabbinic traditions about Elijah because I perceive some remarkable similarities between the way the figure of Elijah is related to the resurrection of the dead in rabbinic sources, and the way Paul relates Christ's resurrection to the general resurrection of the dead. The choice for Elijah is also determined by the fact that, already in the New Testament, Jesus is compared or otherwise associated with this biblical prophet. Moreover, some rabbinic statements suggest a (polemical) reaction to Paul's or similar Christian statements about resurrection. Before delving into the rabbinic sources, I will briefly recall the statements and reasonings in 1 Cor 15 and other NT texts that I will compare with the Elijanic rabbinic texts.

The "logic" of 1 Cor 15

In 1 Cor 15:12–13 we find the reasoning that, because Christ has been risen from death, resurrection from death is a fact and therefore

[1] About Elijah books, see Michael E. Stone and John Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah* (Missoula, MO: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1979). Hilla Alouf-Aboody studied the continuity of the Elijah traditions throughout Second Temple literature, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, into rabbinic literature. See Hilla N. Alouf-Aboody, *Through the Prism of Wisdom: Elijah the Prophet as a Bearer of Wisdom in Rabbinic Literature* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2020). About views on resurrection in early non-rabbinic Judaism, see Casey Deryl Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism, 200 BCE-CE 200*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

other dead people will resurrect also. The reverse is argued in v. 16: "If the dead are not raised, Christ has not been raised." This reasoning is formulated quite succinctly and involves several cognitive steps, not all of which are automatic. If we can infer from Christ's resurrection that other humans can resurrect, this means than Christ is human. If Christ was primarily conceived as a god, it would surprise no one, especially not a Greek, that he could resurrect or even be immortal. Because Christ, in his human capacity, was revived, this must also be possible for other humans. This step is logical, even though based on a shared belief, a faith, that which is "preached" (v.14), namely that Christ has resurrected.[2]

Even though Christ's resurrection was acknowledged by all Christian groups, as attested by Origen,[3] there were certain Christian, specifically gnostic, groups[4] that denied the possibility of *bodily* resurrection.[5] The Jewish Sadducees refuted not only bodily resurrection, but denied any kind of life after death, even a spiritual life, as witnessed by Flavius Josephus.[6] Scholarship has demonstrated the unlikeliness that Paul was targeting Sadducees[7] or Gnostics. Corinth was a mixed city[8] with, despite the presence of a Jewish settlement,[9] a mostly pagan Greco-Roman population, with a diverse knowledge of, and sympathy for, the various Greek

[2] George Kennedy calls this kind of rhetoric, which combines an appeal to rationality with revealed messages and authoritative proclamation "the rhetoric of sacred language." Cf. George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 6–7.

[3] Cf. Riemer Roukema, "La résurrection des morts dans l'interprétation origénienne de 1 Corinthiens 15," in *La résurrection chez les Pères*, ed. J.M. Prieur, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 7 (Strasbourg: Université Marc Bloch, 2003), 162 quoting from Origen's *Fr. 1 Cor*. 81.

[4] Roukema, "La résurrection des morts," 162 mentions The Gospel according to Philip.

[5] Cf. Roukema, "La résurrection des morts," 163 referencing *Fr. 1 Cor*. 83–84. Roukema describes how Origen in fact repeats Paul's argument in 1 Cor 15:12–14 in this fragmentary commentary on 1 Cor, by emphasizing the contradictory way of thinking of the Gnostics: one cannot at the same time believe that Christ has physically resurrected and deny the possibility of physical resurrection.

[6] *J.W*. 2.114–166 and *Ant*. 18.1.4.

[7] In his *Comm. Matt*. 17. 29, digressing to 1 Cor 15, Origen seems to be targeting Sadducees, or Christians that thought in the Sadducean manner about resurrection. Roukema argues that Origen himself had problems with bodily resurrection and rather believed in the resurrection in a different spiritual, or ethereal, body. In this way he would have interpreted certain verses in 1 Cor, such as specifically vv. 39–48. Cf. Roukema, "La résurrection des morts," 163–64. In another study, Roukema argues that this was probably also the intention of Paul himself, see Riemer Roukema, "Paulus' Verhandeling over de Opstanding. 1 Korinthiërs 15," *Interpretatie* 21 (2013): 33–35.

[8] Cf. Acts 18:4.

[9] Cf. Philo in *Legat*. 281–82.

philosophical schools such as Stoicism and Epicureanism.[10] Of the latter it is known that they denied all sorts of life after death. It is therefore not unthinkable that Paul addressed Corinthian Epicurean followers of Jesus, as can also be inferred from vv. 32 and 33.[11]

What Paul endeavors, therefore, in 1 Cor 15:12–17, is to convince a (predominantly) non-Jewish, Greek-speaking audience of an idea that was commonly accepted in his (former) Pharisaic Jewish circles, i.e., bodily resurrection of the dead at the end of times. This involves a certain rhetoric, because, to be convincing, he needed to address his audience in a way they could relate to. The rhetoric of 1 Cor 15 has been analyzed by many scholars before, and I will not expand on this now.[12]

The second step in Paul's argument is not automatic. Christ was resurrected soon after his death. Yet this is not what is expected of all deceased humans. They are supposed to be revived just before the end of times, when Christ comes back. Jesus, as well as his resurrection, are different from that of other humans. This difference in timing is explicitly addressed by Paul in vv. 23–24: "each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, after that those who are Christ's at His coming, then comes the end …" Because of his and his audience's belief in the imminent coming of the end of times, this could mean that some believers need not die first; these will continue living without first having to die, because the end of time will occur before their death (vv. 51–52). A third step in Paul's argument is that resurrection, or living on beyond the end of times, involves a different, spiritual body.[13] This idea of ongoing life with a spiritual body even has

[10] For Paul's referents, those who deny the resurrection and Epicureans, I refer to the contribution of Alberdina Houtman in this volume and her references to other studies. I especially want to recommend her discussion of m. Sanh 10:1 and b. Sanh 90 a-b which provides an insiders' view of the various Jewish stances (including Epicureans!) on the matter of resurrection. Another summary of the recent scholarly positions on the referents of 1 Cor 12:15 is found in Stefan Szymik, "The Corinthian Opponents of the Resurrection in 1 Cor 15:12," *The Biblical Annals* 10.3 (2020): 437–56.

[11] Szymik, "The Corinthian Opponents of the Resurrection in 1 Cor 15:12," 453 and passim.

[12] About rhetoric as a suitable perspective with which to address the letters of Paul, see among many others Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 9–10. Specifically on 1 Cor 15: Duane F. Watson, "Paul's Rhetorical Strategy in 1 Corinthians 15," in *Rhetoric and the New Testament: Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, and Thomas H. Olbricht, LNTS (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 231–49.

[13] It has been suggested that the Corinthian opponents of Paul's view of (bodily) resurrection where pneumatics who believed that the (spiritual) resurrection had already taken place at baptism. See Joel Delobel, "The Corinthians' (Un-)Belief in the Resurrection," in *Resurrection in the New Testament: Festschrift J. Lambrecht*, ed. Reimund Bieringer, V. Koperski, and B. Laitare, BETL 165 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 343–56.

preference over the idea of resurrection: those who happen to be living at the moment of the end of times do not need to resurrect, they will rather be transformed.

Elijah in the NT

In the NT, as in rabbinic literature, Mal 3 is an important source for statements about Elijah, specifically in his relationship to the messiah.[14] In the Christian canon, this last chapter of the Old Testament leads automatically to the message of the gospel. Already in Mark 1:2–4, where Mal 3:1 is erroneously attributed to Isaiah, Elijah is identified with John the Baptist. This is also the case elsewhere in the gospels (Matt 11:14; 16:13–14; 17:10–13; Mark 1:2, 9:13). Occasionally, however, the NT vacillates between John and Jesus as the Elijah *redivivus* (Matt 16:13–14; Mark 6:14–16; 8:27–28; Luke 4:25–27; 9:7–8, 18–19).[15] This is because the ambiguities in Mal 3:1–2 and 23–24 work through in their exegetical application in the New Testament. First of all, the connection between Mal 3:1 "Behold I will send you my messenger," and v. 23 "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet," is based on the similarity in wording, but it is not water-tight: It cannot be derived from the text as such that v. 1 also speaks about Elijah.[16] In all NT references, the beginning as well as the end of Mal 3 are read as referring to Elijah. If this identification is accepted, vv. 1–2 can still be read in two ways: either Elijah is the forerunner of the messiah, or he is the messiah himself. This depends on whether one assumes that the "lord whom you seek," refer to the same person as the

[14] I previously discussed the NT and rabbinic exegeses of Mal 3 in Lieve M. Teugels, "Man van God of goddelijke man? De rol van Elia in de eindtijd en de receptie van Maleachi 3:1, 23–24 in de rabbijnse interpretaties," in *Elia & Elisa*, ed. Marieke den Braber and Willien van Wieringen, ACEBT 35 (Amsterdam: Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, 2022), 139–47; Lieve M. Teugels, "Mann Gottes oder Gottmann? Die Rolle Elijas in der Endzeit und die Rezeption von Maleachi 3,1 und 23-24 in der rabbinischen Auslegung," *BN* 197 (2023): 83–94. Some passages of these papers are repeated, with some modifications and with a different purpose, in the present paper.

[15] John C. Poirier, "Jesus as an Elijanic Figure in Luke 4:16–30," *CBQ* 71.2 (2009): 349–63. Poirier argues that Isa 61, the text that Jesus had been reading in the synagogue in Nazareth (v. 18) should be read through an Elijanic lens.

[16] There are many Jewish commentaries where the two verses are considered separately. The "messenger" or "angel" in verse 1 is then said to be Israel's guardian angel, whose function is to "remove the wicked" from the "way" (Rashi). Ibn Ezra identifies the messenger with the "messiah son of Joseph." This is in line with the rabbinic belief in two messiahs: one who will fight the final battle (son of Joseph), and one who will be the messianic king afterwards (son of David). For the commentaries of Rashi and Ibn Ezra to Mal 3, see Sefaria.org ad loc.

"messenger of the covenant," both mentioned in Mal 3:1; and whether the "me" before whom the messenger will prepare the way, is the same as the "lord whom you seek." In Matt 17:10–12, Jesus says, quoting or alluding to Mal 3:23–24, that Elijah had already come, and in Matt 17:13 it is explicitly said that he was speaking about John. Yet in the beginning of Jesus' career, many people thought that Jesus was a reincarnation of Elijah, even though some, including Herod, though he was John who had returned – the latter himself conceived as the new Elijah (Mark 6:14–16). In Luke 4:24–27 Jesus compares himself to Elijah (and Elisha) as a prophet who is not heard in his own place. Most famously, in the transfiguration scene, Elijah, together with Moses, appears next to Jesus (Matt 17:1–8; Mark 9:2–8; Luke 9:28–36). This is not an identification, of course, but at least a strong connection between these three figures. As we will see, Elijah is in the Jewish tradition often compared to Moses.[17] That Paul attributed to Elijah a special prophetic role that relates to messianic times, may also be deduced from 1 Cor 2:9–10, provided that one accepts, with Origen and Jerome, that the words quoted there ("as it is written") are derived from an ancient, otherwise lost, "Apocryphon of Elijah."[18]

Elijah and resurrection in the rabbinic tradition

I will first summarize the data about Elijah and resurrection which I consider relevant for shedding light on the connection between Jesus' resurrection and the general resurrection of the dead, before expanding on each individual topic and illustrate it with relevant rabbinic texts in the following sections. First, in the Hebrew Bible, Elijah is known to have resuscitated the dead son of the widow of Sarephath (1 Kgs 17). About Jesus it is related, not in 1 Cor 15 but in other parts of the NT, that he had the capacity to revive deceased people during his earthly live (Luke 7:11–17; 8:40–56; Matt 27:50–53; John 11), and yet others were brought to live in his name afterwards (Acts 9:36–43; 20:7–12). Second, in contradistinction to Jesus, Elijah himself is not said to have risen from death.

[17] The associations between Moses and Elijah may be based on the fact that both Moses and Elijah went to Mount Horeb, as well as other similarities such as that they both had an experience of God "passing by" (Exod 33:18–24; 1 Kgs 19:11–13). Jesus' stay in the desert for 40 days also reminds of Elijah's 40-day flight towards the desert (Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13) and Moses' stay on the mountain for 40 days and 40 nights (Exod 34:28)

[18] 1 Cor 2:9–10 is attributed by ancient Christian authorities, such as Origen and Jerome, to an apocryphon or apocalypse of Elijah. See Stone and Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah*, 42–73.

This is an important distinction that should be kept in mind throughout this paper. Elijah, rather, "skipped" dying and ascended to heaven alive (2 Kgs 2). The Jewish tradition assumes that he kept on living in a way ever since. In this capacity, he is known in to have appeared to several people in subsequent times to give them advice. This data is comparable to the ascension of Christ and his appearances afterwards. Third, in the Jewish tradition, Elijah's gift of being able to revive an individual dead person in his earthly life, is combined with his eschatological role, and extended to include his involvement in the general resurrection of the dead just before the end of times. [19] This latter role of Elijah is part of his task as (forerunner of) the messiah, based on a specific reading of Mal 3:1 and 23–24. Even though messianic speculations surround Elijah, the rabbinic sages usually consider him as the forerunner of the messiah, rather than the messiah himself. Nevertheless, especially in later rabbinic traditions "Elijah" is mentioned as one of the possible names of the messiah.[20] As in 1 Cor 15:24, the rabbinic tradition situates the tasks of Elijah (and) the messiah *before* the end, when God will reign.[21] One role of Elijah in rabbinic literature is his task as the eschatological "judge." This judgment is not the Final Judgment, which is reserved for God, but is rather geared towards solving unresolved disputes and bringing peace. Finally, the fact that Elijah could intervene in the process of rainfall (1 Kgs 17–18) forged the association between Elijah and giving life after death, in the Jewish tradition.

By putting rabbinic traditions about Elijah next to those about Jesus, I want to show that Paul stands fully in the (Pharisaic/rabbinic) Jewish tradition with his association of the capacity of one individual to either resurrect or keep on living, with the general resurrection of the dead at

[19] See e.g. Eccl. Rab. 3:15. For further references see Adiel Kadari, *Until Elijah Comes: The Portrayal of Elijah the Prophet in Tannaitic Literature* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2021), 36–37.

[20] E.g. Midr. Prov. 19:3: "R. Huna said: the Messiah is called by seven names, and they are – magnified, Our Righteousness, Shoot, Consoler, David, Shiloh, and Eliyahu. […] Eliyahu from where? As it says, "Lo, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and awesome day of the Lord…" (Mal 3:23); Midr. Tan. Vayechi 12:3: "Gad, a troop shall troop upon him; but he shall troop at the end (Gen 49:19). That is to say, the redeemer who will come at the end of days will descend from Gad, for he was one of the last to come: Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord (Mal 3:23). And Elijah descended from Gad. Hence it is said: But he shall troop in the end." All translations of rabbinic texts are from sefaria.org, sometimes with small modifications, unless otherwise indicated.

[21] See e.g. b. Ber. 34b: "Rabbi Ḥiyya bar Abba said that Rabbi Yoḥanan said: All the prophets only prophesied with regard to the days of the Messiah. However, with regard to the World-to-Come, it is stated: "No eye has seen it, God, aside from You."

the end of times. This tradition, moreover, involves specific ideas about the messianic qualities of Elijah and his role at the end of times. It will become clear when studying the rabbinic sources that many of these are very careful not to attribute too much power to Elijah. It is emphasized in many rabbinic sources, specifically the older ones, that he received his life-giving powers from God. Any suggestion of a (semi)-divine status of Elijah was harshly countered. It is likely that the similar accounts about Jesus, and even the comparison between Jesus and Elijah as found in the NT, gave lead to the rabbinic sensitivities. Another factor may have been developments in Hellenistic-Jewish circles, where Elijah, like Moses to whom both Elijah and Jesus are compared,[22] were presented as quasi divine figures.[23]

1. *Elijah brings dead people back to life*

In the immediate context of the biblical account of the resuscitation of the dead son of the widow of Sarephath by Elijah (1 Kgs 17),[24] we are informed about the heavy drought in the land. This drought was caused by Elijah's oath against Ahab, who supported the cult of the Ba'al introduced by his wife Izebel (1 Kgs 16:30–33). Elijah's capacity to hold back rain and dew for several years, as mentioned in his oath (1 Kgs 17:1), is not explained. In a rabbinic exegesis in the Palestinian Talmud (a.k.a. the Yerushalmi) the oath of withholding rain and dew, and the reviving of the dead child, are combined. This text assumes and confirms Elijah's capacity to give and take life, but it also emphases that Elijah could not do this of his own accord. He was a mere agent of God. In swearing that he would stop the dew, so the Yerushalmi reads, Elijah even overplayed his hand.

Let me introduce this text. In the second benediction of the Amida, the liturgical prayer also known as Eighteen Benedictions which has been in use since rabbinic times, rain and the resurrection of the dead are mentioned side by side.

[22] See note 17.

[23] Pieter W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 (1983): 21–30; René Bloch, "Moses," *Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (2013): 4603–4; Lieve M. Teugels, "Did Moses See the Chariot? The Link between Exod 19-20 and Ezek 1 in Early Jewish Interpretation," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus. Redaction, Reception, Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, BETL 125 (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 594–602.

[24] Very similar traditions are known for Elisha, who falls beyond the scope of this chapter, but whose reception history overlaps in many ways with that of Elijah.

> You are mighty forever, my Master; You are the Resurrector of the dead the Powerful One to deliver us. He causes the wind to blow and the rain to fall.

In the warmer, and in Israel usually rainless, months from Pesach until Sukkot, the latter words are replaced by "He causes the dew to descend," because it would be inappropriate to ask God for something unnatural.

The Yerushalmi gives a number of explanations for this combination of rain and resurrection in one benediction. The first, anonymous explanation, simply states that the rain and the resurrection of the dead are similar in that they bring life to the world. The second statement, on behalf of Rabbi Hiyya, connects Elijah's oath to Ahab with his reviving of the dead son of the Sarephtan widow. Relevant is that, after the account of the latter, the biblical text continues with what happened between Elijah and Ahab. Meanwhile, three rainless years had gone by. God commands Elijah: "Go, show yourself to Ahab, and I will send rain upon the earth" (1 Kgs 18:1). Rabbi Hiyya notes that, whereas Elijah had sworn there would be no rain *or dew* (17:1), it was God Himself who caused the rain to return (18:1). Dew is no longer mentioned. From the chronological sequence of events related in 1 Kings 17 and 18, it is concluded that Elijah should not have sworn that he could withhold the dew. God only listened to his request to hold back the rain, but not the dew. Therefore, only the return of the rain is mentioned in 18:1. That dew is used to raise the dead is illustrated by a parable attributed to rabbi Jehuda ben Pazi:

> Rabbi Judah ben Pazi told [a parable] about one who stole a doctor's bag. When he [the thief] left, his son was injured. He returned and said: "Please, sir doctor, heal my son." The latter said to him: "Go and return my bag because it is full of medicines, which I need to heal your son."
>
> So the Holy One, praise to Him, said to Elijah: "Go and lift the vow of dew because the dead are resurrected only by dew, then I shall resurrect the son of the Sarephtan." And from where do we know that the dead will live only by dew? "Our dead shall live; their bodies shall rise. You who dwell in the dust, awake and sing for joy! For your dew is a dew of light, and the earth will give birth to the dead." (Isa 26:19) – p. Ber 5:2)

The parable and its application (starting with "So the Holy One") imply that Elijah had illegitimately claimed power over the dew. Because dew is needed to revive the dead, he had to revoke the part of his oath concerning the dew before God could revive the boy. That dew will also

be involved in the final resurrection of the dead is demonstrated by the prooftext Isa 26:19.[25]

That Elijah could not have revived the boy without God's help and consent is attested in an image in the ancient synagogue that was excavated in Dura Europos. The synagogue wall contains a depiction of the scene where Elijah revives the dead son of the widow of Sarephath.[26] In a sequence of images we see, on the left, the woman, dressed in black, handing over a small dead child to Elijah; in the middle Elijah seated on a bed, holding up the child; on the right we see the woman again, now dressed in yellow, holding her child which is clearly alive. Between the middle and the right scene, a hand is visible, reaching out from above. Elijah stretches out the child towards the hand. This is the hand of God, who is the one who eventually revives the boy.[27] This iconography, which dates from the early third century CE, reflects what is already implied in the biblical text (1 Kgs 17:21–22), and emphasized in the Talmudic text that was just discussed, i.e. that Elijah did not revive the boy independently but that he could only do so because God enabled him.

2. *Elijah was (not) taken up to heaven*

Even though 2 Kgs 2:1–11 reads explicitly that God took up Elijah to heaven in a fiery chariot, certain rabbinic texts insist that Elijah never went to heaven. Sometimes this is solved by differentiating between two parts of heaven, the part where only God can reside, and a section underneath where humans can approach him. As already stated, Elijah is often compared to Moses and similar problems surround Moses' ascension to God on Mount Sinai and Elijah's translation. The Mekilta, a third-century Midrash on Exodus, solves this in the following way.

> *And the Lord Came Down upon Mount Sinai* (Exod 19:20). I might understand this to mean upon the entire mountain, but it says: "To the top of the mount." One might think that the Glory actually descended from heaven and was transferred to mount Sinai, but Scripture says: "That I have talked with you from heaven" (Exod 20:19). Scripture thus teaches that the Holy One, blessed be He, bent down the lower heavens and the upper heavens of heaven, lowering them to the top of the mountain,

[25] See also the discussion of b. Sanh 90a-b by Alberdina Houtman in this volume, where the same prooftexts are invoked.

[26] The painting is printed in Kadari, *Until Elijah Comes*, 46. See the image also online, e.g., 34-Dura-Elijah.jpg2408.jpg (1451×815) (cojs.org).

[27] See Kadari, *Until Elijah Comes*, 46.

> and thus the Glory descended. He spread them upon mount Sinai as a man who spreads the mattress upon the bed and speaks from the mattress. […]
>
> Rabbi Jose says: Behold, it says: "The heavens are the heavens of the Lord, but the earth hath He given to the children of men" (Ps 115:16). Neither Moses nor Elijah ever went up to heaven, nor did the Glory ever come down to earth. Scripture merely teaches that God said to Moses: Behold, I am going to call you through the top of the mount and you will come up, as it is said: "And the Lord called Moses to the top of the mount" (v. 20). – Mek. Rab. Ish. Bachodesh 4[28]

Even though this passage deals with Moses, the reference to Elijah makes it clear that certain early rabbinic sages had problems with the idea of a human ascending to heaven, even when the Bible says so, and explain it in a way that preserves the distance. As mentioned before, this was probably a reaction against contemporary movements, Hellenistic Jewish and possibly early Christian, that claimed semi-divine status for Moses, Elijah and Jesus, the three of whom were closely associated, even in the NT (cf. Matt 17:1–8; Mark 9:2–8; Luke 9:28–36).

3. *After his ascension, Elijah appears to people in human form*

Because the Bible relates that he never died but ascended alive in a fiery chariot (2 Kgs 2:11), rabbinic texts conclude that Elijah is alive somewhere and can appear on earth when he wishes. Such sources casually portray Elijah walking the earth and teaching sages, sometimes with and sometimes without implying an apocalyptic role.[29] For example, in the Midrash Genesis Rabbah, Elijah is said to intervene in a conversation about his own lineage:

> On one occasion the rabbis were debating about him [Elijah], some maintaining that he belonged to the tribe of Gad, others to the tribe of Benjamin. Whereupon he came and stood before them and said: "Sirs, why do you debate about me? I am a descendant of Rachel." – Gen. Rab. 71:9[30]

[28] Trans. Jacob Zallel Lauterbach, ed., *Mekilta De-Rabbi Ishmael. A Critical Edition on the Basis of the Manuscripts and Early Editions with an English Translation, Introduction and Notes* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933).

[29] E.g. Gen. Rab. 71:9; b. Baba Metsia 114a; b. Nedarim 50a; b. Taan 21a; y. Terumot 8:4:11; b. Sanh. 98a, 113a; b. Ket. 106a. Elijah and his nemesis Khidr play similar roles in Islam and in Druzism. See e.g. Theo M. Van Lint, "The Gift of Poetry: Khidr and John the Baptist as Patron Saints of Muslim and Armenian 'ASIQS-ASULS," in *Redefining Christian Identity. Cultural Interactions in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg, Jan J. van Ginkel, and Theo M. van Lint, OLA 134 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 335–78.

[30] *Genesis Rabbah*, vol. 1, trans. Harry Freedman, and Maurice Simon (London: Soncino Press, 1977), 660.

In another example, from the Babylonian Talmud, it is related how the famous rabbi Akiva, being a shepherd before he became a scholar, suffered poverty with his wife. Yet, he was still generous to an even poorer man, who appeared to be Elijah in disguise. This encounter left Akiva satisfied with his own fate and even contributed to his becoming a scholar.

> The daughter of Kalba Shebu'a betrothed herself to Rabbi Akiba. When her father heard thereof, he vowed that she was not to benefit from aught of his property. Then she went and married him in winter. They slept on straw, and he had to pick out the straw from her hair. "If only I could afford it," said he to her, "I would present you with a golden Jerusalem [a sort or crown]." Later Elijah came to them in the guise of a mortal, and cried out at the door: "Give me some straw, for my wife is in confinement and I have nothing for her to lie on." "See!" R. Akiba observed to his wife, "there is a man who lacks even straw." Subsequently she counselled him, "Go, and become a scholar." – b. Ned. 50a[31]

Many more examples of encounters between Elijah and humans, specifically rabbinic sages, could be given.

4. *Elijah's return and his solving conflicts*

The discussion about Elijah's role at the end of time will be divided in two parts, this section elaborating on his task as the apocalyptic mediator who will operate before the final judgment by God, a similar order of events as spelled out in 1 Cor 15:24. The next section will deal with Elijah's role in the general resurrection of the dead.

That Elijah will return just before the end of times and function as the apocalyptic peacemaker and solver of conflicts is, again, derived from Mal 3:23–24, where we read:

> Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and awesome day of the Lord comes. And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers, lest I come and strike the land with a decree of utter destruction.

The belief that Elijah's solving of conflicts will eventually lead to general peace in the world, is for example, confirmed in the Mishnah:

> Rabbi Joshua said: I have received a tradition from Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, who heard it from his teacher, and his teacher [heard it] from his teacher, as a halakhah [given] to Moses from Sinai, that Elijah will not come to pronounce unclean or to pronounce clean, to put away or to bring near, but to put away those brought nearby force and to bring

[31] *The Babylonian Talmud*, trans. Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1978).

> near those put away by force. […] Rabbi Judah says: to bring near, but not to put away. Rabbi Shimon says: to conciliate disputes. And the Sages say: neither to put away nor to bring near, but to make peace in the world, for it is said, "Behold I send to you Elijah the prophet", etc., "and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers" (Mal 3:23–24) – m. Ed. 8:7

The details of this text deal with the fitness of priestly families, something with which Elijah was associated because of Mal 3:3 where it reads that "he shall purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver, so that they shall present offerings in righteousness." Important for the present argument is that Elijah's role surpasses that of solving halakhic disputes about priestly families, but extends to his conciliating all kinds of disputes, also between parents and children (as derived from Mal 3:23) which will eventually lead to peace in the world.

The rabbis invoke Elijah's conflict-solving role at the end of times in all sorts of situations of conflict and uncertainty, from halakhic to liturgical to juridical. The phrase "let it be put aside until Elijah comes" is found eighteen times in the rabbinic writings. It often concerns monetary disputes. For example:

> If one found a document among his documents, and he does not know what its nature is, the document is placed aside until Elijah comes. – m. B. Meṣ. 1:8

The context shows that it is a document describing a debt and someone does not know who the debt is to or whether it has already been repaid.

Another example reads: "Nobody should touch gold or glass until Elijah comes."[32] Also here the issue is a lost or unattributed item. From these examples one might conclude that Elijah's apocalyptic role is very prosaic for the rabbis. These examples do not deal with preaching repentance or otherwise preparing mankind for the end times. In Rabbinic Judaism, however, such earthly halachic topics are important: They are part of the (oral) Torah, the rabbinic teaching. Furthermore, they show respect for the earthly affairs of common people and point out that creative accounting or withholding of a found object is in fact criminal, unethical and therefore contrary to Jewish teaching.

5. *Elijah's return and the resurrection of the dead*

That the solving of the problems surrounding the priestly families, mentioned in the previous session, was considered impossible, is implied

[32] m. B. Meṣ. 2:8.

in a saying in which Elijah's coming is also invoked, but now in an ironic way, as a synonym for utopia: something that is so far off that one should not reckon with it in daily life.

> From the time that the Holy Temple was destroyed, the kingship of the House of David ceased and the the Urim and Tummim ceased, and the [Levitical] cities with fields ceased to exist. As it is said "And the Tisharta (i.e., the Persian governor of Judea) told them not to partake of the most holy things until a priest with the Urim and Tummim was installed" (Ezra 2:63). This can be likened to a person who says to his fellow, "Until the dead are resurrected or until Elijah comes." – t. Sotah 13:2

Despite the ironic tone, the popular saying with which the passage closes suggests an automatic connection between Elijah's coming and the resurrection of the dead.[33] The "or" indicates that these are interchangeable references to the end times.

Whence did the rabbis infer that Elijah is to resurrect the dead at the end of days? Although Mal 3:23 does not say in so many words that Elijah will revive the dead, this verse has played a part in the ancient rabbinic belief that he does.[34] This is, for example, the case in the following text from the Palestinian Talmud, also found in other sources. First, a Mishnah[35] that deals with the so-called "saint's progress" [36] is quoted,[37] a concept associated with early Jewish piety. A person can attain progressively higher stages of holiness by practicing certain ritual obligations and by demonstrating ethical or spiritual "virtues."

> And so did Rabbi Phineas ben Yair say, promptitude brings to cleanliness, cleanliness brings to purity,[38] purity brings to holiness, holiness

[33] b. Pes. 68a also associates Elijah, as well as Elishah with the resurrection of the dead. I discussed this text, which involves a complicated exegesis of Micah 7:14 in Teugels, "Man van God."

[34] Alouf-Aboody, *Through the Prism of Wisdom*, 208–9 argues that Malachi 3:24, "who shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children," may also have played a role in the belief that Elijah has an active role in the final resurrection. She discusses a text from Qumran, 4Q521 where a similar phrase "The fathers shall return to the sons" is used to describe the resurrection of the dead.

[35] The Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds both consist of two parts, the earlier, tannaitic Mishnah from ca. the third century CE (which also exists as a separate work) and the younger, amoraitic *Gemara*: the commentary on the Mishnah. The Gemara dates from ca. 500 CE.

[36] This term is used by Alouf-Aboody, *Through the Prism of Wisdom*, 158, 201–9, with reference to a note in the Soncino of the Babylonian Talmud Avoda Zara 20b. See Adolf Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E: The Ancient Pious Men* (London: Jews' College Publications, 1920), 42–67.

[37] This first part (without the prooftexts) is also found in m. Sotah 9:15.

[38] The two terms in Hebrew are נקיות and פרישות. According to Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E*, 49. The latter, meaning "separation," could

> brings to meekness, meekness brings to fear of sin, fear of sin brings to piety, piety brings to the holy spirit,[39] the holy spirit to the resurrection of the dead, the resurrection of the dead brings to Elijah, may his remembrance be a blessing." […][40]

In the Gemara that follows, these ascending stages of holiness are substantiated with texts from the Tanach. The final stage is demonstrated by means of Mal 3:23.

> The resurrection of the dead brings to Elijah, may his remembrance be a blessing, as it written: "Lo, I will send the prophet Elijah to you before the coming of the awesome, fearful day of the Lord."[41] – p. Shek 3:3

This shows that the resurrection of the dead is connected with the coming of Elijah, yet in this text it seems that the resurrection will precede ("brings to") the coming of Elijah. In an important manuscript variant, the reading is different. The Hebrew reads there "the resurrection of the dead comes through Elijah."[42]

6. *Elijah and the nature of the resurrected body*

Rabbinic literature does not draw often on the nature of the resurrected body. An oft-quoted passage in this respect is, interestingly, part of a series of twelve questions raised by certain Alexandrians to which one rabbi,

refer to separation from idolatry or from thoughts of a sexual nature, or have a more ritual meaning. The term "pharisees" is derived from the same root.

[39] Holy spirit refers here to a human quality, being the highest perfection in the list so far. Büchler identifies it with the gift of prophesy, because rabbinic literature identifies the disappearance of the "holy spirit" from Israel with death of the last prophets (see e.g. t. Sotah 13:3, b. Sotah 48b). See Büchler, *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety*, 54–55; Alouf-Aboody, *Through the Prism of Wisdom*, 159; Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, eds., *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

[40] The reference to the holy spirit as well as the first steps in the "Saints progress" could point to a spiritualization of the resurrection, as referenced by Szymik, "The Corinthian Opponents of the Resurrection in 1 Cor 15:12," 438. See also the "pneumatics" identified as such opponents of Paul by Delobel, "The Corinthians' (Un-)Belief in the Resurrection."

[41] In the Leiden manuscript of the Yerushalmi (translated in sefaria.org) we find another prooftext: Prov 2:5.

[42] Kadari, *Until Elijah Comes*, 42–44 discusses textual variants that have **על ידי** – by the hand of, instead of **לידי** – to Elijah. In this version, Elijah is assigned a more active role in the resurrection of the dead. However, this reading is not without difficulties, for in this case the last step in the Saint's progress is in fact the same as the previous: in that case both the Holy Spirit and Elijah will lead to the resurrection of the dead.

Joshua ben Hananiah, gives answers. The name "Alexandrians" frames the askers as Greeks, possibly Hellenistic Jews. The discussion is therefore the reflection, whether fictive or real, of the confrontation of Palestinian rabbinic Jewish beliefs with Greek-Hellenistic ideas, not unlike the correspondence between Paul and his Corinthian addressees. The questions are divided in three categories:

> Our Rabbis taught: Twelve questions did the Alexandrians address to rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah. Three were of a scientific nature, three were matters of aggada, three were mere nonsense and three were matters of conduct. – b. Nid. 69b

One of the "nonsense" or "ignorant"[43] questions deals with whether resurrected bodies carry corpse uncleanness – because they have been in contact with a grave or been dead themselves – and will need to be purified after their resurrection with the appropriate means for corpse uncleanness, i.e., the ashes of the red heifer.[44] Despite the fact that the question was listed as nonsense – maybe because it was considered a trap –, the rabbi still seems to have thought over the matter and gives a serious answer.

> Will the dead in the hereafter require to be sprinkled upon on the third and the seventh day or will they not require it? He replied: When they will be resurrected we shall go into the matter. Others say: When our master Moses will come with them. – b. Nid. 70b

The question amounts to whether the same halakhic rules will be valid in the world-to-come as in this world. The answer of rabbi Joshua is that this question can only be answered in due time. A second answer is that Moses will solve this undecided question. Interestingly, one would expect Elijah to be the one who would decide in the future, but he is not mentioned here.

In an important fifteenth-century work, Joseph Albo (Castille 1425) summarizes the various Jewish views on the nature of the resurrected body. Importantly, none of these are presented as orthodox or heterodox. The main thrust is that nobody can know for sure. When mentioning the opinion of the great medieval sages Meir Halevi and Nachmanides, he states that their opinion seems to be the same as that of the rabbinic sages. Relevantly, the "body of Elijah" is given as the example of what resurrected bodies will look like in the second stage of their resurrection.

[43] דברי בורות.
[44] See Num 19.

> Rabbi Meir Halevi and Nahmanides are of the opinion that after resurrection, the persons in question will live as long as their natural capacity permits them, and then their bodies will be transmuted by purification and will become like the body of Elijah. And thenceforth they will continue to exist as body and soul, but will no longer use any sense functions, will not eat or drink or die and will remain forever without eating and drinking. It seems too that this latter is the opinion of some of the rabbis of the Talmud, for they say that the righteous whom God will resurrect will not return to dust.

Albo continues and evokes the above passage from the Talmud. If Moses will come "with them," as stated in this passage, this means that Moses will resurrect. It is well known from the Bible, however, that Moses died. Therefore, the life of Moses, according to Albo, cannot be used as an argument that people can live forever. Elijah, however, did not die but lives forever. From him, Albo says, it can be deduced that people can live forever. With this he states in so many words what I have been arguing in this paper, that it is proven from the case of an individual, Elijah (like Jesus), who lives forever, that also others (including Moses) can live forever. For those who died this implies that they will resurrect. As to the question what kind of a resurrected body they will receive, he quotes the answer of rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah.

> Although this opinion seems strange, nevertheless it may be believed, since the mind can conceive it and experience testifies in its favor, for Moses lived forty days and forty nights without eating and drinking, though Moses did not exist forever in his body, since he died when his time came. They hold that the individual will exist forever and prove their point from Elijah. The best solution in this and similar cases is the answer rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah gave to the Alexandrians – "When they come to life again, we will consult about the matter." (b. Nid. 70b) – Sefer haIkkarim, Maamar 4:35.9

The rabbinic belief, referenced by Albo, is that a person will be resurrected in the state that he died (blind, mute, and even clothed or not) and will only in a later stage in the afterlife be transformed by God. It was apparently very important for the rabbis that the body would resurrect unchanged, in its existing physical state with all its possible defects. This conviction is attested in another rabbinic text in Gen. Rab. 85.

> Come and see how all whom the Holy One, blessed be He, hath smitten in this world he will heal in the future that is to come. The blind will be healed, as it says, "then the eyes of the blind shall be opened" (Isa 65:5). The lame: "then shall the lame man leap as a hart." (ibid. 6) The dumb: and "the tongue of the dumb shall sing." Thus all shall be healed, save

> that as man departs this life so he will return resurrected. If he departs blind, he will return blind; if he departs deaf, he will return deaf; if he departs dumb, he will return dumb; If he departs lame he will return lame; as he departs clothed so he will return clothed, as it says: "it is changed as clay under the seal and they stand as in a garment" (Job 38:14). […] Why does a man return as he went? So that the wicked of the world should not say: "After they died God healed them and then brought them back! Apparently these are not the same but others." "If so," says God to them "let them arise in the same state in which they went and then I will heal them." Why so? "That ye may know that before Me there was no God formed, neither shall any after Me" (Isa 43:10).

The words about the "wicked of the world" attract attention. Usually, this term reveals a polemical stance towards gentiles or Christians. It is, however, not clear here what the charge is. Is it merely that, when a person would resurrect changed, e.g., without his disabilities or with different clothes, others (also in the world-to-come) would no longer recognize him and hold him for someone else? Why would someone be called "wicked" for this understandable mistake? Apart from the term "wicked of the world," the prooftext from Isa 43:10 alerts to something more serious, namely the assumption that there is another god. I have not found any commentaries or studies that confirm my intuition, but I would suggest that a reaction against a certain view of resurrection with an immediately changed, possibly ethereal or spiritual, body as professed by Paul in 1 Cor 15 hides against this obscure passage. The Isaiah prooftext would be a further indication that Christianity, proclaiming, at least in the eyes of the rabbinic sages, a second god, is the target of this midrash.

Conclusion

1 Cor 15 is a condense text that deduces the general resurrection of the dead from the individual resurrection of Christ. In the same chapter, statements are found about the order of events before and at the end of times, and the role of Christ in these. In other places in the NT, it is attested how Jesus resuscitated deceased people. The connection between the ability of one to revive dead people, one's own conquering of death, and a role in the general resurrection of the dead at the end of times is also found in rabbinic traditions about Elijah.

In the New Testament, Elijah is mentioned as the predecessor or prefiguration of Christ. Another way of approaching this is that Jesus is presented in an Elijanic way. By analyzing relevant rabbinic statements about Elijah, I hope to have shown that Paul stood fully in the Pharisaic (later rabbinic)

Jewish tradition. His, for him self-evident, assumptions about bodily resurrection and the events at the end of times, are reflected in the laconic way in which he builds his argument towards his Greek readers.

But there are also differences between Paul's utterances about Christ and the rabbinic statements about Elijah. First, it is never told that Elijah stood up from death; he, rather, skipped death and immediately ascended to heaven. Second, it has become clear that many rabbinic sources are very careful not to attribute too much power to Elijah and rather emphasize that he received his life-giving powers from God. Any suggestion of a (semi)-divine status of Elijah was harshly countered. It is likely that the similar accounts about Jesus, and possibly Elijanic reading of him in the New Testament, contributed to the rabbinic sensitivities. In some cases, this seems to have amounted to a – covered – polemic, as in the reference to the "wicked of the world" in Gen. Rab. 95. There are also differences between Paul's ideas about the nature of the resurrected bodies – as spiritual bodies – and those of the rabbis. The latter emphasize, almost *ad absurdum*, that people will resurrect with their earthly bodies, and will only later be changed, the latter state being not unlike Paul's spiritual bodies, in fact. Interestingly, for medieval Jewish sages reflecting on the rabbinic traditions, it is Elijah's – not resurrected but after his ascension forever living – body that serves as the model for what a spiritual body looks like. I hope to have demonstrated with this case study that knowledge of rabbinic sources may help understand assumptions and reasonings deployed by Paul and other early Christian authors.

PART 2

RESURRECTION, 1 CORINTHIANS 15, AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

LIVED RESURRECTION

Magda Misset-van de Weg

"… that there might be resurrection and life." – John Calvin[1]

In most of the comments and articles on 1 Cor 15, it is agreed upon that here the bedrock of Christian faith is to be found. In 1 Cor 15:3–4 Paul offers, in the words of James Dunn, "the very bare form of the kerygmatic outline … The resurrection of Christ by God was where and how it all began."[2] In the surrounding verses Paul emphasizes that the message of the Resurrection-event which he proclaimed, is the one and only foundation of the Corinthian's faith.[3] In order to legitimate that the Resurrection is a fact beyond dispute, he refers in 1 Cor 15:5–8 to other eyewitnesses to Jesus' appearance: Cephas, the twelve, more than five hundred brothers (and sisters?),[4] James and all the apostles.

In this contribution Paul's list of witnesses will be problematized, mainly because his list does not agree with the witnesses depicted by the four Gospels where women, especially Mary Magdalene, are attributed a determining role. Following on from this, the long-term effect will be discussed of both ignoring or avoiding women's role during Jesus' death and Resurrection which goes hand-in-hand with the denial of women's

[1] Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, transl. Ford Lewis Battles, The Library of Christian Classics 21 (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1960), 2.16.13.

[2] James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 185 and 236–37. The references given in p. 237 n. 13 are: ἀνάστασις – Rom 1:4; 6:5; 1 Cor 15:21; Phil 3:10; ἀνίσθημι – 1 Thess 4:14; ἐγείρω – Rom 4:24, 25; 6:4, 9; 7:4; 8:11(2), 34; 10:9; 1 Cor 6:14; 15:4, 12, 13, 14, 15(2), 16, 17, 20; 2 Cor 4:14; 5:15; Gal 1:1; Eph 1:20; Col 2:12; 1 Thess 1:10; 2 Tim 2:8.

[3] Throughout the centuries Paul's perspective and his list of witnesses remained a dominant factor in Christian theology, especially in christological views which emphasize forgiveness for sins, atonement and otherworldly reward in relation to resurrection. To be sure, many other views have been and are expressed – often in totally different discourses – for example that "Resurrection" is just a metaphor, a mythological assertion, a fable, or "Christ is resurrected" is thought to be a "narrative statement that we cannot assume to be historical." Cf. e.g. Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism*, trans. Ray Brassier (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 107.

[4] In general, ἀδελφοί means brothers, but can mean brothers and sisters. It is difficult to decide to whom Paul is referring here.

authority to speak. Listening to and hearing the voices of women will therefore be highlighted through perceptions of "Resurrection" within feminist theology, especially feminist biblical studies, perceptions which, among others, draw on and also take the experiences of the non-writers, that is, women and their narratives seriously.

1. Male and/or Female Witnesses

Paul's main topic in 1 Cor 15 is the resurrection of the dead. He starts by reminding the Christian *ekklesia* in Corinth of this good news that he had received and proclaimed (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν), and now passes on to them. Like them, he, "as of first importance" *received* this good news – παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον – "that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he was raised …" (1 Cor 15:1–3). Paul accentuates here that his creedal message is in direct continuity with the contents of that which was already being preached before his conversion. He could therefore not only assume that this summary formulation would be both recognized and acknowledged as an expression of a shared faith, but he also gives it a solid foundation through accentuating that his "good news" is based on the Scriptures.[5] This is followed by his most convincing argument, namely that he himself is one, or rather the last of the eyewitnesses of Christ's resurrection appearances after he was raised. He has *seen* (the) Christ and thus knows beyond any reasonable doubt that Jesus – who had been crucified, died, and was buried – had come back to life. He is also clear about whom he shares this special experience with: Cephas, the twelve, more than five hundred brothers (and sisters?), James and all the apostles.

There is, however, a striking discrepancy between what Paul is letting the Corinthians believe and that which the Gospels are making known about the eyewitnesses of Christ resurrected. Mark, Matthew, Luke and John are quite explicit about women following Jesus from Galilee, women who also saw, experienced and bore witness to the open grave and later met with Jesus either at the grave-site or on their way to the other disciples.[6] It is also worth mentioning that Luke, in Acts 13:30–31, as it were underlines that both the women and men "who came up with him from Galilee

[5] Cf. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 170, 176–77.

[6] See Matt 27:55–56, 61 and 28:1–10; Mark 15:40 and 16:1–8; Luke 8:1–3, where Luke mentions that the women provided for Jesus and the twelve, "out of their resources"; Luke 23:49, 55–56 and Luke 24:1–11; John 20:1–18.

to Jerusalem … are now his witnesses to the people." It is hard to imagine that Paul knew of yet another εὐαγγέλιον that did not mention Mary of Magdala, nor other women.

Evidently, the Gospels each present their version of the event, with some striking differences,[7] but they all have in common that Mary Magdalene discovers the empty tomb, and – accompanied by or without other women – is the eyewitness of Christ resurrected. Why, then, does Paul not mention any one of these women?

Some commentators take Paul's version of the eyewitnesses of Christ resurrected for granted, or are simply not interested and therefore do not question why the women are omitted.[8] Many other New Testament scholars have, as one might expect, suggested many different options that could account for the omission of women as the first eyewitnesses, but these options mostly revolve around the priority of Cephas, the origin and identity of the five hundred ἀδελφοί, et cetera. In his recent monograph *The Resurrection of Jesus*, Dale Allison offers an extensive and well-documented overview of opinions on the subjects, ranging from traditional Christian views to such conjectures as: Jesus did not die, hence no death, no resurrection, or "hallucinations begat the empty tomb."[9] But even such seemingly clear statements as "So, the first appearances were to Peter and company," or: "The *fact* that the appearance of Christ eventually supplants the angelophany suggests that there was no original tradition of an appearance of Christ to the women,"[10] do not supply a satisfactory answer to the question why Paul opted for his eyewitnesses.

[7] The main differences are the following. The names and number of women differ. In Mark 16 and Luke 24 the women find the stone rolled back already, in Matthew 28 the two Marys see how an angel descends from heaven, rolls the stone away and sits on it, whereas in John, Mary Magdalene comes and sees that the stone had been removed from the tomb. Mark reports that the women are told to go "tell his disciples and Peter," but they are afraid and flee; Matthew narrates that the women are told to go and tell everything they have seen and heard to the eleven and all the rest, after which they see Jesus himself. In Luke's version the women return from the tomb and tell everything to the eleven and all the rest, but "they" did not believe them.

[8] Some commentators are rather interested in Paul's reasonings as far as his status and mandate are concerned. See e.g. Günther Bornkamm, *Paulus* (Stuttgart etc.: Kohlhammer, 1979[4]), 172ff; Joachim Gnilka, *Paulus von Tarsus: Apostel und Zeuge* (Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1996), esp. 44; Michael J. Gorman, *Reading Paul* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2008), 14: "Paul supplies the essentials, saying that the resurrected Jesus appeared to him as he had previously done to others, apparently one of the chief criteria for apostleship."

[9] Cf. Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The Resurrection of Jesus: Apologetics, Criticism, History* (New York/etc.: T&T Clark Bloomsbury, 2021), 11–22.

[10] Cf. Peter Kirby, "The Case Against the Empty Tomb," in *The Empty Tomb: Jesus Beyond the Grave*, ed. Robert M. Price and Jeffery Jay Lowder (Amherst, NY: Prometheus

Among the more detailed discussions of the puzzle, one solution suggests that the scene with the women is a post-Pauline tradition. Why that would be the case is hardly explained, nor does it become clear why a crucial event, that can be traced to the four Gospels, is said to be of a much later date? The undertone here seems to be that it is not strange but rather self-evident that this kind of "stories" came to be created *after* "reliable accounts" from apostles. To be sure, the Gospels were not yet written. Nevertheless, in 1 Cor 15 and elsewhere, Paul speaks about handing over what he received – both παραδίδωμι and παραλαμβάνω are technical terms denoting the transmission and reception of tradition.[11] Precisely because Paul's main focus as far as Jesus' life is concerned seems to be the climactic finale, this means that Jesus' death and resurrection must have formed the heart of the tradition Paul here refers to.[12] Even though there is no way to guarantee that this specific tradition included the activities and experiences of the women, neither can it be excluded! The latter is put forward by Annette Merz and Gerd Theissen – and Dale Allison agrees – who write that it is more probable that an original tradition of a protophany to Mary Magdalene has been suppressed then that it first came into being at a later date.[13]

1.1 *Two Traditions*

In her famous work *In Memory of Her* (1983), Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza notes that it is remarkable that Mary Magdalene's primacy in apostolic witness has survived in two independent streams. One in the

Books, 2005), chapter 6. Mary Magdalene's experience or the experience of the women are often downplayed, for example by downgrading her Christophany to angelophany.

[11] Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 184. Gnilka, *Paulus von Tarsus*, 191, explains how he thinks that Paul relates to tradition: "Seine Stelle zur Überlieferung? Er sieht sich mit den anderen Aposteln als Begründer der apostolischen Überlieferung … weiß sich gleichrangig. Sie haben ihm gegenüber nur den zeitlichen Vorrang. Darum kann er ihre Tradition zitieren."

[12] On sociological considerations regarding sacred traditions by which new communities define themselves, et cetera, see Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 186: "It starts from the sociological insight that the emergence of a new sect or religious community is bound to depend in one degree or other on the formulation and preservation of some *de facto* sacred tradition by which it defines itself and by which it marks itself off from other similar or related movements or groupings. Certainly, the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Jesus would have been at the heart of this sacred tradition for the first Christians."

[13] Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1998), 498. Allison, *The Resurrection of Jesus*, 53.

Gospel tradition,[14] while Luke and 1 Corinthians represent another tradition wherein Jesus first appears to Peter. This two versions option would fit the rivalry between Mary and Peter which is known from other early Christian literature, specifically *Pistis Sophia*, *The Gospel of Thomas*, and *The Gospel of Mary*. The outcome of the two versions resulted in one tradition accentuating that Jesus Christ has risen from the dead and gone to heaven where he sits at the right hand of God. This version is and will mostly be mediated by men. The second tradition accentuates the empty tomb: Jesus is going ahead to Galilee, where he will see his friends. Schüssler Fiorenza works with the empty tomb tradition. She underlines the open-endedness and urges women to situate themselves in the open space of the empty tomb and the road to Galilee, to practice the inclusive discipleship of equals, making it a present reality among poor, hungry, abused, and alienated wo/men.[15]

Like Schüssler Fiorenza, Bart Ehrman, who approaches the question as a historian,[16] sees two similar traditions in early Christianity: one narrative account of Jesus' death and resurrection that features men as the main actors, and an empty tomb tradition that was articulated and transmitted by women. But according to him it does not seem likely that in that time and age one would invent *women* to be the witnesses of historical truth. Their stories could too easily be dismissed as old wives' tales or worse, which eventually did indeed happen. Celsus' attack on the biblical writings as fables is well-known. He maintained that the original belief in Jesus' resurrection was based upon sorcery-formed delusion, wishful thinking, and female hysteria.[17] Ehrman suggests to name the experience of Jesus' death, burial and resurrection a theologically motivated "memory" of what happened.

Cees den Heyer too finds the two traditions conceivable, but in his opinion the more detailed resurrection stories we find in the Gospels were incorporated in a later stadium as "an 'image' for the faith in Jesus' resurrection. The empty grave thus is not the conclusive and visible evidence of Jesus' resurrection, but the faith in that resurrection created the story about the empty grave."[18]

[14] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, ed., *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York/London: SCM, 1983), 50 and 332.

[15] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Jesus, Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet: Critical Issues in Feminist Christology* (London: SCM, 1995), 187–88.

[16] Bart D. Ehrman, *Peter, Paul, & Mary Magdalene: The Followers of Jesus in History and Legend* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 226–27.

[17] Origen, *Cels*. 2.28.

[18] C.J. den Heyer, *Van Jezus naar christendom: De ontwikkeling van tekst tot dogma* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2003), 106.

1.2 *The Problem of Women's Authority*

Shelley Matthews is of the opinion that the core of the problem has to do with being "the first." The function or the importance of "first" in connection with the apostles and their position vis-à-vis others, features in the Gospels for example in the race between "the other disciple" and Peter in John 20:4 and 8, and here in 1 Cor 15 Peter is said to be the first in the series of witnesses.[19] Moreover, within a framework wherein authority is at stake it makes sense to avoid giving pride of place to women or a woman.[20]

Antoinette Clark Wire believes that "Paul's omitting the women's stories in his list of resurrection witnesses does not prove that these stories were late or a literary creation, but suggests that Paul discounts women as legal witnesses or did not want to confirm women's authority in Corinth (1 Cor 15:3–8)."[21] This seems very likely in view of the predominant cultural value-system which, as has been pointed out by Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, Paul represents and seeks to promote as the basis for his own identity. He cannot but see everything from a (Graeco-Roman) male perspective.[22] Linked with this is Paul's theology, a gendered theology that permeates all aspects of his discourse, resulting in a Pauline world that is and must be devoid of significant female presence, especially in the "inner sanctum" of his theology.[23]

Raymond E. Brown emphasizes that the tradition of Mary Magdalene as the first to see the risen Jesus does have "a good chance of being historical," whereas the priority given to Peter in 1 Corinthians is a matter of who is or can be an *official* witness to the resurrection. However, Brown undermines his "chance of historicity" when he suggests that "the secondary

[19] See also Matt 10:2; Matt 20:20–28; Luke 9:46 etc.

[20] Cf. Shelly Matthews, in Susan Sink, "Feminist Approaches to the Resurrection. An Interview with Dr. Shelly Matthews," *Bearings Online*, Collegeville Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research, Collegeville, March 17, 2022 (https://collegevilleinstitute.org/bearings/feminist-approaches-to-the-resurrection; last consulted 11 May 2023).

[21] Antoinette Clark Wire, "Rising Voices: The Resurrection Witness of New Testament Non-Writers," in *On the Cutting Edge: The Study of Women in Biblical Worlds. Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza*, ed. Jane Schaberg, Alice Bach, and Esther Fuchs (New York/London: Continuum, 2004), 221–29, here 224.

[22] Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele, "Unveiling Paul: Gendering *Ēthos* in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16," in *Rhetoric, Ethic, and Moral Persuasion in Biblical Discourse: Essays from the 2002 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. Anders Eriksson and Thomas H. Olbricht (New York/London: T&T Clark, 2005), 214–37, here 231.

[23] Penner and Vander Stichele, "Unveiling Paul," 236, with reference to Stephen D. Moore, *God's Beauty Parlor: And Other Queer Spaces in and around the Bible* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 170.

place given to the tradition of an appearance to a woman or women probably reflects the fact that women did not serve at first as official preachers of the church – a fact that would make the creation of an appearance to a woman unlikely."[24]

An important question, though, is why one would assume that it is a "fact" that women did not have official functions, nor authority for that matter? To begin with, within New Testament studies women like Junia, Prisca and others gradually gained clearer contours. Of course, the New Testament is "loud with women's silence," but several texts also witness to the fact that women were actively engaged (cf. e.g. Rom 16:1–16).

Secondly, it is important to bear in mind that women were, as Clark Wire has explained, the "non-writers." Therefore we do not know their side of the "story," or do we? We do know that "the presence of non-writers at the graveside would be expected in Palestinian Jewish practice, considering women's traditional roles in mourning and anointing the dead."[25] We also know that the non-writing women listen and act. When they discover that Jesus is not in the grave they go, or are being sent to instruct the group. They function at least as "women as probable first tellers." We can even imagine the tone of their telling and hear their fear or anger or frustration because the absence of Jesus' body prevents closure and prevents them from doing the right thing by him. However, what happens to these non-writers is that their stories are cut off – Mark ends on the note that they say nothing to anyone; Matthew does not even mention whether or not they communicate their experiences, but lets the eleven take over; John relates that Mary Magdalene goes and tells the disciples, but does not indicate us what she did tell them.[26]

Thirdly, extensive research in the broad range of early Christian literature, has shown how early Christian writings manifest multiple and also competing views on every conceivable subject and most certainly on the appropriate roles for women within the early Christian communities.[27]

[24] Raymond E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple: The Life, Loves and Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1979), 189–90 n. 335.

[25] Clark Wire, "Rising Voices," 224.

[26] Cf. Clark Wire, "Rising Voices," 225–26.

[27] Among others, *Searching the Scriptures. Volume Two: A Feminist Commentary*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, with the assistance of Ann Brock and Shelly Matthews (New York: Crossroad, 1994); *Women & Christian Origins*, ed. Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jane Schaberg, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene: Legends, Apocrypha, and the Christian Testament* (New York/London: Continuum, 2004); Esther A. de Boer, *The Gospel of Mary: Beyond a Gnostic and a Biblical Mary Magdalene* (Dissertation Theologische

This movement beyond the canon and interest in Jewish and early Christian literature was embraced by and became a praxis that many feminist biblical scholars have incorporated in their analyses of biblical texts. It already resulted in retrieving different aspects of women's status, gender roles, active participation, and leadership. A prime example – in view of this contribution – is the way in which research on the figure of Mary Magdalene has brought data and aspects of the past into focus, precisely through expansion of the sources, or transgression of the canon. Jane Schaberg, who has seen, investigated and discussed it all,[28] concludes that "feminist work that moved through the legends, the art, the distortions, to traditions of the Jewish woman Mary Magdalene who witnessed the crucifixion and death of Jesus and the empty tomb, and whose claim is at the core of the Resurrection faith. ... persuades me of an ancient and widespread tradition about Mary Magdalene which the canon also reflects."[29]

Both women and men shape cultural traditions. It is up to the readers to find their way, but also to keep the non-writers in mind and try and "read" them. This does not only concern the first witnesses of Jesus resurrected, but we might include other women of whom we learn through the New Testament, in particular the women who experienced resurrection as life in the face of death: the mother of Jairus's daughter, the widow of Nain, and Mary and Martha when Lazarus died. All of these women and bystanders – these non-writers – will have communicated their experiences and shared in their own ways their "healing stories," that is, their narratives about God's life-giving strength – how could they not![30]

1.3 *Paul's Very Own Catalogue*

That Paul presents himself as one and the last of the eyewitnesses in a catalogue of resurrection witnesses, shows, in my view, that this catalogue

Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland te Kampen, 2002); *A Feminist Companion to the New Testament Apocrypha*, FCNTECW 11, ed. Amy-Jill Levine with Maria Mayo Robbins (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2006).

[28] Cf. Schaberg, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene*; Jane Schaberg, "Magdalene Christianity," in *On the Cutting Edge: the Study of Women in Biblical Worlds. Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza*, ed. Jane Schaberg, Alice Bach, and Esther Fuchs (New York/London: Continuum, 2004), 193–220.

[29] Schaberg, "Magdalene Christianity," 197.

[30] Clark Wire, "Rising Voices," esp. 224. How credible, how authoritative are the witnesses of these non-writers? asks Clark Wire. Her answer is: "If we think we would do better with outside observers than these people so much implicated in Jesus' life, we might ask, Who would give us the best report of Bishop Romero's end, the nuns who were worshiping in the chapel with him when he was gunned down or the officials writing reports for the morning papers?" (229)

is above all *his* catalogue. Firstly, because of the disagreement with the four Gospels. Secondly, he cannot have received being a final witness within a tradition transmitted to him.[31] Thirdly, because it fits the way Paul understands and emphatically presents himself as being commissioned as an apostle, especially to the Gentiles (cf. Rom 11:13; 1 Cor 9:1; 1 Cor 15:8; Gal 1:1.9 et cetera).

Prior to writing his letter to the Corinthians (ca. 54 CE) Paul undoubtedly met many people who shared (their) stories with him, told him what they had heard about Jesus, or about their own experiences.[32] Therefore it does seem quite possible that Paul did somehow, somewhere hear about the women who came with Jesus from Galilee, remained with him up and until the very gruesome end and went to his grave with the spices and ointments they had prepared and about what they went through right there and then. Of course, it cannot be proven that Paul had been told and knew about the women and their experiences. What if he did? Why then would Paul knowingly omit or disregard an essential part of the event that for him is absolutely crucial? Because he could not possibly fathom female apostles? Possibly, but I would also suggest that an answer, or part of an answer can be found in 1 Corinthians and the effects thereof in 1 Timothy. These letters reflect tension in Paul's thinking when it concerns women.[33] He knows about the ministry and leadership of women, as can be seen from Rom 16, and he addresses their role in praying and prophesying in 1 Cor 11:5. Women were also included when Paul addresses the congregations as a whole concerning ministry, see for example 1 Cor 12:1–6. Yet Paul also ventilates his misgivings about women's role in the community. Especially telling are the words that express his view on women's authoritative speaking:

> For it is shameful for a woman to speak in church. Or did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only ones it reached? (1 Cor 14:35b–36)[34]

[31] Cf. Antoinette Wire, "1 Corinthians," in *Searching the Scriptures: Volume Two: A Feminist Commentary*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, with the assistance of Ann Brock and Shelly Matthews (London: SCM, 1995), 153–95, esp. 187–92; here 189.

[32] In his letter to the Galatians, Paul informs his readers regarding his whereabouts after the Damascus event. From Damascus he went into Arabia and returned to Damascus three years later. After another three years he went to Jerusalem, from where he went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Then, after fourteen years, he returned to Jerusalem. This time span could at least be an indication that Paul had plenty of opportunities to hear different kind of stories.

[33] Cf. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 589.

[34] For a discussion of the suggestion that 1 Cor 14:33–35 or 14:33–36 might be an interpolation, see Magda Misset-van de Weg, "Hats, Heads and Holiness in 1 Corinthians," in *Everyday Life and the Sacred: Re/configuring Gender Studies in Religion*, ed. Angela

To be sure, in Gal 2:15, Paul seems to relativize social-economic, racial, cultural and gender distinctions, and in his letters he also seems to address the responsibility of each and every member of the congregations. However, when push comes to shove social realities apparently determine the practice of admirable principles (cf. Gal 2:15; 1 Cor 7:21ff). In decision making, especially within an honour and shame culture,[35] gender does play a decisive role. Therefore, when the social conventions stipulate that it is shameful for a woman to speak, it might be a serious problem to maintain that women were the first witnesses of the most fundamental event: the resurrection. In order to avoid "the problem," Paul may have conveniently left out a part of the resurrection tradition that did not suit him or his purposes, and/or women were simply not on his radar to begin with.

We should, states James Dunn, "recognize not simply the importance of creative thought but also the impact of experience. The experience was primarily of Christ as one risen – an experience of dramatic and profound significance for Paul himself."[36] But that applies equally to the experiences of the women at the gravesite. It is to their overwhelming and profound experience I shall now turn, and with good reason, again calling the non-writers to mind. They neither did nor could leave a written legacy, so that the writers of their time, as well as male criticism through time, had a stranglehold on women's voices. They could freely let the women disappear from history and/or keep their roles from serious theological consideration.[37] But nowadays, we can read between the lines, surmise gaps and slippages and thus detect, among others, strategies of suppression and resistance.[38] Awareness of how the past is inextricably linked to and affects the present makes it particularly important to indeed find and retrieve (re)sources that might inform us about women's experiences, their beliefs, their struggles, their lives. A more inclusive representation of humanity is needed with a view to exposing and reforming the androcentrism of the

Berlis, Anne-Marie Korte, and Kune Biezeveld, Studies in Theology and Religion 23 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), 131–47.

[35] On these pivotal cultural values, see e.g. Halvor Moxnes, "Honor and Shame," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Richard L. Rohrbaugh (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1996), 19–40; Zeba Crook, "Honor, Shame, and Social Status Revisited," *JBL* 128/3 (2009): 591–611.

[36] Dunn, *The Theology of Paul*, 265.

[37] Cf. Clark Wire, "Rising Voices," 221–29.

[38] Jane Schaberg, "Magdalene Christianity," in *On the Cutting Edge: The Study of Women in Biblical Worlds. Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza*, ed. Jane Schaberg, Alice Bach, and Esther Fuchs (New York/London: Continuum, 2004), 193–220, here 197.

tradition through both careful biblical exegesis and deepened existential reflection on the life-experiences of women.[39] What, for example, might women have discovered and do they still discover at the empty tomb about their passage out of despair into new life? And can "the startling shock of the empty tomb on Easter morning provide a clue to the rising into new life of freedom and flourishing that women fervently seek?"[40] In the following, some interesting and compelling perceptions and suggestions to that end from feminist theologians and feminist biblical scholars will be presented.

2. Voices of Women

2.1 *Feminist Theology/Biblical Studies*

Theology of the Cross, atonement, sacrifice, redemption, and other such theologically laden core concepts which are connected with resurrection, do not sit well with many feminist theologians.[41] The central Christian dogmatic views on resurrection are not, or no longer felt to be meaningful for life, whereas real life experiences like despair, fear, hopelessness in the middle of everyday life may precisely lead to an experience of resurrection. The experience to be able to rise up – ἐγείρειν – after times of darkness, mourning, fear, despair or hopelessness, or hearing, reading, seeing, or even experiencing concrete death-dealing "crucifixions" that happen in everyday life the world over, have been the incentive for women to re-think key-teachings of the Christian tradition, including resurrection, in new and powerful ways.[42] Many feminist scholars have thus moved away from individual, privatized sacrificial atonement theology towards embracing the deepest challenges of Easter faith and its power for everyday life.

Feminist biblical scholars by and large travel the same path in their quest for understanding resurrection. As all biblical scholars, they exercise their profession in serious, scholarly engagement with and through

[39] Cf. Joy Ann McDougall, "Rising with Mary: Re-visioning a Feminist Theology of the Cross and Resurrection," *ThTo* 69/2 (2012) 166–76, esp. 169.

[40] McDougall, "Rising with Mary," 169.

[41] Due to lack of space, but certainly also because there is – thankfully – nowadays ample literature on these subjects, this introduction is very concise.

[42] See e.g. Doris Strahm, "Manchmal stehen wir auf, stehen wir zur Auferstehung auf …," *Schweizerische Kirchenzeitung* 13–14 (1999): 198–203, here 198, and Riet Bons-Storm, "A Challenge to Change Developments in Feminist Theology," *HTS Theological Studies* 61 1/2 (2005): 45–63.

critical-constructive analyses of all biblical texts.[43] As they are, of course, involved in the world, they will address their own contexts as well as intersecting issues of power, authority, ethnicity, race, class, gender, sexual identity and other social markers. Their voices together form "a symphony of diverse voices," which expresses the importance of subject positions in the interpretation of texts, religious diversity, as well as the inevitability and acceptance of conflicting voices. The different voices do, however, also blend harmoniously in a number of the following basic assumptions and main concerns in connection with resurrection, which stand out in many or most analyses and discourses.

2.2 *Experience and Diversity*

In *The Cambridge Companion to Feminist Theology*, it is noted that the multiple voices of the various kinds of feminist discourse are valued and mirrored by feminist theologians. Grounded on commitment to diversity and with a view to the ever-expandable relational web, countless efforts show the accommodation of different voices.[44]

In general, Feminist theology does take women's experiences very seriously indeed and is also decidedly contextual, which is a clear indication that different perspectives and approaches can and are included. And thus, over time feminist theology began to represent a rainbow of possibilities, which is both a problem and an opportunity. The problem is that the image of a universal sisterhood was shattered; the opportunity was the incentive to think about the meaning of *difference*, which created awareness of and respect for the *diversity* of major interests and concerns. Women in every corner of the world continue to read the Bible. They may struggle with, love and/or loathe the texts. Often the struggle will lead to what Elaine Wainwright aptly calls the shattering of "the dominant narrative encoded not only within the text but also within themselves as a result of the malestream traditioning process over centuries."[45] But women are resilient

[43] For the many different understandings of the term "feminism" within biblical studies, as well as the aims and methods, see especially the Introductions in the more than 50 volumes of the *Wisdom Commentary*, published by Liturgical Press, Collegeville, MN.

[44] *The Cambridge Companion to Feminist Theology*, ed. Susan Frank Parsons (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2022; first published in 2002), xv.

[45] Elaine Wainwright, "Rachel Weeping for her Children: Intertextuality and the Biblical Testaments – A Feminist Approach," in *A Feminist Companion to Reading the Bible: Approaches, Methods and Strategies*, ed. Athalya Brenner and Carole Fontaine (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 110.

and generate their own contextual readings and views. Women arise from oppressive situations and from wherever they were not taken seriously and had to keep quiet.

Agreement that feminist theology/feminist biblical scholarship is generated by *experience* turns the focus on resurrection in a decidedly this-worldly and bodily way to the here and now. However, women who acknowledge the biblical texts as sacred have difficulty with putting the canon into a different perspective, and may struggle with experiential, poetical or political ways of dealing with the Bible and/or resurrection. For example: Womanist theologian Jacquelyn Grant, based on sociopolitical history and her experiences, regards the phenomenon of suffering to be amoral. Martha Schull Gilliss, however, an ordained minister in the Presbyterian Church, based on her experiences, agrees that on the one hand, suffering can never be valorized as a key to moral behavior, but, on the other hand, the power of freely choosing to take on the suffering of others, or "sacrifice" – like Ruth's decision to stay with Naomi – should not be trivialized.[46] This illustrates that there has been and always is ample room for diversity, also of allegiances, and discussion. Moreover, even though feminist liberation theologians see the Scriptures as part of the tradition that needs to be challenged, this does not mean that awareness is set aside of how resurrection is inseparably linked with concretely experienced death, loss, grief. On the contrary, identification with or understanding of that bitter side of the Easter story, is part and parcel of a theology anchored in life and existential-everyday experiences, but also informed by concrete experiences in confrontations with social, religious, and political structures, systems and institutions. Both concrete daily struggles against that which diminishes life, and seemingly small acts of kindness and the desire to go on living, create experiences of what Ivone Gebara calls "everyday resurrections," and new possibilities for life.[47]

Mercy Amba Oduyoye, for example, points out that in African women's theology the inclusiveness of the mission of God is illustrated by Jesus' example of giving women the mandate to "Go and Tell" of the resurrection (Mark 16:7), or that "Souka's theology is deeply informed by

[46] Jacquelyn Grant, *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus: Feminist Christology and Womanist Response*, AARAS 64 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 102; Martha Schull Gilliss, "Resurrecting the Atonement," in *Feminist and Womanist Essays in Reformed Dogmatics*, ed. Amy Plantinga Pauw and Serene Jones, Columbia Series in Reformed Theology (Louisville, KY/London: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 133.

[47] Ivone Gebara, *Out of the Depths: Women's Experience of Evil and Salvation*, trans. Ann Patrick Ware (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002).

Philippians 2:9–11, an affirmation of faith that enables her to link the suffering and Resurrection of Jesus with women."[48]

Pamela Dickey Young envisages rediscovery and revaluation of interconnection and interdependence that presupposes that we move, think and see beyond the individual to the community to the world. This self-transcendence is, she argues, about the interconnected web of reality, about holistic and ecological thinking, about the Resurrection of the body of the world.[49]

2.3 *The Body and Sexuality*[50]

Within feminist theory and theology, *the body* too is of crucial importance. Much has already been said, written, argued about the body, consider for instance debates around essentialism versus constructivism, the relation between the body and power, or how patriarchy has conjured deeply un-Christian conceptions of bodies and materiality, et cetera.[51] In the context of feminist theory, all agree on the brokenness of the body as well as on the brokenness of the ways of dealing with the body, especially women's bodies. As Beth Felker Jones states: "any adequate understanding of human life in the body requires an account of the brokenness of the body, of the ways we human beings torture our own and each other's bodies and of the pain of death."[52]

However, Carter Heyward and more recently Chris Smith, in tandem with others, made a plea for a radical change from woman-fearing, sexually repressive religious views and traditions, to connecting Resurrection

[48] Mercy Amba Oduyoye, "Jesus Christ," in *The Cambridge Companion to Feminist Theology*, ed. Frank Parsons, 151–70, here 160.

[49] Pamela Dickey Young, "The Resurrection of Whose Body? A Feminist Look at the Question of Transcendence," *Feminist Theology* 30 (2002): 44–51, here 46.

[50] One of the first biblical scholars to stimulate the exploration of the study of gender and sexuality, is Mary Ann Tolbert. Tolbert and her work are celebrated in: *Reading Ideologies: Essays on the Bible & Interpretation in Honor of Mary Ann Tolbert*, ed. Tat-siong Benny Liew, The Bible in the Modern World 40 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011). See further, e.g., the Queering Theology Series (London/New York: T&T Clark International).

[51] McDougall, "Rising with Mary," 167, has, for example, drawn attention to the numerous books of Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel and her argumentation for "the body as central to a holistic and ecologically sensitive theological anthropology." For a Dutch anthology on the body that was meant to enhance general familiarity with women's studies in theology, see: *Begin with the Body: Corporeality Religion and Gender*, ed. Jonneke Bekkenkamp and Maaike de Haardt (Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

[52] Beth Felker-Jones, *Marks of His Wounds: Gender Politics and Bodily Resurrection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

with bodily wholeness and integrity, to every-body that participates in the *imago dei*.[53] In her "Constructive Theology of Resurrection," Smith proposes, or rather paints, nine images of resurrection, of which I shall cite here a part of the seventh image, "Resurrection as coming out," which can best illustrate her focus and concerns.

> Heterosexism is one of the fundamental structures of our social reality. It is built upon the assumption that relationships between females and males have primary relational meaning, exclusive social sanction, and superior moral and ethical value. Lesbians and gay men are not simply made invisible in the social fabric of our communities; they are actively excluded, harassed, persecuted and killed. The relational and social values of gay men, lesbians, bisexual, and transgender people are not simply silenced; they are judged inferior, deviant, and sick. In the face of such persistent bodily, economic, spiritual, and ecclesiastical violence, coming out has everything to do with resistance and Resurrection [...] has the sacramental possibility of enabling lesbians and gay men, bisexual and transgender people to cast off guilt, shame, and self-loathing. This purging, this purifying, this casting-off, surely at moments is the salvific activity of resurrection life.[54]

In similar vein, Elizabeth Stuart offers an appealing and convincing reading of John's account of the resurrection. Stuart sees in the scene where Mary Magdalene turns away from the Cherubim towards a stranger, and subsequently "turns herself" or turns away from Jesus, a reversal of the divine encounter with Moses: the woman turns her back on her God who has himself been hidden in the rock (cf. Ex 33:17–23). She explains that the male-female gaze is broken which is reinforced by the words of Jesus, "Stop clinging to me." All clinging is ended. The dictum "Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh" (Gen 2:24), is shattered with death and resurrection. The resurrection of Christ is the archetypal, primordial queer moment. John

> connects more clearly than any other of the canonical gospels the end of death and the end of sex/gender. The scene repeats with critical difference the creation of male and female and the bonds of marriage in

[53] See Chris Smith, "Constructive Theology of Resurrection: Women in the Word," Boston University, Anna Howard Shaw Center (https://www.bu.edu/shaw/events/women-in-the-world-conference/past_women-in-the-world/women-in-the-world/constructive-theology-of-resurrection; consulted November 2022); and Carter Hayward, "Notes on Historical Grounding: Beyond Sexual Essentialism," in *Sexuality and the Sacred: Sources for Theological Reflection*, ed. James B. Nelson and Sandra P. Longfellow (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 6–15, here 13.

[54] Smith, "Constructive Theology," 25.

> Eden. Here in a different garden, the man does not return to dust but returns from dust to life, here male and female do not cleave unto one another but let go of one another. Here in the rush of resurrection the gaze that has been historically hardened into the structures of heterosexuality is broken.[55]

2.4 *The Political*

Another shared concern within feminist studies is *the political*, linked with justice and life. Biblical scholars will often link this to the roots in Jewish thinking, which is, for example, manifest in the vision that represents a counter-narrative to death-dealing empires in Ezekiel 37, and in which Ezekiel sees the "resurrection" of the people of Israel and their return to their own land. Later texts, such as Daniel and Maccabees, also proclaim the "resurrection" of the body destroyed by the enemies. God is on the side of the oppressed in these accounts that are about restoration, justice and life for those who are oppressed, killed by unjust regimes.[56]

For decades, I have been inspired by Dorothee Sölle's work that often features resurrection in conjunction with political issues. For example, in *Sympathie* she writes:

> The living and the dead belong together, they share a history: in that sense Jesus Christ is murdered in Auschwitz, in Vietnam, in et cetera and he rises in each and every place where people carry on and fight for that which he started. Uprising and resurrection belong together too. Over and over again, despite the revolution that has been betrayed and the God knows how badly betrayed Christ, that which we all need the most happens, the uprising of life against the many kinds of death: the resurrection.[57]

In a similar vein, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza states that resurrection is understood "as a political, 'real' vindication of struggle for a world free from hunger, abuse, and injustice."[58] On a practical everyday level and based on the texts in which women are commissioned and thus authorized to proclaim what they had experienced (Matt 28:7 et par.), Ina Praetorius argues that the "Zeuginnenschaft" of these women is self-evident and that

[55] Elizabeth Stuart, "Queering Death," in *The Sexual Theologian: Essays on Sex, God, and Politics*, ed. Marcella Althaus-Reid and Lisa Isherwood (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 58–70, here 59–60.

[56] Cf. Matthews, in Sink, 'Feminist Approaches to the Resurrection."

[57] Dorothee Sölle, *Sympathie: Gedachten over geloof en politiek* (Baarn: Ten Have, 1980[2]), 97 (translation MM).

[58] Schüssler Fiorenza, *Jesus Miriam's Child*, 121.

it is essential for women to-day to work with this concept with a view to workable feminist politics on every level. For example, when positions of power, theological or teaching qualifications are at stake.[59]

2.5 *Community*

By seeking and exploring, feminist theologians made a significant shift in christological interests and discussions from a sole focus on Jesus as the Christ to the material, bodily reality of the community as the locus of redemptive salvific activity.[60] In a way this would comply with how Paul shapes the identity and boundaries of the Christian community. Through transforming the secular metaphor "the body" – in use in political philosophy for the city or state – into the theological image "the body of Christ," Paul emphasizes unity in diversity, interdependence and mutual responsibility (1 Cor 12:12–27). However, Paul's ordering of the Christian communities is unmistakably coloured by a cosmogony implying a gender order which the Christian community is to reflect, as emerges in 1 Cor 11:1–16 where he propagates the cosmic hierarchy: God → Christ → man → woman.[61] Paul may be criticizing Roman and other power and hegemony, but is in the same move re-instating/re-inscribing gendered structures of power (over), hegemony, to the detriment of slaves and women (cf. 1 Cor 11:2–16 and 14:34–35).[62] This is precisely what feminist – and postcolonial for that matter – biblical interpretations have questioned and criticised, because in a world characterised by uneven power relations on various levels – political, economic, socio-cultural and religious – what is needed is an approach that takes issues of power into consideration as a particular concern. It requires a turning to resurrection, resistance, to act, to present earthly realities and bodies.[63] As Shawn Copeland says,

> when we begin to understand ourselves, the church, as the wounded Body of Christ rather than the transfigured body triumphant, we can …

[59] Ina Praetorius, Doris Strahm, and Luzia Sutter Rehmann, "'Manchmal stehen wir auf …': Gespräch über Auferstehung," *Evangelische Theologie* 57/3 (1997): 225–41, here 238–39.

[60] Cf. Smith, "Constructive Theology," 12.

[61] For further elaboration, see Misset-van de Weg, "Hats, Heads and Holiness," 138–41.

[62] Cf. e.g. Misset-van de Weg, "Hats, Heads, and Holiness," 131–47.

[63] Jeremy Punt, *Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation: Reframing Paul*, Studies in Theology and Religion 20 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 229 and see his Epilogue for a concise and precise view on the value of postcolonial Biblical Interpretation, 229–30.

> embrace with love and hope those who, in their bodies, are despised and marginalized. It is then that we can truly touch and see, believe and act.[64]

2.6 *Praxis/Agency*

This brings me to the last important shared concern to be mentioned here: *praxis/agency*. In particular Womanist theologians, attach great value to agency. They therefore accentuate, for example, the agency in Jesus' life of resistance, his survival strategies, because that is, underlines Dolores Williams, more helpful for persons who have lost their identity due to unchosen experiences of being thrust in alien, dehumanizing circumstances.[65] For Williams Christ's earthly life forms the heart of atonement and presents the challenge to accept the responsibility of loving God, self, and neighbor, and to resist violence, evil and injustice.[66]

Ivone Gebara emphasizes that the Bible entered Latin America as an accessory to the colonialist project of the sixteenth century. Women still bear the scars, but are also humanizing their existence, reexamining their own values and the presuppositions of the theological ideas of the patriarchal system that formed them. It is difficult to break away, but Gebara thinks it can be done in creative and recreative dialogue with the tradition that belongs to their heritage. Resurrection is an important key to their feminist rereading of the Bible, because

> the practice of the Jesus movement was and is an experience centered on resurrection practices. … To read scripture beginning from the resurrection signifies the effort to reclaim a tradition already within us, a tradition more egalitarian and historic, and to give it new life within the great centuries-long Christian tradition.[67]

Prime examples are the Mothers of the Disappeared, who practice resurrection. They who rose up and refuse the final triumph of death. On the

[64] M. Shawn Copeland, *Enfleshing Freedom: Body, Race, and Being*, Innovations: African American Religious Thought (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2010), 127.

[65] Dolores S. Williams, "Black Women's Surrogacy Experience and the Christian Notion of Redemption," in *After Patriarchy: Feminist Transformations of the World Religions*, ed. Paula M. Cooey, William R. Eakin, and Jay B. McDaniel (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 1–14, here 10–11.

[66] Dolores S. Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 166.

[67] Ivone Gebara, "The Face of Transcendence as a Challenge to the Reading of the Bible in Latin America," in *Searching the Scriptures: Volume One: A Feminist Introduction*, ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 172–86, esp. 181–84.

Plaza de Mayo they embody liberation praxis and resurrection in their struggle against powerlessness.

A group of German feminist theologians who felt that resurrection is precisely losing its dynamic force – *dynamische Bewegungskraft* – discussed their problems with traditional dogmatics regarding resurrection. They conclude, among others, that it is the link between Jesus' life, his *Lebenspraxis*, and his death, which is of major importance. They see a bridge between everyday life and resurrection clearly delineated in the numerous mentions in the Gospels of εγείρειν and ἀνίσθημι in the healing narratives, and finally when Jesus' friends – male and female – after his death felt compelled to continue what Jesus had set out to do. In the words of Luise Schottroff: "Es ist die Veränderung, die sich in unserem Leben vollzieht, auf die es bei der Auferstehung Jesu ankommt."[68]

3. In Conclusion

This article set out to explore Paul's core message: The Resurrection-event, based on his experience of seeing the risen Christ. It is clear that he is dead serious about this event of which he claims to be an eyewitness. He admits that others had the same experience, but does not include the women we now, through the Gospels, know so well as eyewitnesses. For present-day readers, especially women, this is, to put it mildly, rather puzzling. But, of course, solutions were sought. The suggestions of either a post-Pauline tradition or the existence of two traditions seemed the easiest way to solve the problem. However, a post-Pauline tradition seems unlikely and a two traditions option would imply that both traditions are "true stories," which would also mean giving credibility and authority to the women. The latter option would also overtake Paul's "story" as the first and only true one, "the bedrock of Christian faith." Many Christians would not mind, many others would.

I opt for the possibility to abandon trying to find all kinds of pathways that safeguard Paul from that which we nowadays find offensive, or which might detract from his supremacy and authority. Instead, I accept and appreciate him for what he was: a man of his time, his world and the value system in which social conventions stipulated that women had no authority, should not speak, could not be apostles, and could not be legal witnesses. Paul may, therefore, in order to make his point, have left out elements of the Resurrection tradition that includes the women, because

[68] Praetorius et al., "'Manchmal stehen wir auf …'," 229.

he found their presence to be inappropriate in relation to the foundational Resurrection-event. This seems to be compatible with his value system as regards women in other texts in 1 Corinthians, especially 11:2–16 and 14:33–36. Considering what he has to say in other letters about women and the positions they seem to hold in the communities – see for example in Romans 16 – his attitude towards women appears to have changed, or this might just be a case of reality catching up with Paul. Moreover, this simply has no bearing on the foundational Resurrection-event.

Part II of this contribution focused on the importance of hearing and listening to the voices of women, including the voices of the non-writers. What would happen when we do give priority to the empty grave narrative in which women's voices and stories resound? We might hear Mary's story of frustration and loss, the experiences of the unseen and unheard. Or precisely that which Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza envisaged with regard to the empty grave: open-endedness and open space, which can and does lead to inclusive discipleship of equals, making Resurrection a present reality for every-body, especially the poor, hungry, abused and alienated.

Lastly: listening to the feminist theologians and exegetes, hearing their symphony of voices, reading their views, their perceptions of Resurrection, as well as their main concerns, made clear to me the extent to which they focus on agency and embrace the power of Resurrection for life, both everyday life, our own lives, and all aspects of life in general: the social, the political, et cetera. Within that framework, Resurrection is resurrection experienced and lived! Resurrection is – in the words of Chris Smith – "a process, a turning, a striving, a stirring," that has just as much to do with "how we are moving through this world as where we end up." Smith refers in this context to the words of the Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff: "Wherever in mortal life goodness triumphs over the instincts of hatred, wherever one heart opens to another, wherever a righteous attitude is built and room is created for God, there the resurrection has begun."[69]

[69] Cf. Smith, "Constructive Theology," 10; Leonardo Boff, *When Theology Listens to the Poor*, trans. Robert R. Barr (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 132.

A SLAVE OF CHRIST THROWN TO THE BEASTS IN 1 COR 15:32A: A FRESH LOOK AT THE POSSIBLE RANGE OF MEANINGS OF AN ENIGMATIC PAULINE EXPRESSION

Annette Merz

In this article, I want to venture into the thicket of various ancient and modern interpretations of the enigmatic Pauline phrase κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (1 Cor 15:32a), a verse that has been characterized as a *crux interpretum* by various scholars.[1] While I do not claim to be able to provide a definitive solution, I think the traditional ways of arguing require re-assessment and that some fresh light can be cast on the problem by taking into account the broad range of attested ancient usages of the verb θηριομαχεῖν (and cognates) in their literal and metaphorical sense. It is not common to see scholars thoroughly analysing the full spectrum of the possible metaphorical meanings of θηριομαχεῖν in awareness of the social and cultural implications of the institution of Roman *venationes* / θηριομαχίαι. Completeness is not possible within the scope of this contribution, but I hope to open up new possibilities for thought, which can be deepened, verified or falsified by further research. Like all essays in this volume, this exploration is dedicated to Riemer Roukema as an expression of gratitude for many years of mutually reinforcing and inspiring cooperation as colleagues at the Protestant Theological University in Groningen and Amsterdam. In a certain way, he inspired this research, because he is one of the authors who drew my attention to the astonishing diverse reception history of 1 Cor 15:32 in the early church.[2] I will return to this matter in my study as one of the ways of approaching the meaning of Paul's disputed words.

[1] I would like to thank A. Runia for his thoughtful language correction and Peter Hansum for his help with literature research.

[2] Riemer Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 235–38.

In the first section, for the orientation of the reader, I want to briefly introduce the text and survey the variety of its interpretations in modern exegesis. I will then point out some of the main reasons why the situation is so complicated and which unavoidable choices every reader has to make. Next, in the second to fourth sections, I will take a fresh route by looking at the various literal and figurative ways the word θηριομαχεῖν *and the reality it describes* are present in Graeco-Roman literature and in the reception history of 1 Cor 15:32. Starting (in the second section) with some general observations on the way θηριομαχεῖν and cognates are treated in the main dictionaries, I will raise a question that in my view is crucial to any interpretation, but is hardly discussed in exegetical literature: is the word used from a fighter or a victim perspective (or a complex mixture of both)? While it is common to distinguish between a literal and a figurative meaning of the word, I will introduce subdivisions based on this (fighter, victim-fighter or victim) distinction in section three, which deals with the literal usage, and in section four, which investigates the metaphorical usage using other specifications as well. Most importantly: is the metaphorical usage thought to involve generally a "beast-like" opposition ("fighting a metaphorical animal") (4.1) or is it employed with a connection to the Roman institution of the *venatio* ("fighting in a metaphorical Roman staged execution spectacle") (4.2–4.3)? I thus will develop a new taxonomy of the attested and possible literal and metaphorical meanings and will accordingly classify and evaluate Graeco-Roman and Jewish sources and the existing interpretations of 1 Cor 15:32 in the early reception history and later scholarship. At the very end, I will present my new assessment of the plausibility of existing and possible readings. A sneak preview: not surprisingly, I do not attribute a high probability to the interpretation found in the *Apocryphal Acts of Paul* (Paul met the lion he earlier baptised as a convinced animal fighter and survived by divine intervention). What perhaps will make the reader curious is that my investigation shows that most of the modern metaphorical interpretations seem to be variants of a *general* metaphorical (allegorical) type of interpretation first attested by Jerome who probably reproduced a text of Origen. I suggest as more probable in terms of authorial (Pauline) intention *specific* metaphorical readings along the lines of 2 Timothy, Seneca, Ignatius of Antioch, Marcus Aurelius and Artemidorus, who all use the metaphorical value of specific imagery of the *venationes* and are deeply invested in dealing with a victim (and not a fighter) perspective. I will argue that the best translation is: "I have, metaphorically speaking, been thrown to the beasts at Ephesus."

1. The Text, its Manifold Interpretations and Short Meta-Reflections on Main Difficulties and Exegetical Choices

First Corinthians 15:29–34 is one sub-argument in a chain of arguments brought up by Paul to counter the conviction of some of the Corinthian believers in Christ that "the dead are not raised" (νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται). It is only loosely connected to the preceding and following argumentative sections and is thus often described as a digression. It is not necessary therefore to go into a detailed analysis of the main argumentation in 1 Cor 15 as a whole, and within 15:29–34[3] I will mainly concentrate on 1 Cor 15:30–32, which reads:

> [30] Τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν ὥραν;
> [31] καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω,
> νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν, [ἀδελφοί],
> ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.
> [32] εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ,
> τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος;
> εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται,
> φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν,
> αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

As Riemer Roukema summarized: "The short passage in 1 Cor 15:29–34 contains some real-life arguments for the reality and importance of the resurrection. If there is no resurrection, then people can just live haphazardly, Paul believes."[4] Verses 30–32a specifically refer to Paul's own life and the risks he constantly takes in proclaiming the Gospel under dangerous circumstances. So far there is consensus in research, if one disregards isolated voices that regard the text as a whole or parts of it as an interpolation.[5]

[3] English translation of 1 Cor 15:29–34 (ESV 2001): "[29] Otherwise, what do people mean by being baptized on behalf of the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why are people baptized on their behalf? [30] Why are we in danger every hour? [31] I protest, brothers, by my pride in you, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die every day! [32] What do I gain if, humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus? If the dead are not raised, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." [citation from Isa 22:13] [33] Do not be deceived: "Bad company ruins good morals." [probably a citation from Menander's comedy *Thais*]. [34] Wake up from your drunken stupor, as is right, and do not go on sinning. For some have no knowledge of God. I say this to your shame."

[4] Dutch original: "De korte passage in 1 Korintiërs 15:29–34 bevat enkele uit het leven gegrepen argumenten voor de realiteit en het belang van de opstanding. Is er geen opstanding, dan kunnen mensen maar raak leven, meent Paulus." R. Roukema, "Paulus' verhandeling over de opstanding. 1 Korintiërs 15", *Interpretatie* 21.2 (March 2013): 33–35.

[5] Dennis MacDonald has hypothesized that Paul was ironically referring to a fictional story about a lion fight by Paul that the Corinthians mistakenly had been boasting about

The difficulties begin when scholars try to understand in what sense 1 Cor 15:32a can be an illustration and climax of Paul's hourly perils, his daily dying (and what is meant by *that* metaphor?). Is Paul referring to an actual fight with beasts in the arena of Ephesus, as many interpreters from ancient times to the present have thought and as has been argued for most forcefully by Clayton R. Bowen in 1923?[6] Because survival of an animal fight was very rare, some commentators have contended that we should understand Paul's conditional clause as a contrary-to-fact condition: he is talking about the possibility of having to face the beasts as one of the dangers hanging over his head (Michaelis).[7] The majority of commentators, however, think that Paul is reminding his readers of a *metaphorical battle*. The question mostly asked is: who are we to substitute for "the beasts" in that case? A wide range of suggestions has been brought forward and argued for: Paul is conceptualized as metaphorically fighting Roman imperial power (Max Krenkel), a physical illness (Rick Strelan), followers of a hedonistic lifestyle (Abraham J. Malherbe), Jewish opponents (Robert E. Osborne), adherents of the cult of Artemis (Morna Hooker; Daniel Frayer-Griggs), evil spirits (Guy Williams) or the not further specified "numerous opponents" in Ephesus mentioned in the nearby context in 1 Cor 16:9 (Gordon Fee, Paul Trebilco).[8] Other much discussed points of contention concern the understanding of the modifier phrase κατὰ ἄνθρωπον.[9] Scholars very rarely discuss what kind of associations

("A Conjectural Emendation of 1 Cor 15:31–32: Or the Case of the Misplaced Lion Fight," *HTR* 73 (1980): 265–76) and William O. Walker Jr. has argued that the whole passage of 1 Cor 15:29–32 must be considered a non-Pauline interpolation from the second century ("1 Corinthians 15:29–34 as a Non-Pauline Interpolation," *CBQ* 69 (2007): 84–103). I would argue that a plausible interpretation of the text within a first century setting is possible and that emendation or interpolation theories which should only be a last resort are thus not called for.

6 Clayton R. Bowen, "I Fought with Beasts at Ephesus," *JBL* 42 (1923): 59–68.

7 Wilhelm Michaelis, *Die Datierung des Philipperbriefes*, NTF 8 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1933), 44ff.

8 Max Krenkel, *Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostels Paulus* (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1895), 126–52; Rick Strelan, *Paul, Artemis, and the Jews in Ephesus*, BZNW 80 (De Gruyter: Berlin, 1996), 282; Abraham J. Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," *JBL* 87 (1968): 71–80; Robert E. Osborne, "Paul and the Wild Beasts," *JBL* 85 (1966): 225–30; Morna D. Hooker, "Artemis of Ephesus," *JTS* 64 (2013): 37–46; Daniel Frayer-Griggs, "The Beasts at Ephesus and the Cult of Artemis," *HTR* 106 (2013): 459–77; Guy Williams, "An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation of Paul's 'Beast Fight' in Ephesus (1 Corinthians 15:32)," *JTS* 57 (2006): 42–56; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 853; Paul R. Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius*, WUNT 166 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

9 A huge diversity of meanings have been proposed, but the evaluation shows that it is always the more general meaning given to the main verb or the sentence as a whole which

Paul wants to evoke when using the technical language of an animal fight in metaphorical speech. Does he want to present himself as a well-trained successful beast fighter (*bestiarius*), as J.W. Hunkin has argued?[10] While that position is often rejected and sometimes even ridiculed,[11] most scholars do not scrutinise thoroughly enough what kind of a metaphorical beast fighter Paul was according to their interpretation and whether that description matches the attested usages of the word.

The multiplicity of divergent interpretations by outstanding specialists without a clear favourite emerging calls for reflection on a meta-level. How is it possible that so many interpretations are being offered, and which methodological guidelines could we develop to separate the wheat from the chaff? The main difficulties I briefly want to touch on before I start my investigation on the meaning of θηριομαχεῖν are (1) the uncertainty about the specific historical event Paul is talking about, irresolvable due to the letter genre and overall scarcity of sources about his life, and (2) the ambiguous usage of other words in the co-text.

(1) One of the reasons that 1 Cor 15:32 has received so much attention in scholarship lies in the fact that Paul seems to mention a relatively recent dramatic event which took place at Ephesus, from where he was writing to the Corinthians (1 Cor 16:8). He refers to it in a matter-of-fact way, as if he presupposes that the addressees already know about the incident. That may or may not have been the case, but because he is referring to it in a letter that was to be delivered by Timothy (as the epistolary aorist in 1 Cor 4:17 indicates), all readers would have access to any factual information they need to understand Paul's words.[12] Ancient letter conventions assign an important role to the letter carrier. Providing necessary additional information about the letter writer was part of that role, which points to the occasional character of letters whose details, once removed from their situational context, are often no longer comprehensible. This constitutes great or even insurmountable difficulties for the interpretation of an ambiguously phrased, yet precisely localised, historical event which

determines how it is understood. One cannot solve the problem of v. 32a by starting from an expression that in some way or another modifies or qualifies the general statement as a human issue, perspective or way of speaking. See for an overview Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* VII/4, EKKNT (Düsseldorf: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 244–45.

[10] Joseph W. Hunkin, "1 Corinthians xv. 32," *ExpTim 39* (1928): 281–82, positively referred to by Osborne, "Paul," 228–29.

[11] MacDonald, "Emendation," 273; Fee, *The First Epistle*, 853, n. 261.

[12] On the role of the letter carrier see Peter Head, "Named Letter-Carriers among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri," *JSNT* 31 (2009): 279–99.

is potentially not otherwise attested. We must assume a memorable affliction which Paul experienced, survived, and which can be *adequately and* (for the first readers) *identifiably* described by the word ἐθηριομάχησα. While a real *damnatio ad bestias* is not totally impossible but very unlikely for a number of strictly historical reasons – the most important being the extremely small survival rate – the *figurative usage* of the verb in relation to an *identifiable event* in Paul's life poses enormous problems which will be discussed in more detail below in relation to the supposed solutions. But the general historical problem must be addressed right away: our extremely fragmentary knowledge about Paul's life, the specific circumstances of his work in Ephesus and the opposition he encountered there.

Paul Trebilco, who did one of the most thorough investigations on the early history of Christianity in Ephesus and Paul's contribution to it, emphasizes "the paucity of information in Paul's letters about his time in Ephesus" and the fact that Acts certainly does not give us the full story of Paul's time in the Asian metropole.[13] According to Trebilco's analysis, the life-threatening "events mentioned in 1 Cor 15:32 and 2 Cor 1:8–11 are not mentioned in Acts."[14] There is a high probability that some of the unlocated hardships listed in Pauline catalogues of suffering (1 Cor 4:9–13; 2 Cor 4:8–9; 6:4–10; 11:22–33; 12:10) did occur in Ephesus, but due to Luke's downplaying of "(what was for him) the negative side of Paul's ministry" it is in most cases impossible to match the located and unlocated Pauline references to suffering with the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles.[15] Beneath we will critically engage with interpreters who nevertheless try to link 1 Cor 15:32 to the riot of Demetrios (Acts 19:23–41) or the Sons of Sceva incident (Acts 19:11–20). But taking into account the extremely fragmentary and (in Luke's case) highly edited and censored nature of the sources, we should certainly not rule out the possibility that 1 Cor 15:32 refers to an event not recorded independently of 1 Cor 15:32 in any other early Christian source. The question then will be whether it is possible through co-textual and intertextual deliberations to narrow down the character of this event, so that it still meets the above-described condition: a specific memorable incident that occurred in Ephesus and that could be identified by the Corinthian community members from Paul's description (ἐθηριομάχησα).

(2) A second challenge on the meta-level is posed by the vague and ambiguous wording of the immediate context. Textual integrity needs not

[13] Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 53–196, 99.
[14] Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 102.
[15] Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 103.

be doubted, and there is overall agreement that the line of reasoning requires a real understanding of the conditional clause in 1 Cor 15:32 based on the following observations. Paul connects verse 32a.b to the previous arguments in a double way. Firstly, the question "what do/did I gain (sc. when I fought the animals)?" (τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος, 32b) is posed as a parallel to the question in verse 29 why some Corinthians baptized themselves on behalf of the dead (τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν;) and the question in verse 30 (why am I in peril every hour?). In all three parallel cases, we do not receive any details, but they do relate to actual behaviours practised by or familiar to the Corinthians that make sense only in light of the belief in the resurrection. Secondly, the reference to the animal fight is the third in a line of Pauline references to his difficult apostolic life: κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν ὥραν (30) – καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω (31) – ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (32). With regard to textual coherence and logic, this is the second clear indication that a mere hypothetical animal fight would destroy the argument.[16]

When it comes to meaning, though, the choice of words raises questions and allows associations that run in different directions. It cannot be doubted that Paul uses a certain amount of exaggeration and rhetorically shaped phrasing. Soberly considered, he is not in danger every single hour. But what does the phrase imply with regard to his mindset concerning the danger? Is it threatening him each and every hour? Or is he actively seeking the danger as part of his missionary activities and does he see it more as a challenge he is proud of overcoming again and again? "I die daily" cannot be understood literally and also is an exaggeration, but what does he mean? Is it constant life-threatening danger he is referring to? Then the dominant perspective would be that of a victim as e.g. also used earlier in the same letter in 1 Cor 4:9–13 where he sarcastically contrasts the arrogant attitude of the Corinthians (filled, rich, ruling) with the contemptible status of the apostles, whom God has installed as the last, as condemned to death, as a spectacle before the world and the angels, weak, lacking the necessities of life, doing disdained manual labour, despised, persecuted, slandered. But the phrase καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω can also be understood more actively when taken the light of Phil 3:10–11, where sharing Christ's sufferings and becoming conformed to his death (τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, συμμορφούμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ) describes an actively pursued strategy of Paul with the aim of gaining resurrection from the dead. We will see later that an even stronger ambivalence

[16] Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 277–78.

of meaning is inherent in the literary as well as metaphorical usage of θηριομαχέω and thus the understanding of καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνῄσκω in one way or another might prime the readers in their understanding of 1 Cor 15:32a.

2. Principal Problems of Understanding the Range of Meaning of θηριομαχεῖν in Ancient Literature

There are some fundamental problems in the understanding of the verb θηριομαχέω which are not adequately described in the lexica and the exegetical literature on θηριομαχεῖν in 1 Cor 15:32 and which should be discussed with reference to the literal *and* the figurative usage of the word. The basic meaning of the composite verb and the only one LSJ gives at all is "*fight with wild beasts*", with no further context or specification. The lexicon accordingly adds the substantive θηριομάχης ("*one who fights with beasts*") and the adjective θηριομάχος, ον ("*fighting with wild beasts*"). It is only in the lemma θηριομαχία that the *Sitz im Leben* of most of the attested usages of the whole group of words is named: "*fighting with wild beasts*, in pl., = Lat. *venationes*."[17] LSJ thus fails to mention that the majority of occurrences of the verb θηριομαχεῖν refer to a special type of execution, the *damnatio ad bestias*, which from the time of Augustus formed an integral part of the games.[18] BDAG is more adequate in this regard. While the basic meaning of θηριομαχέω still is given as "*fight with wild animals*", this is preceded by the explanation "be forced to fight with wild animals as a punishment."[19] But when it comes to the figurative meaning, the lexicon provides a very general translation based on the seminal article by A. Malherbe: "to be in a position of having to contend with adversaries, *struggle with, contend with*." We will discuss the value and limitations of this understanding below, here it suffices to register that while the most common literal meaning of the verb clearly is "to be forced to fight with wild animals as a capital punishment", the figurative meaning is supposedly not connected to that meaning at all.

[17] All references are to Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott and Henry S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with revised supplement (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) [LSJ]. Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Edited by M. Goh and C. Schroeder (Leiden: Brill, 2015) is even briefer and only mentions the basic meaning in all variants of the root.

[18] See below under 3.1.

[19] Frederick W. Danker, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) [BDAG].

Another problem that should be mentioned at the start is the sparseness of occurrences of the verb and its cognates in Greek literature up to the first century CE. Literature reflects social and cultural development and its repercussions in everyday language with a certain delay and the *venationes* had only become a popular part of life in the Roman empire from the first two centuries before the common era. Much of our knowledge depends on even later Greek and Latin texts and visual sources (e.g. *venatio* imagery on mosaics) that might not fully reflect the reality of Paul's time. Caution is all the more required as the *damnatio ad bestias* developed into a form of execution that was regularly carried out on Christians and is at the centre of early Christian martyrdom literature (some of it depending directly on 1 Cor 15:32, but with a broad range of different understandings that are telling). It would be anachronistic to depend too heavily on Christian sources that might represent a later development or a specific perspective. For our study, this complex starting point means that we will use early sources as far as possible and supplement the early Christian sources with contemporaneous non-Christian sources in order to get a comprehensive picture. It also means that we sometimes will have to rely on (e.g. Latin) sources that do not use the vocabulary even if they clearly describe the matter at hand. I will e.g. draw on examples from Seneca, who describes several memorable (unusual) *damnationes ad bestias* and in one case uses the incident as the basis of a figurative interpretation. Although Seneca does not use the Greek words θηριομαχεῖν or θηριομαχίαι, he describes exactly what a Greek-speaking contemporary would have called it.

At the heart of my taxonomy is a basic distinction which is regularly mentioned in brief and explained at length in some exegetical contributions,[20] but to my knowledge never has been thought through systematically for the (metaphorical) interpretation of 1 Cor 15:32 and its early reception. The distinction is based on the simple observation that the persons who are described as literally or metaphorically "fighting with beasts" always fall into one of two categories: fighters or victims. To be sure, fighters might become victims when the beasts are stronger than expected and victims might fight in self-defence and occasionally even overcome their victim status. But in principle there are those who give an exhibition fight with the intention to kill the beasts and those who are destined to die in a staged execution. The vast majority of real-life experiences certainly

[20] E.g. Hunkin, "1 Corinthians xv. 32," 281; Krenkel, *Beiträge*, 132–37; Martin Brändl, *Der Agon bei Paulus. Herkunft und Profil paulinischer Agonmetaphorik*, WUNT 2/222 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 399–403.

conformed to this clear-cut distinction. The fact that there seem to be many exceptions and hybrid forms (especially of victims fighting back or miraculously rescued) in literature is not a reflection of reality but, firstly, testimony to the rule that exceptions are better remembered than normal events. Secondly, traumatic events stimulate the human mind and set in motion processes of meaning-making, of reflection and symbolic resistance. Still, I am convinced that it is helpful to uphold the distinction between fighters and victims and introduce some more sub-categories as we go along, in a review of first the literal usage and then the metaphorical usage of the word θηριομαχέω and cognates. In each sub-category we will cover the Graeco-Roman literature independent of Paul, examples from the early reception history of 1 Cor 15:32 (if extant) and from the exegetical work on 1 Cor 15:32 itself (if extant).

3. Literal Usage of θηριομαχεῖν and Cognates and the Understanding of 1 Cor 15:32

3.1 *Professional Fighters*

When used literally, the word group in two isolated cases refers to those fighting wild beasts in the wild, in regions of Eurasia and Africa where predatory cats are common. This is reported of the herdsmen mentioned in Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 3:43 (θηριομαχεῖν) in the first century BCE and of Heracles who famously strangled the Nemean lion and is once called θηριομάχος in the 2nd century CE.[21] Although these occurrences are very rare, they falsify absolute statements in older literature that the usage of θηριομαχέω is always technical and therefore 1 Cor 15:32 must without any doubt point to a real or metaphorical animal fight by Paul in the arena.[22]

It is true, however, that the majority of the evidence of θηριομαχ- should be understood in this narrow, technical sense and is associated with the institution of θηριομαχίαι, where a broad range of exotic and dangerous animals had to fight each other and professional animal fighters in a bloody spectacle for the entertainment of the crowd. Philo, *On the Change of Names* 160 and Strabo, *Geography* 2:33 are early Greek references to θηριομαχίαι. The introduction of *venationes* as part of the Roman

[21] Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 19.

[22] Krenkel, *Beiträge*, 138; Bowen, "I Fought," 67: "The verb had really no other use than the specific reference to the combat in the arena."

entertainment industry from the mid-third century BCE onwards is well documented in Roman sources (mostly in Latin) and is closely connected to the expansion of the Roman empire:

> Under the Republic, then, Rome adapted the Near Eastern custom of "royal hunts," of collecting and transporting beasts to be displayed and killed. The hunters (venatores) in these shows were foreign professional hunters imported to demonstrate their skills (usually with spears) against exotic animals. These hunts represented imperial power, suppression of threats, provision of security, and protection from uncivilized chaos and social disorder. The collection of the animals was a form of circumambulation ritual – a "beating the bounds" to lay claim to hunting territory, and the exotic animals were paraded like alien prisoners of war. Roman leaders did not go out of town for their royal hunts; they brought the hunts into town. Triumphant generals became beast-masters by bringing back wild beasts for display and destruction in shows at which the leader, prominently placed and in control as producer and host, won his glory but remained appropriately Roman.[23]

Seneca recalls a famous spectacle in the *Circus Maximus* in Rome hosted by Sulla in 93 BCE where professional Mauritanian beast fighters (here javelin-throwers) were deployed to kill 100 maned lions:

> Perhaps you will permit someone to be interested also in this – the fact that Lucius Sulla was the first to exhibit loosed lions in the Circus, though at other times they were exhibited in chains, and that javelin-throwers were sent by King Bocchus [of Mauritania, AM] to despatch them? (*De Brevitate Vitae* 13.6, Basore LCL)[24]

Augustus in his *Res Gestae* 22 prizes himself for having given 26 beast shows in the circus, forum, or amphitheatre, in which 3500 beasts from Africa were killed.[25] He also promoted games in the whole empire. For the mixed games held on the occasion of the completion of Caesarea Sebaste by his client king and friend Herod of Judea, dedicated to him, Augustus and his wife Julia provided huge logistical and financial support worth

[23] Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2015), esp. chapters 13–16; the citation is from page 257.

[24] More ancient authors' views on this event and other beast shows in the late Roman Republic are discussed by Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle*, 273–76.

[25] On the decisive role Augustus played in the promotion and regulation of games, see chapter 14 of Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle*. He systematically surpassed the enormous spectacles that Pompey and Julius Caesar had offered the public. To the modern western mind the fascination with this mass killing of animals and humans is difficult to understand. It can be explained as cultural phenomenon based on psychological and neurological factors: Torill Christine Lindstrøm, "The Animals of the Arena: How and Why Could their Destruction and Death Be Endured and Enjoyed?," *World Archaeology* 42 (2010): 310–23.

500 talents according to Josephus (*AJ* 16.139). Among the many details about this extravagant festival described in *AJ* 16.136–41, the acquisition of a great number of wild beasts is also mentioned (πολὺ πλῆθος … θηρίων, *AJ* 16.137). The beast handlers and fighters are not mentioned explicitly here, but should be mentally added as being a practical necessity. *Venationes* including the fight of condemned men against wild animals are said to have been introduced by Herod in the new amphitheatre he had built in the plain near Jerusalem (*AJ* 15.273–275).

Under Augustus, the arena shows developed into the form of the *munera legitima*, a fixed routine with the following elements:

> Around nine in the morning there were *matutina*, beast shows with hunting or fighting of beasts by trained, well-equipped hunters. (Hunters (*venatores*) and beast handlers and fighters (*bestiarii*) became interchangeable as types of beast performers.) At noon spectators might leave or stay to watch the *meridiani* – the "noontime shows," which included elaborate public executions of criminals. By mid afternoon spectators convened to watch the proper gladiatorial combats.[26]

The *meridiani* thus formed the second part of the "show", where the *damnati ad bestias* had to "fight", which will be discussed in the next section. It seems important to mention that while in Latin *bestiarius* is used for professional fighters and convicted persons, I have not come across the usage of θηριομάχος /-ης in Greek literature as a term used to describe the professional *venatores* and *bestiarii* in the arena nor is their activity described with the verb θηριομαχεῖν.

For our purpose, we can conclude this paragraph on professional beast fighting with a last piece of information regarding Ephesus as one of the imperial centres in Asia. Donald G. Kyle points out that apart from non-regulated municipal and private initiatives it was the responsibility of the provincial high priests of the emperor cult to hold games annually, "especially beast and gladiatorial shows."[27] The provincial cult dedicated to Rome and Augustus had been established in 29 BCE in Pergamum, but in Ephesus, Octavian also established a cult of Rome and Divus Julius.[28] It may be expected, given the well-established practice and popularity of the games from the early first century CE, that executions through beasts were performed in Ephesus in Paul's time, but there is no explicit evidence for it. The first known *venationes* there had been already held by L. Licinius Lucullus (in 71/70 BCE).[29]

[26] Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle*, 285.
[27] Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle*, 286.
[28] Trebilco, *The Early Christians*, 30; Dio Cassius 51.20.6–7.
[29] Plutarch, *Luc.* 23.1.

3.2 *Victims, Condemned to Fight Animals*

The group of persons of whom θηριομαχεῖν normally is used in the Greek sources and who are called θηριομᾶχαι, were those condemned to fight as a form of capital punishment, especially (alleged) criminals of low social status (including religious deviants like Christians or magicians) and prisoners of war. An early Greek example is Diodorus of Sicily's report of the Sicilian slave rebels who finally surrendered and were brought to Rome by the commander Aquillus, who "made them into animal-fighters" (ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην θηριομάχας αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε).[30] By the time of Paul this form of execution was a well-established praxis, even if we only hear about it parenthetically outside of Christian martyrdom literature.[31] This use of the verb θηριομαχεῖν is the common one, when applied literally (and, as I will argue beneath, also when used figuratively). Ignatius of Antioch employs it when describing his hoped-for fate of being torn apart by the beasts in the arena in Rome.[32] Tertullian substituted the adjective ἐπιθανάτιος (being condemned to death) in 1 Cor 4:9 with reference to 1 Cor 15:32.[33] In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* the heroine is called θηριομάχος, θηριομαχεῖν and εἰς θηρία βάλλεσθαι are used without distinction.[34] The main goal of this type of execution was twofold: entertainment of the crowd and disposal of unwanted persons.

It seems useful to highlight three forms of behaviour of victims from the sources, because they all may provide material for the figurative usage of θηριομαχεῖν to be discussed later. There are (1) those who fight physically, (2) those who resist through mental and spiritual power, and (3) those who (have to) surrender as defenceless victims without resistance. The first and third categories largely coincide with the two mainly practised sub-forms of *damnatio ad bestias*, *ad bestias dari* (facing the animals unbound, unarmed or lightly armed) and *bestiis obiici* (being

[30] Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 36.10.

[31] Compare e.g. Pliny, NH 33.16.53 [Rackham], in a passage about the abundant use of silver by Julius Caesar: "this was the first occasion on which criminals made to fight with wild animals had all their equipment made of silver." For an overview over the *ad bestias* executions under Caligula, Claudius and Nero see Boris A. Paschke, "The Roman *ad bestias* Execution as a Possible Historical Background for 1 Peter 5.8," *JSNT* 28 (2006): 489–500, 492–93.

[32] Ign. *Eph.* 1.2; *Tr.* 10, compare also *Rom.* 4.1–2; 5.2–3.

[33] *De pudicitia* 14.

[34] θηριομάχος (a linguistic variant of θηριομάχης): *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 30, 35, 36 ; θηριομαχεῖν: *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 27, 29; εἰς θηρία βάλλεσθαι: *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 29, Richard A. Lipsius and Max Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959; repr. Leipzig: Mendelssohn 1891). The same use of language can be seen in the *Acts of Paul's* description of Paul's animal fight.

thrown into the arena without any means of defence, often bound, tied to a stake or enclosed in a basket).[35]

ad (1): While the clear intention of any animal fight in the *meridiani* was the death of the convicted, sometimes fighters put up such an impressive fight that they won over the public. I have not found any reliable calculations on the number of animal fighters that were pardoned among the *damnati*, but at a certain point a law reserved the right of pardon for the emperor.[36] Those who committed suicide to avoid the dehumanizing practice I would count among this victim-fighter subgroup, as well as those Christian *condemnati* who are reported to have provoked unaggressive animals to attack.[37] These are all forms of a "fight response" to the deadly threat posed by the animals. When Josephus uses "to be destroyed in fights with animals" in place of plain θηριομαχεῖν in reporting on the fate of more than 2500 Jewish prisoners of war, who were forced by Titus to fight to the death,[38] he may have chosen this wording because it sounded more bearable and appropriate for defeated Jewish combatants than θηριομαχεῖν, which usually describes a humiliating punishment for condemned criminals and slaves.[39] It cannot be stressed enough that the death penalty *ad bestias* was a highly dishonourable punishment. For this reason, persons who avoided it by committing suicide are mentioned several times with high regard. Diodorus of Sicily in the above-cited source reports that the prisoners of the Sicilian Slave War eventually killed each other in the arena, apparently with the weapons they were to use against the animals.[40] Seneca mentions two examples of inventive forms of suicide without proper weapons immediately before the spectacle and expresses high respect for this behaviour.[41]

[35] Krenkel, *Beiträge*, 133.

[36] *Digest.* 48.19.31: "MODESTINUS, Punishments, book 3: The governor should not, at the whim of the people, discharge persons who have been condemned to the beasts; but if they are of such strength or cunning that they can worthily be exhibited to the populace of Rome, he should seek the advice of the emperor." Translation: Justinianus, *The Digest of Justinian*, edited by Alan Watson, Vol. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 367.

[37] *Mart. Pol.* 3.1; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 8.7.2.; Ign. *Rom.* 5.2.

[38] *J.W.* 7.38: ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἔν τε ταῖς πρὸς τὰ θηρία μάχαις ἔν τε ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις ἀναιρουμένων καὶ τῶν καταπιμπραμένων πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ τοῖς δισχιλίοις ὑπερέβαλε.

[39] Josephus seems to avoid the verb θηριομαχεῖν altogether and prefers much more blunt language. After Jerusalem had finally fallen into Titus' hands, "multitudes were presented by Titus to the various provinces, to be destroyed in the theatres by the sword or by wild beasts" (πλείστους δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διεδωρήσατο Τίτος φθαρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις, *J.W.* 6.418 [Thackeray, LCL]).

[40] Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* 36.10.

[41] Seneca, *Epistles* 70.20, 23.

ad (2): Practices like praying in the arena, forming a cross with the body, witnessing for the Christian faith, encouraging each other, or throwing oneself into a pool with predators for self-baptism are spiritual forms of withstanding the cruel ordeal practised by Christians in martyrdom literature. These texts may not be historical in every detail but certainly aim at providing a model to be followed.

ad (3): Surrendering without resistance may often have been the lot of those physically restricted and also represents – like the physical or spiritual "fight response" – one among the automatic survival mechanisms provided by nature: it is a "freeze response."

Sometimes the animals did not attack the condemned as intended, and in these cases, the executioner usually came into play.[42] There must have been cases of pardon, the most well-known and best-documented case may be the one Seneca mentions briefly in *De Beneficiis* 2.19:

> We have seen in the amphitheatre a lion, who, having recognized one of the beast-fighters as the man who had formerly been his keeper, protected him from the attack of the other beasts. (*ben.* 2.19 [Basore, LCL])

From the philosophically transposed meaning that Seneca adds after the description of this incident, which will be discussed below (4.3), it becomes clear that the condemned man was saved in this case. It could be the same event that Apion Pleistonices claimed to have seen as an eyewitness and that Aulus Gellius quotes at length from Apion's lost *Aegyptiaca* in his *Attic Nights*, 5.14. There, however, Seneca's plausible explanation – the lion was protecting his former keeper – has given way to a fantastic back story: the runaway slave Androcles healed the lion's injured paw and shared his den with him for three years until both were caught and met again in the arena.

This much-told story[43] may very well have been an inspiration behind the interpretation that is given to 1 Cor 15:32 in the *Acts of Paul* and at the beginning of the third century is also known to Hippolytus, who connects it with the Old Testament story of Daniel in the lion's den even more explicitly than the *Acts of Paul*.[44] According to those early Christian sources Paul had to face a *damnatio ad bestias* in Ephesus but was rescued because the lion lay down at his feet like a lamb. The *Acts of Paul* combines this

[42] Tacitus, *Histories* 2.61; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 8.7.

[43] See also Aelian, *On Animals*, 7.48 and dressed in the form of a fable: Phaedrus, *Fables*, 563 (Perry, LCL).

[44] *Comm. Dan.* 3,29, GCS 1, 176: εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι Παύλου εἰς θηρία κατακριθέντος ἀφεθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λέων εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀναπεσὼν περιέλειχεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ και ἐπὶ τοῦ Δανιὴλ γενόμενα πιστεύσομεν.

story with the back story of the baptism of the lion prior to the spectacle: the beast also speaks in human language. While this is clearly a highly developed Christian legend, the description of Paul's behaviour prior to and in the arena matches ordinary procedures, including great fear of the condemned, humiliating treatment and exposure of the convicted to the public (who are actively intervening in the happenings in the arena), beast keepers who handle the lion and other beasts, archers who are sent in to kill the lion when the ceremony does not develop as planned. Paul puts on an impressive spiritual fight through prayer and witness preceding the encounter with the lion as behoves a Christian according to the author of the *Acts of Paul*. The rescue comes eventually through a hail storm sent by God.[45]

To sum up 3.1–2: in very few cases θηριομαχεῖν can describe someone who fights wild beasts in the wild. The word group normally refers to the institution of the *damnatio ad bestias*, which was imposed by imperial authorities and executed on slaves and persons of low social rank or on prisoners of war. It was a dehumanizing form of punishment; in its implied ideology the receivers are considered to be lower than the animals. Fighting back physically or spiritually could help the victims to regain some of their human dignity and on very rare occasions perhaps save their lives through intervention of the crowd and/or the host of the games. Historically it is not to be expected that Paul was a voluntary beast fighter or survived a *damnatio ad bestias* in Ephesus, which is why a metaphorical understanding of θηριομαχεῖν has been adopted by readers from early times on.

4. Metaphorical Usage of θηριομαχεῖν / θηριομάχης and the Interpretation of 1 Cor 15:32

The problems with a metaphorical understanding of the sentence in 1 Cor 15:32 are manifold. In my view, the three connected main issues that are not adequately reflected on in scholarship are the extremely negative image of the common understanding of θηριομαχεῖν / θηριομάχης, its close association with the executionary practice of *damnatio ad bestias* in the documented use of language, and the question whether Paul describes himself metaphorically as a fighter or as a victim (with the subtypes of victim-fighter and surrendering victim). Three basic types of interpretation

[45] See for a detailed interpretation and older literature Annette Merz, "Bestialische Menschen und ein frommes Tier (Löwentaufe und Löwenkampf)" in *Kompendium der Frühchristlichen Wundererzählungen*, ed. Ruben Zimmermann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2017), 453–75.

will be discussed: should Paul be understood as a voluntary fighter of metaphorical wild beasts (of diverse types), as a brave victim-fighter in a Roman animal fight/execution spectacle or as a rescued passive victim from such a spectacle? In what follows I will describe the three possibilities by looking for evidence in the Graeco-Roman sources, the early reception history of 1 Cor 15:32, and previous exegetical contributions.

4.1 *Paul as a Fighter of Metaphorical Beasts*

The majority of modern exegetical interpretations (including BDAG) follow a basic pattern of interpretation as advocated by A. Malherbe, asserting that Paul's language is best understood in the context of ancient philosophical struggles against metaphorical beasts. This interpretation can be categorized into at least five subtypes: the beasts are identified with hedonistic opponents (Malherbe), Jewish adversaries (Osborn), unspecified opponents of Paul (Trebilco, Fee), followers of Artemis (Frayer-Griggs, Hooker), and an army of supernatural beings (demons, Satan, gods like Artemis, the she-wolf) fought against by the apostle (Williams).

Malherbe is convinced "that Paul's use of θηριομαχεῖν ultimately comes from language used by the moralists of his day to describe the wise man's struggle against hedonism"[46] and that "[f]ighting with beasts in a figurative sense was ... not an uncommon description of the sage's struggle."[47] Fighting hedonistic opponents and subduing one's own passions are considered two facets of the sage's struggle, which is why the athletic metaphor of self-control in 1 Cor 9:24–27 is seen as a cognate metaphor with the one in 1 Cor 15:32 and is perhaps even implied there.[48]

While the identity of the "animals" identified by Malherbe (hedonists) has often been criticised with good arguments and replaced by other proposals (like the followers of Artemis or just unknown opponents mentioned in 1 Cor 16:8),[49] the basic problem of his interpretation has not been sufficiently brought to the fore. There is not a single contemporary source that uses θηριομαχεῖν or θηριομάχης figuratively in the context of a philosophical or religious struggle![50] The comparison of humans, human

[46] Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," 77.
[47] Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," 77.
[48] Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," 79.
[49] Hooker, "Artemis,", 38; Williams, „An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation," 44–45; Brändl, *Der Agon bei Paulus*, 403–5.
[50] The most important proof text of Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," 74 refers to Heracles as θηριομάχος (Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 19), but here the slaughter of real beasts by Heracles is referred to. To be sure, Heracles' deeds were understood allegorically by the moralists

passions, and superhuman beings with wild animals is found abundantly and in many forms in Jewish and Graeco-Roman literature. But nowhere is the confrontation with them described using the technical terminology of the Roman animal hunts and spectacle executions. What all representatives of this group of interpretations must posit (often without problematizing) is therefore that Paul bases his metaphor on a single testified occurrence of θηριομαχεῖν wherein herdsmen willingly engage in combat against wild animals of the desert, departing from the customary meaning of the term. By doing so they ignore the fact that a philosophical or exorcistic struggle was fought with human or demonic adversaries in order to overcome them, while θηριομαχεῖν in the arena was known to be a hopeless battle.

One of the proposals of this type deserves special attention because it has been claimed to have an early Christian supporter in Origen. Guy Williams provides substantial evidence from Jewish and magical literature for his thesis that Paul as a Jewish apocalyptic could have viewed "the confrontations and physical threats that he experienced in Ephesus as instigated by the evil spirits, or 'beasts' at work in the demon-possessed, sorcerers, and idolaters of the city."[51] His argument on the wide-ranging metaphorical connotations of θηρία is convincing, as is his observation that for "Luke and Paul, there probably would not have been a major qualitative distinction between magic and idolatry."[52] This allows him to subsume three major traditions from Acts (the Sons of Sceva incident, the burning of magical books and the riot of Demetrius, Acts 19:11–16, 17–20, 23–41) in Paul's metaphorical animal fight. As further evidence Williams cites Ephesians 6:12 (a struggle "not against enemies of blood and flesh …but against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places") and Origen's (or more correctly: Jerome's, who probably used Origen) Commentary on Ephesians, following the citation of 1 Cor 15:32:

> What are those beasts? Without doubt they are those of which the psalmist speaks when he says, 'Do not hand the soul of the one who confesses you over to the beasts' (Ps. 73:19) and, in another passage, 'Rebuke the wild beasts of the reed' (Ps. 67:31). Our adversary the devil goes about like a roaring lion (cf. 1 Pet. 5:8). When he perceived that the chief city of Asia was snatched from his jaws to the teaching of Paul

of the first and second century. But there is no imagery of *venationes* used in those texts. Some come close, as they refer to Heracles fighting tyrants, and as I will argue below, there are cases, where the beasts in the arena are symbols for tyrants. In my view, those texts form a distinct tradition that will be dealt with below (4.3).

[51] Williams, "An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation," 45.

[52] Williams, "An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation," 53.

> he gathered all the armies of his attendants and attempted to suppress him and, exalting himself beyond measure, he wanted to set that nest of his on high like an eagle (cf. Jer. 49:16). (*Commentary on Ephesians* 635–6)[53]

While Jerome (and probably Origen) most likely considered the real animals with which Paul *once* had a real confrontation in the arena in Ephesus to be instruments of the devil, as Williams rightly observes,[54] Williams himself understands the beasts as purely metaphorical. The main problem with his interpretation then turns out to be comparable to Malherbe's: it does not fit a single historical incident (which the aorist ἐθηριομάχησα implies) and is not specific to Ephesus. Like Malherbe's hedonists, William's magicians, demons and the "magical books and pagan shrines" whom Paul "attacked" were omnipresent in Graeco-Roman cities.[55]

This type of interpretation, then, has two main weaknesses in my view: it has failed to deliver a clear substitute for the beasts,[56] and it presupposes an undocumented usage of the verb as a figurative *voluntary* ideological struggle. It is not totally impossible that Paul created such a metaphor to describe his missionary fights with metaphorical animals, human or superhuman, but it needs to be stressed that there are no linguistic predecessors for that. As Martin Brändl put it:

> Das metaphorische Verständnis des θηριομαχεῖν als *terminus technicus* der römischen *venationes* wird sich wohl … der Kreativität des Apostels verdanken. Während die Diatribe verständlicherweise vor der allzu brutalen Metapher des Bestiariers zurückschreckte, konnte Paulus sie bilden, weil sein Kampf nicht der des Tugendkämpfers ist, der die Schicksalsschläge ertragen und die eigenen Leidenschaften niederkämpfen muß, sondern der Einsatz des Missionars, der als Verkündiger des Evangeliums mit den zum Teil lebensgefährlichen Konsequenzen seiner Verkündigung leben muß.[57]

[53] Ronald E. Heine, *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 202; Williams, "An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation," 55. I am thankful to Riemer Roukema, who pointed out to me that the attribution of this interpretation to Origen is probable, but not certain, see also Heine, *Commentaries*, 34-35.

[54] Williams, "An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation," 55.

[55] Williams, "An Apocalyptic and Magical Interpretation," 56. Mind the explicit "fighter" attitude implied in the word "attacked."

[56] As J. Andrew Doole, "I Have Fought with Wild Beasts ... But I Will Stay until Pentecost," *NovT* 60 (2018): 140–61 states on 152 with resignation: "I don't pretend to have a solution to the interpretation of this verse. The opposition of the Artemis cult is as good an explanation as any."

[57] Brändl, *Der Agon bei Paulus*, 405. Brändl himself seems not to be fully consistent in his argumentation. While he demonstrates convincingly that Paul is the first author to use

My deliberations in 4.2 and 4.3 arise from the linguistic observation that θηριομαχεῖν in common usage refers to convicts within the Roman penal system, not to voluntary fighters. From the sub-categories developed above I will concentrate on physical and spiritual victim-fighters in 4.2 and on surrendering victims in 4.3.

4.2 *Paul as Victim-Fighter in a Metaphorical Roman Execution Spectacle?*

Are there any metaphorical usages of θηριομαχεῖν in Graeco-Roman literature that may help to clarify Paul's usage? Two early Christian references, both probably linked intertextually to 1 Cor 15:32, have often been discussed and will be considered below: 2 Tim 4:17 (which does not use the verb, but refers to the *damnatio ad bestias*) and Ignatius, *Romans* 5.1. Besides these references there is one passage from Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* from the second century that deserves to be taken into account because it is independent of the Christian sources and could very well represent analogical thinking possible already in Paul's time. A certain type of θηριομάχος is compared as a negative example with a wise person who lives according to Stoic virtues:

> Only keep thyself entitled to these appellations [mentioned before, namely: ἀγαθός, αἰδήμων, ἀληθής, ἔμφρων, σύμφρων, ὑπέρφρων], not itching to receive them from others, and thou wilt be a new man and enter on a new life. For to be still such as thou hast been till now, and to submit to the rendings and defilements of such a life, is worthy of a man that shews beyond measure a dull senselessness and a clinging to life, and is on a level with the wild-beast fighters that are half-devoured in the arena (ὁμοίου τοῖς ἡμιβρώτοις θηριομάχοις), who, though a mass of wounds and gore, beg to be kept till the next day, only to be thrown again, torn as they are, to the same teeth and talons. (*Meditations*, 10.8.1 [Haines, LCL])

This quotation demonstrates how the familiar sight of convicted beast fighters who tried everything to stay alive as long as possible was used for the purpose of explication by this elite imperial writer who in the following paragraph will propose the noble ways of withdrawal from public life or even suicide to his reader in case fame hinders them from living a life

θηριομαχεῖν metaphorically based on the common usage (to fight until death as a convicted *bestiarius*) and must have been influenced by the Roman *munera* in doing so, in the above citation he argues from the "voluntary fighter" position. His interpretation on pp. 406–408 eventually stays within a conventional Jewish understanding of the *passio iusti* (based on Ps 22:22) that alone cannot explain the choice and full depth of this specific metaphor. See my argumentation in the concluding assessment below.

in dignity.[58] This negative example of using the imagery cannot help us directly to understand Paul's positive usage of a metaphor from the same metaphoric field, but it stresses the point made earlier how extremely contemptible the execution by animals in the arena was considered to be and that withdrawing by suicide was the only honourable option from an elite perspective.

Two early Christian sources apply the metaphor of the beast fight in a positive way. Both were conceivably written knowing about or even consciously alluding to 1 Cor 15:32. In 2 Tim 4:16 (Pseudo-)Paul tells (Pseudo-)Timothy about his "first defence", which he had to face alone, left by all his companions. He continues:

> But the Lord stood by me and gave me strength to proclaim the message fully, that all the Gentiles might hear it. So I was rescued from the lion's mouth. (2 Tim 4:17)

This passage likely draws upon biblical imagery, particularly from Psalms 22:22 and the story of Daniel in the lion's den (Daniel 6; 1 Macc 2:60).[59] The Roman penal system, with lions used as executioners, is indirectly referenced through the context that mentions Paul's first defence in an official court proceeding. Therefore, "the lion" that Paul was rescued from takes on a double meaning: it symbolizes both the Roman emperor or one of his appointed officials and the lions that executed death penalties in the arena.[60] Paul's "fight" consists of proclaiming his message in the heart of political power ("to all the Gentiles"), and through divine protection he was spared from being devoured by the lion, that is, from ending up in the arena facing wild beasts.

We cannot be certain whether 2 Tim 4:17 is an interpretation of 1 Cor 15:32, but if it is, it understands ἐθηριομάχησα as a reference to a confrontation with the Roman judicial system. In this interpretation, the struggle with the judge prefigures the struggle with the impending animal executors. Paul demonstrated bravery by persisting in his apostolic proclamation, and like Daniel, he was rescued through the power of God.

[58] "Take ship then on these few attributions, and if thou canst abide therein, so abide as one who has migrated to some Isles of the Blest. But if thou feelest thyself adrift, and canst not win thy way, betake thyself with a good heart to some nook where thou shalt prevail, or even depart altogether from life, not in wrath but in simplicity, independence, and modesty, having at least done this one thing well in life, that thou hast quitted it thus." (*Meditations*, 10.8.2 [Haines, LCL])

[59] A detailed analysis of the intertextual meaning making behind 2 Tim 4:17 is provided in Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus. Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe*, NTOA 52 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 46–57.

[60] See also Seneca, *Clem.* 1.25.1, cited below nr. 70.

A very different figurative interpretation of θηριομαχεῖν in allusion to 1 Cor 15:32 is given by Ignatius of Antioch. He looks forward to a death sentence *ad bestias* in Rome and equates being torn apart by the beasts with truly becoming a human being (Ign. *Rom.* 5.3), being born (Ign. *Rom.* 6.1), gaining Christ (Ign. *Rom.* 5.3). He uses θηριομαχεῖν several times for his future ordeal, but in one place a figurative meaning of this word is applied:

> From Syria to Rome I have been fighting the wild beasts, through land and sea, night and day, bound to ten leopards, which is a company of soldiers, who become worse when treated well. But I am becoming more of a disciple by their mistreatment. (Ign. *Rom.* 5.1 [Ehrman, LCL])[61]

Ignatius begins his discourse in an imperial-authoritative style, employing language reminiscent of a triumphant general, only to ironically juxtapose it with the verb θηριομαχεῖν, which he proceeds to explain.[62] While many interpretations tend to focus on the significance of the "ten leopards", a detachment of soldiers to whom Ignatius is likely tied up (possibly along with other prisoners),[63] another aspect emerges as equally significant in light of my previous analysis. In what manner does Ignatius engage in "fighting"? He portrays the soldiers as recipients of benevolence, thereby characterizing his own conduct as acts of benefaction (εὐεργετεῖν). Furthermore, he asserts that he increasingly embraces the role of a disciple amidst their mistreatment. He thus evokes early Jewish-Christian traditions that advocate responding to evil with acts of goodness. Paul approaches similar concepts linguistically, employing the military terminology of overcoming: μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν (Rom 12:21).

It has been demonstrated in previous research how Ignatius purposefully constructs his own self-image by drawing upon the example of Paul and making allusions to Pauline expressions.[64] While Ignatius generally expresses his anticipation of a literal confrontation with wild beasts in Rome when he uses θηριομαχεῖν, in this particular instance he references

[61] Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα· οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι.

[62] William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 54–56.

[63] Callie Callon, "A Re-examination of Ignatius' use of the Term 'Leopards,'" *The Journal of Theological Studies* 66 (2015): 585–95. In what follows I offer an alternative interpretation as to why Ignatius stresses the mistreatments by the soldiers.

[64] Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 141–90, on 1 Cor 15:32 in Ign. *Trall.* 10 and *Rom.* 5.1: 156–57.

1 Cor 15:32 and illustrates that, like Paul, he is engaged in a metaphorical struggle (against "ten leopards"). His interpretation of 1 Cor 15:32 encompasses the notion of "fighting" not through physical combat, but by steadfastly enduring evil and responding with acts of *euergesia* towards those who mistreat him. In this way, he expands upon the existing imagery by positing a non-violent, spiritual resistance against the agents of Roman imperial power.

Thus far in this section, I have demonstrated that the metaphorical usage of *venationes* imagery with resisting victims is infrequently attested but does occur. The single Roman precedent presents the fierce and hopeless struggle of the condemned in an overwhelmingly negative light, emphasizing that a wise individual should not adopt the stance of a wounded fighter pleading for continuance when life becomes too burdensome. The two early Christian examples interpret the struggle in a spiritual sense: as courageous proclamation in the centre of power (2 Tim 4:17) and as a paradoxical resistance to evil through goodness (Ign., *Rom*. 5.1). In both cases, the punishment (θηριομαχεῖν, and the "mouth of the lion") serves as a metonym for the imperial authorities involved (the lion symbolizes the judge, while the ten leopards represent the future beasts). Over a century ago, Max Krenkel argued that 1 Cor 15:32 should be understood from this perspective.

> Wir können in demselben [the beast fight endured by Paul in Ephesus] nur einen Zusammenstoss mit der römischen Staatsgewalt sehen, welcher zwar nicht der erste für ihn war, wohl aber alle bisherigen an Heftigkeit übertraf und sogar sein Leben ernstlich gefährdete.[65]

Krenkel was well aware of the lack of evidence for metaphorical usage of θηριομαχεῖν among Greek writers, and thus he resorted to the hypothesis of a "Christian secret language" ("christliche Geheimsprache"), which we can find traces of not only in 1 Cor 15:32 and 2 Tim 4:17, but also in the Apocalypse, where "the beast" symbolizes the Roman world power with which the community engages in an ongoing struggle.[66] However, the question of whether this additional thesis is necessary and the discussion of the overall plausibility of Krenkel's proposal will be temporarily set aside. There are still additional texts to explore that utilize imagery and comparisons from animal combat, texts which have not yet been scrutinized in terms of their contribution to our comprehension of Paul's metaphorical employment of θηριομαχεῖν.

[65] Krenkel, *Beiträge*, 146.
[66] Krenkel, *Beiträge*, 140–52.

4.3 *Paul as a Metaphorical Non-Resisting Victim of the Roman Penal System?*

In this paragraph, I aim to focus on the metaphorical utilization of *venationes* imagery wherein the victims do not engage in any form of resistance, as must have very often been the case in real executions through wild animals. Two non-Christian texts from the early Roman empire are pertinent to this discussion: the aforementioned passage from Seneca's *De Beneficiis* and a section from Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*, a comprehensive handbook of dream interpretations from the late 2nd century CE.

A long passage in the second book of the *Oneirocritica* refers to all sorts of cases where the subjects dream of their own deaths (2.49–66). Daniel E. Harris-McCoy summarizes:

> Death is symbolic of change or separation, and can therefore prophesy marriage, freedom from slavery, separation from one's spouse, or release from distress. Death is interpreted in terms of the manner of death – a rather macabre list – or its accompanying rituals.[67]

As in all his interpretations, Artemidorus uses a fixed structure, formulaic language, a set of interpretative rules and recurring distinctions regarding the recipients of dreams and their circumstances. In the example that interests us, the content of the dream is just described in one word at the beginning: Θηριομαχεῖν and again in the synonymous phrase ἀποθάνωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων at the very end. What does it mean, when you dream that you have to fight animals in the arena, according to Artemidorus?

> To fight wild beasts is good for a poor man. For he will be able to nourish many. For in fact the beast-fighter nourishes beasts with his own flesh. And, for a wealthy man, it foretells future injustices stemming from men who correspond to the beasts. And, for many, it has foretold illness. For thus the flesh is destroyed by disease, just as it is by wild beasts. And it frees slaves, if they die by the wild beasts. (*Oneirocritica* 2.54)[68]

The passage demonstrates that in the late 2nd century, death by θηριομαχεῖν had become so commonplace that it frequently appeared in people's

[67] Daniel E. Harris-McCoy, *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 493.

[68] Θηριομαχεῖν πένητι ἀγαθόν· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἕξει τρέφειν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ θηριομαχῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων σαρκῶν τὰ θηρία τρέφει. ἀνδρὶ δὲ εὐπόρωι ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀδικίας ἐσομένας προαγορεύει, οἷα ἂν ἦι τὰ θηρία. πολλοῖς δὲ νόσον προηγόρευσεν· ὡς γὰρ ὑπὸ θηρίων, οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου φθείρονται αἱ σάρκες. δούλους δὲ ἐλευθεροῖ, ἐὰν ἀποθάνωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων. Text and translation are taken from Harris-McCoy, *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica*, 239.

fearful dreams, prompting them to seek the interpretation of a dream-diviner. Interestingly, those individuals who were most likely to face this mode of death were given positive and reassuring interpretations: slaves were promised freedom, the poor were told they could expect improved living conditions so that they could provide for their families. In contrast, the same dream received by wealthy individuals prophesied that they would suffer injustice at the hands of animal-like people. The presence of animals in these dreams could also symbolize a severe illness that ravages the human body.[69]

The positive interpretations offered in these dreams do not provide any direct clues for interpreting the Pauline text, which describes a decidedly negative experience in Ephesus. However, the interpretation concerning wealthy individuals who will suffer injustice from animals is more promising. Unlike the metaphorical texts of the philosophical struggle discussed in 4.1 above, this interpretation contains a sense of resignation that likely reflects everyday experiences and fits the normal usage of the verb. Just as one cannot escape death in the arena once destined to be an animal fighter, one also cannot elude powerful human predators (and perhaps by implication of the imagery: especially those closely connected to imperial power)!

A comparable but slightly different problem is at the heart of the passage of *De Beneficiis*, where Seneca compares a situation of powerlessness in elite human life to a condemnation *ad bestias* with an unexpected positive outcome:

> We have seen in the amphitheatre a lion, who, having recognized one of the beast-fighters as the man who had formerly been his keeper, protected him from the attack of the other beasts. Is, then, the assistance of the wild beast to be counted a benefit? By no means, for it neither willed to do one, nor actually did one with the purpose of doing it. In the same category, in which I have placed the wild beast, do you place your tyrant – the one as well as the other has given life, neither the one or the other a benefit. (*Ben.* 2.19 [Basore, LCL])

[69] Strelan, *Paul*, 282 has pointed to a different passage, *Oneirocritica* 2.12, as a "serious possibility" for understanding 1 Cor 15:32. In this text, which is part of a long catalogue of the possible meanings of all kinds of tame animals and wild beasts in the context of hunting, fishing and farming that may show up in dreams, θηριομαχεῖν is not used, but the same interpretation of wild beasts as pointing to a serious illness is given as in the above-cited passage 2.54, which thus could add plausibility to Strelan's interpretation. I have two basic concerns however: first, this meaning of θηριομαχεῖν is not widespread and therefore could only have been understood by the Corinthians if they had heard Paul speak of his illness earlier in these terms (which is certainly not impossible, but cannot be proved either). Secondly and more weightily, sickness is not a matter of choice, whereas in 1 Cor 15:32 Paul does seem to presuppose that he contributed somehow to the event with his lifestyle as an apostle.

The Roman senator and former teacher (beast keeper?!) of Nero subtly compares himself and directly addresses his reader from the imperial elite to a condemned criminal and former beast keeper who is saved by "his" lion from the other beasts in the arena. The lion is then likened to "your tyrant", suggesting the oppressive ruler to whom obedience and acceptance of favours are necessities without the obligation to reciprocate. While Seneca's argumentative purpose differs from that of Paul, there is a remarkable parallel in the metaphorical essence. Even a Roman senator can be metaphorically brought to the position of a beast-keeper and beast-fighter when confronted with the imperial beast.[70] For Seneca, maintaining the self-worth of a free individual in the face of a tyrant is achievable by recognizing when one must yield "to higher force or [legitimate] fear" (*vim maiorem et metum*): "if necessity removes any possibility of choice, you will realize that it is for you, not to accept, but to obey."[71]

Artemidorus and Seneca both employ θηριομαχεῖν (in the case of Seneca a famous individual example of it) figuratively to depict situations where elite individuals find themselves unable to protect their rights or

[70] Miriam T. Griffin, ed., *Seneca on Society: A Guide to De Beneficiis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 198 refers to Seneca, *Clem.* 1.3.3. for another comparison between the tyrant and the lion, a comparison which "goes back at least to Plato (*Resp.* 8. 566)." Even more telling in my eyes is *Clem.* 1.25.1., where Seneca draws on the well-known story of Alexander, who once in a rage shut up his body guard Lysimachus with a lion: "For what difference does it make, I beg of you, Alexander, whether you throw Lysimachus to a lion, or yourself tear him to pieces with your teeth? That lion's maw is yours, and yours its savagery. How pleased you would have been had its claws been yours instead, and yours those gaping jaws, big enough to swallow men!" (Basore, LCL) On Lysimachus see also Seneca, *Ira* 3.17; Plutarch, *Demetr.* 27; Paus. 1.9.5. He overpowered the lion and outlived Alexander, a fate not granted to Seneca himself, who in his time as a teacher-beast-keeper of Nero once had dedicated his tractate on mercy to him (*Clem.* 1.1.1.).

[71] For a better understanding, it is useful to cite the preceding context at some length: "'But,' you reply, 'I am not always permitted to say, "I refuse" [a benefit]; sometimes I must accept a benefit even against my wish. If the giver is a cruel and hot-tempered tyrant, who will deem the spurning of his gift an affront, shall I not accept it? Imagine in a like situation a brigand or a pirate or a king with the temper of a brigand or a pirate. What shall I do? Is such a man altogether unworthy of my being indebted to him?' When I say that you must choose the person to whom you would become indebted, I except the contingency of superior force or of fear, for, when these are applied, all choice is destroyed. But, if you are free, if it is for you to decide whether you are willing or not, you will weigh the matter thoroughly in your mind; if necessity removes any possibility of choice, you will realize that it is for you, not to accept, but to obey. No man contracts an obligation by accepting something that he had no power to reject; if you wish to discover whether I am willing, make it possible for me to be unwilling. 'Yet suppose it was life that he gave you!' It makes no difference what the gift is if it is not given willingly to one who accepts willingly; though you have saved my life, you are not for that reason my saviour."

defend against encroachment. Interestingly, it matters little whether the wild animals inflict harm upon the person being attacked or bestow an unasked for favour upon them. The symbol of animal fighting conveys the sense of absolute powerlessness in either scenario. In Seneca's case the tyrant, the king with the temper of a brigand or a pirate, the lion, are easily understood code words for the tyrannical emperors of his time. In Artemidorus' case the metaphor of the beasts is more open, but the association with imperial power structures is nevertheless a given through the base metaphor θηριομαχεῖν.

Is it possible that this metaphorical understanding of θηριομαχεῖν provides the most accurate interpretation of 1 Cor 15:32? While this interpretation has been proposed only occasionally, I would argue that it is highly plausible.[72] In this interpretation, Paul is reminding the Corinthians that in Ephesus he experienced a degrading confrontation with an imperial authority and, as a powerless victim, was compelled to yield to his deadly fate, much like a convicted animal fighter who cannot escape the ferocious beasts. What lends further credibility to this interpretation is its alignment with other statements made by Paul in the Corinthian correspondence, particularly in 1 Cor 4:9–13 and 2 Cor 1:8–10.

5. Concluding Assessment

Before we come to a final assessment, it is necessary to keep in mind what was said at the beginning about the fragmentary nature of our historical knowledge of the apostle's activities in Ephesus, and what puts all conclusions, including my own, under reservation. Unlike the Corinthian recipients, we do not know the life-threatening situation to which Paul refers in 1 Cor 15:32. It cannot be considered certain that the few reports preserved in the Acts of the Apostles, which are strongly coloured by Luke's ideological premises, provide an adequate impression of the hardships that Paul experienced there (and in other places) and that are reflected in various statements and catalogues of suffering in his letters, which only occasionally coincide with the accounts of Luke. Therefore, it is methodologically necessary to evaluate the apostle's usage of language and the possible meaning of his words independently of the accounts in the Acts.

[72] As the clear distinction between a fighter and a victim perspective is not made in most commentaries, it is difficult to decide, which authors should be mentioned as proponents of this reading. The only clear representative is Strelan, *Paul*, 282, who sees Paul under attack of sickness (which I do not think is plausible, see above, n. 67).

When we take into consideration the entire spectrum of ancient usage of θηριομαχεῖν, the conclusion is inevitable that Paul's creative metaphor can hardly be understood in a general sense as a figurative expression popular in the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. This thesis proposed by A. Malherbe, which even determines the entry in BDAG ("struggle with, contend with"), cannot be supported by convincing ancient parallels and suggests an openness of the combat situation that contradicts the normal usage of the verb θηριομαχεῖν and, perhaps even more importantly, everyday experience of this cultural praxis.

In the *venationes*, there were trained animal fighters whose task was to kill animals in staged combat and to push condemned criminals in front of the animals in the staged execution spectacle. However, as far as I can see, these *bestiarii* were normally not referred to by the term θηριομάχης in Greek, and it must be regarded as highly doubtful that Paul would have metaphorically identified himself with this disreputable group of people.[73] This leaves only the linguistically much more plausible possibility that Paul here metaphorically refers to himself as a person who was sentenced to die *ad bestias* in Ephesus and was sent into a battle that, from a human perspective, was hopeless. I have discussed the two meanings that ἐθηριομάχησα can assume within this understanding in sections 4.2 and 4.3. Paul may either have understood himself as a spiritual victim-combatant who proclaimed his message until the very end (analogous to 2 Tim 4:17: proclamation and Ign. *Rom.* 5.1: becoming a disciple through deeds of εὐεργετεῖν) and miraculously was rescued from the lion's mouth (2 Tim 4:17 and the Jewish rescue metaphor derived from Daniel 6:21). Or he may have resigned himself to his fate in a situation where he had no opportunity for effective defence, with the hope of resurrection giving him support. Deciding between these two possibilities is difficult and would require an extensive discussion of other Pauline texts, which cannot be provided within the scope of this contribution. My current impression is that especially 1 Cor 4:9–13, 2 Cor 1:8–10, and also Phil 1:19–24 rather favour the second possibility.[74]

[73] Ancient sources are gathered in Brändl, *Der Agon bei Paulus*, 391.

[74] Bowen, "I fought," 67 had the right intuition when he connected 1 Cor 15:32 and 1 Cor 4:9 – ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους, ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις –, only that probably both passages should be understood metaphorically. In 2 Cor 1:8–10 Paul makes a connection between a serious affliction "in Asia" which lead him to first accept his death sentence and then experience the deliverance by God which taught him, not to trust on himself but on the one who alone can raise the dead.

In addition, I would like to draw attention to two fundamental insights that can help move the discussion forward. Firstly, my thoughts on the figurative use of θηριομαχεῖν support the thesis advocated primarily by Max Krenkel of some confrontation with a Roman authority behind 1 Cor 15:32.[75] Only a Roman magistrate could impose the death penalty *ad bestias*. Furthermore, the lion or the θηρίον is not only a common symbol of the Roman world power in Jewish-Christian apocalyptic literature but also a symbol of the tyrannical emperor in Seneca and, through the Heracles tradition in Graeco-Roman authors, a symbol of tyrants in general.[76] I would not speak of an "anti-Roman cryptogram," and do not see any need to presuppose a Christian secret language as this meaning was culturally widespread and easily decipherable.[77] However, due to the lack of historical background knowledge, we cannot determine the nature of Roman involvement in this instance of mortal danger faced by Paul.[78]

Secondly, I would like to draw attention to a point that has been relatively overlooked in the discussion so far, namely the significance of the fact that in 1 Cor 15:32, as in 1 Cor 4:9–13, Paul metaphorically places himself on the lowest social level of his culture, that of slaves and other completely rightless groups of people.

In discussions of 1 Cor 15:32, Paul's Roman citizenship is frequently brought up when scholars address the improbability of a literal interpretation. It is argued that, as a Roman citizen, Paul could not have been sentenced to death in the arena. In the case of an illegal condemnation, it is further argued that he would have lost his Roman citizenship and would not have been able to appeal to it later on. This argument is countered by those who point out that this privilege of Paul is only mentioned in Acts and is contradicted by his own statements about experiencing repeated corporal punishments in the *peristasis* catalogues. Nevertheless, the crucial point to grasp here is that irrespective of his Roman citizenship, Paul, a free citizen, consciously chooses to metaphorically align himself with society's most powerless individuals who routinely faced the death penalty

[75] Krenkel, *Beiträge*, 140–52.

[76] Here there is an overlap with the texts Malherbe, "The Beasts at Ephesus," 74 cited for the Cynic-Stoic tradition, see especially Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1.6.32 and Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 1.84. Though it must be repeated that the diatribe did not use θηριομαχεῖν metaphorically or did not use *venationes* imagery recalling the *damnationes ad bestias* as Paul and Seneca did.

[77] Norman A. Beck, *Anti-Roman Cryptograms in the New Testament: Symbolic Messages of Hope and Liberation*, Westminster College Library of Biblical Symbolism 1 (New York: Lang, 1977), 66 and Krekel, *Beiträge*, 140–52.

[78] Beck, *Anti-Roman Cryptograms*, 66 thinks that Paul refers "either to Roman military personnel or to zealous advocates of Roman Civil Religion."

ad bestias. Paul chooses a metaphor that only fits a slave or someone who is treated as a slave. Strikingly, this element has not been fully acknowledged in scholarly discussions on the metaphorical significance of θηριομαχεῖν. In fact, it appears to be the common thread in the utilization of *ad bestias* imagery in both early Graeco-Roman and Jewish-Christian literature.

Figures such as Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and Artemidorus, each in their own way, employ the symbol of or draw comparisons to the *damnatus ad bestias* to describe the position of individuals who have to confront their complete powerlessness in the face of adverse circumstances. This can include blows of fortune (Marcus Aurelius), a tyrannical ruler (Seneca), harmful and reckless powerful individuals (Artemidorus), or debilitating illnesses (Artemidorus). In all these cases, human agency is severely limited, and both Seneca and Marcus Aurelius attempt to reconcile with this reality through philosophical reasoning. Seneca advises obedience (without accepting any obligation that would limit future agency), while Marcus Aurelius advocates for noble withdrawal. Jewish-Christian authors, starting with the storytellers behind the legend in Daniel 6 and continuing with Paul, Ignatius, Origen, and many depicted in Jewish-Christian martyrdom literature, participate in this tradition. However, they find strength and agency in their hope in a Lord who is more powerful than all human and supernatural forces.[79]

While we still do not know, and may never know, the specific event to which Paul is referring in 1 Cor 15:32, I hope to have clarified that he is drawing upon and contributing to a metaphorical tradition that does not glorify fighting against one's own passions or any other beings, whether human or supernatural.[80] Instead, it is a tradition that seeks to come to terms with human powerlessness through either resisting non-violently or surrendering. For Paul, the self-proclaimed slave of Christ,[81] faith in the

[79] Brändl, *Der Agon bei Paulus*, 408 calls an allusion to the Roman state as "beast" less probable. First, he rightly admits, "Dies wäre angesichts der Vergleiche der tyrannischen Herrscher mit wilden Tieren in der frühjüdischen Literatur zwar möglich." Eventually he turns this interpretation down because no problems of the apostle with the state authorities are known from Ephesus and refers to Acts 19:31 as a proof for positive relations of Paul to the authorities. My own more critical reading of this verse would be: if "some of the Asiarchs who were friends of his" did their best to rescue Paul, there may very well have been others from the same group who supported the other side!

[80] I do not deny that Paul at times does use agonistic and militaristic metaphors. How those relate to 1 Cor 15:32 needs further investigation.

[81] The Pauline base metaphor, which in my eyes can best explain the choice and inherent logic of the beast fighter metaphor, is the understanding of himself as a metaphorical slave of Christ. As he has explained to the Corinthians earlier: ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς

resurrection represents an essential and powerful response to the common human experience of utter powerlessness. How should we paraphrase the verse best? I suggest: "What good is it to me if, metaphorically speaking, (because of my service as a faithful slave of Christ) I was thrown to the beasts to perish at Ephesus (in the confrontation with the imperial authorities)? If the dead are not raised, 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.'

δοῦλός ἐστιν Χριστοῦ (1 Cor 7:22). In the metaphorical social position of a slave, it is congruent for Paul to experience all kinds of hardship and mistreatment that are reserved for the least in society, especially for slaves.

BEYOND DEATH: A COMMUNICATION-ORIENTED ANALYSIS OF THE INTERTEXTUAL RELATION BETWEEN 1 COR 15:54D AND ISA 25:8A

Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen and Frank G. Bosman

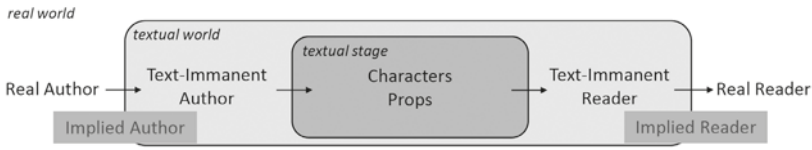
Chapter 15 of 1 Corinthians, the text to which this Festschrift in honour of Riemer Roukema is devoted, deals with the resurrection. This text contains various quotations/allusions[1] to texts from the Old Testament. One of these intertextual relations is the quote from Isa 25:8a in 1 Cor 15:54d. In this contribution, we research this intertextual relation by using the communication-oriented method. It turns out that, due to this Isaiah quote, a complex web of communication arises in 1 Corinthians.

1. Texts as Communication

The method of the communication-oriented analysis of texts, the roots of which reach back to the end of the last century and which we have further developed for other texts in the broadest sense of the word (meaning not only for traditional, written texts, but also for images and video games) primarily considers texts as instruments of communication between an author and a reader.[2] This communication can be represented as follows:

[1] The difference between "quotation" and "allusion" is only gradual. Therefore, it is better to use the general term "analogy." In this contribution, we will nevertheless use the terms "quotation" / "allusion" for the sake of convenience. See further Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, *Analogies in Isaiah*, Volume A: Computerized Analysis of Parallel Texts between Isaiah 56–66 and Isaiah 40–66, Applicatio 10a (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1993), 2–28.

[2] For a detailed description of the communication-oriented analysis see our monograph Frank G. Bosman and Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, *Video Games as Art: A Communication-Oriented Perspective on the Relationship between Gaming and the Art*, Video Games and the Humanities 12 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022). See also Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Methodological Developments in Biblical Exegesis: Author – Text – Reader," *Analecta of the UCU* 7 (2020): 27–46. For two examples of a communication-oriented analysis of intertextuality see Frank G. Bosman and Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, "I Have Faith in Thee, Lord: Criticism of Religion and Child Abuse in the Video Game the Binding of Isaac," *Religions* 9 (2018) no. 4, doi.org/10.3390/rel9040133;



In a text, regardless of whether it is a narrative or a discursive text, *characters* appear. These characters communicate with each other, in words, through direct speech, but also in actions.

However, the characters do not act of their own accord. They act on the textual stage due to the *text-immanent author*. The text-immanent author is, as it were, the director who regulates the development of the story and the role of the characters in it. The text-immanent author determines when which characters are active on the textual stage and what their mutual communication is in word and deed. The text-immanent author, like the characters, is not a person, but a textual entity.[3] The text-immanent author, in turn, communicates with the *text-immanent reader*. This text-immanent reader is also not a person of flesh and blood, but a textual entity.

Outside the text are the *real author* and the *real reader*. The real author is a historical person (or persons) who is responsible for the production of the text. The real reader is the historical person (or persons) who reads the text, whether he belong to the first generation or later generations.

The distinction between the real author *outside* the text and the text-immanent author *in* the text is important. It ensures, for example, that the intention of the text-immanent author is not equated with that of the real author, to which the field of exegesis has no access (but perhaps the field of psychology does). On the other side of the communication, the distinction between the real reader *outside* the text and the text-immanent reader *in* the text is also important. Real readers, for example, might not be able to read things in a text that are obvious to the text-immanent reader. After all, exegesis has no access to the minds of real readers (but perhaps psychology has).

This does not mean that there is no relation between the text-immanent author and the real author and between the text-immanent reader and the real reader. The relation between the first three lies in the necessary and shared common socio-religio-linguistic framework. A real reader may or

Frank G. Bosman and Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Reading the Book of Joseph: A Communication-Oriented Analysis of Far Cry 5," *Journal for Religion, Film and Media* 7 (2021): 145–71, doi.org/10.25364/05.7:2021.1.8.

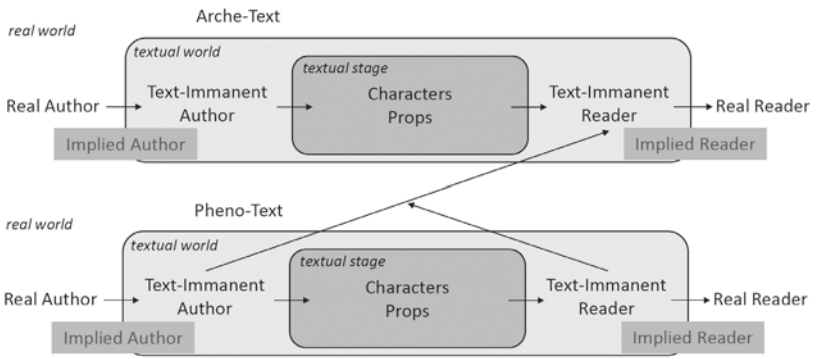
[3] Because the text-immanent author is not a person but a textual entity, we use the neuter. The same applies to the text-immanent reader.

may not be immersed in and/or have knowledge of this paradigm, resulting in either a better or worse understanding of the text in question. We indicate this paradigm with the combination of the *implied author* and the *implied reader*.

In this article, we focus on the text-immanent communication of the Pauline and Isaiah texts, thus neglecting their real authors and real readers and any discussions regarding the historical authors and readers of these texts.

2. Intertextuality as Communication

When one text quotes, paraphrases or references another text, we can speak of intertextuality.[4] This intertextual communication can be represented as follows:



The text that is quoted is called the arche-text; the text that quotes the arche-text is called the pheno-text.[5] The text-immanent author of the pheno-text is related to the text-immanent reader of the arche-text. They do not coincide, but the text-immanent author of the pheno-text interprets the reading position of the text-immanent reader of the arche-text. Via the implied author of the pheno-text and the implied reader of the arche-text, the real author of the pheno-text acts as the real reader of the arche-text.

It is the text-immanent reader of the pheno-text that perceives this relation and thus becomes communicatively involved in the interpretation of the text-immanent reader of the arche-text by the text-immanent author of the pheno-text.

[4] In theory, intertextuality can involve an indefinite number of texts.

[5] The terms "arche-text" and "pheno-text" were introduced by Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

3. The Arche-Text: Isa 25:8a (Hebrew)

With regard to the Old Testament quotations in New Testament texts, determining the arche-text is extra difficult. The problem is not so much in determining the scriptural reference per se, as in our case Isaiah 25:8a. It is rather the shift in language of the pheno-text, written in Greek, compared to the language of the arche-text, written in Hebrew, of which Greek translations exist. This raises the problem as to which version of Isa 25:8a is actually used by the pheno-text as its arche-text. Due to the limited scope of this contribution, we will focus primarily on the Hebrew text of Is 25:8a, and secondarily on the Greek translation of this passage in the Septuagint.

Isaiah 25:8 is part of the pericope 24:21–25:12.[6] It is a discursive text. The text-immanent author, which can be referred to on the basis of Isa 1:1 with the proper name of Isaiah,[7] introduces the characters on the textual stage. These characters are:

– יְהוָה *the Lord*, who settles the score with armies and kings in Isa 24:21–23 and prepares a meal on the mountain for all nations in Isa 25:6–9a,
– the I-figure who speaks in Isa 25:1–5, which are characterized by a first person singular,
– and the we-group speaking in Isa 25:9b–12, which are characterized by a first person plural.

The Lord prepares a meal on the mountain. It is a lavish meal of luxurious foods: old wines and exquisite dishes (verse 6).[8] This meal is intended for everyone, not only for the we-group that speaks as from verse 9b, but

[6] See for a detailed analysis Willem A.M. Beuken, "The Prophet Leads the Readers into Praise: Isaiah 25:1–10 in Connection with Isaiah 24:14–23," in *Studies in Isaiah 24–27: The Isaiah Workshop – De Jesaja Werkplaats*, ed. Hendrik Jan Bosman et al., OtSt 43 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 121–56; Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Isa 24:21–25:12: A Communicative Analysis," in *Formation and Intertextuality of Isaiah 24–27*, ed. J. Todd Hibbard and H.C. Paul Kim, AIL 17 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 77–97. Cf. also Harold E. Hosch, "A Textlinguistic Analysis of Isaiah 25," *HS* 47 (2006): 49–65.

[7] See also Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Isaiah's Roles: The Unity of a Bible Book from the Perspective of the Sender-role," in *One Text, Thousand Methods: Studies in Honor of Sjef van Tilborg*, ed. Patrick Chatelion Counet and Ulrich Berges, BibInt 71, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 115–24.

[8] Regarding the foods of the festive meal cf. also Beth Steiner, "Food of the Gods: Canaanite Myths of Divine Banquets and Gardens in Connection to Isaiah 25:6," in *Formation and Intertextuality of Isaiah 24–27*, ed. J. Todd Hibbard and H.C. Paul Kim, *AIL* 17 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 99–115; Daniel C. Timmer, "The Material and Immaterial Significance of the Feast in Isaiah 25:6–8," *BibInt* 28 (2020): 1–17. The cultural evidence must be located at the level of the implied author / implied reader.

also for the nations. For that reason, the Lord tears the veil that covers all these nations. In contrast to everyone eating at the banquet, verse 8a indicates what the Lord eats: he swallows death. By swallowing death, no one can be absent from this feast.

In the pericope Isa 24:21–25:12, the text-immanent author becomes more and more involved in the event. In Isa 24:21–23, it is an outsider describing the events that will take place in the future, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on that day*. The Lord punishes the kings, because as יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Lord of hosts* he is the only real King who rules on Mount Zion.

Next, the text-immanent author introduces an I-figure that speaks. This direct speech is not marked by an introductory formula, but the I-figure simply starts speaking in Isa 25:1. The presence of both a first person singular and a second person singular makes clear that the direct speech of the I-figure encompasses verses 1–5 and is addressed to the Lord. Due to the absence of an introductory formula, the I-figure and the text-immanent author are closely related to each other. The song of thanks of the I-figure therefore sounds as if it were a song of thanks of the text-immanent author himself.

After this direct speech, from verse 6 onwards, the text-immanent author continues its discourse. However, it does not take the outsider position as in Isa 24:21–23, because in Isa 25:6 it uses the expression בָּהָר הַזֶּה *on this mountain*. The demonstrative pronoun presupposes the direct presence of the mountain in question, which the text-immanent author itself, as it were, points to.[9] The text-immanent author repeats the phrase בָּהָר הַזֶּה *on this mountain* in verse 7.

In verse 9, the text-immanent author introduces the direct speech of the we-group. The introductory formula uses a third person masculine singular for the verbal form וְאָמַר, which should be understood as an impersonal designation: *they will say*. This direct speech of the we-group is confusing. On the one hand, the we-group praises the liberation that the Lord has brought. The Lord is truly אֱלֹהֵינוּ *our God* (verse 9b), the God of the we-group. Hoping for him has not been fruitless. On the other hand, the we-group gives Moab full attention as being a downtrodden nation.

This raises the tension as to whether the we-group is already בָּהָר הַזֶּה *on this mountain* (verse 10a). Although the moment in time בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *on that day* is repeated in the introductory formula of the direct speech of the we-group, no location is mentioned. On the one hand, the joy of the

[9] See for the deictic character of the demonstrative pronoun also Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 310–12 [§ 17.4.2].

liberation suggests that the we-group is on the mountain, but on the other hand, the words spoken by the we-group do not mention anything about the festive meal. They do not even mention that this feast is also for all the nations: Moab is indeed mentioned negatively. Moab is not on this mountain, but will be downtrodden (verse 10b). The problem regarding the we-group is even greater. While the I-figure addresses the Lord with the words *O Lord, you are my God* (verse 1), the we-group does not address the Lord, but only speaks about him.

The text-immanent reader observes, on the one hand, that the text-immanent author has already travelled the route from being an outsider who describes the actions of the Lord, to a person involved on the mountain of the feast. On the other hand, it observes that the we-group has not yet completed this route.

This positioning of the text-immanent reader invites, as it were, the text-immanent reader, like the we-group, to set out for the mountain of the feast, where everyone is welcome, thus including the text-immanent reader. The text-immanent author, as well as the I-figure presented by the text-immanent author, both serve as an example that this route can indeed be travelled.

In view of Isa 25:8a, it is not clear whether the text-immanent reader has itself already passed the situation in which death has been swallowed by the Lord. On the one hand, this does not seem to be the case since the text-immanent reader moves along with the we-group. On the other hand, it does seem to be the case, because the text-immanent reader witnesses the development of the text-immanent author. The relation to a situation beyond death is therefore certainly not excluded, but still ambiguous.

4. The Arche-Text: Isa 25:8a (Greek)

Compared to the Hebrew text, there are two major changes in the Greek translation of the Septuagint.[10]

The first change concerns the interpretation of Isa 25:8a. The Septuagint reads הַמָּוֶת *death* as the subject of the verbal form בִּלַּע *he swallows*. Theoretically the Hebrew clause could be read this way.[11] Both the noun

[10] See on the various versions of Isaiah 25:8b in relation to 1 Cor 15:54d Rodolphe Morisette, "Un Midrash sur la Mort (I Cor., xv, 54c à 57)," *RB* 79 (1972): 161–88. See also Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1975), 292. On the Symmachus see Arie van de Kooij, "The Teacher Messiah and Worldwide Peace: Some Comments on Symmachus' Version of Isaiah 25:7–8," *JNSL* 24 (1998): 75–82.

[11] See also Robert Thomas Murphy, *The Messianic Banquet in Isaiah 25:6–12* (Henderson: Freed-Hardeman University, 2020), 28.

הַמָּוֶת and the verbal form בִּלַּע are masculine singular. This interpretation was possibly generated by considering אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה *the Lord God* as a renominalization of יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *the Lord of hosts*, although the Septuagint translates it using κύριος σαβαωθ *the Lord Sabaoth* in verse 6 and as ὁ θεὸς *God* in verse 8.

However, by reading הַמָּוֶת/ ὁ θάνατος *death* as a subject, death becomes a character on the textual stage. Instead of death being what the character the Lord swallows, death is now a character that swallows. An object is not mentioned, but undoubtedly humans must be regarded as such. In the continuation of verse 8, the Lord God wipes every tear from every face. In fact, despite the positive action of the Lord God, the Septuagint leaves it unspoken whether he destroys death.

The second change concerns the direct speech of the we-group that starts in verse 9b. Because in verse 12 the second person singular in the Septuagint is absent, verses 10–12 no longer belong to this direct speech, but only the verses 9b–h.

As a result, the we-group is much more closely associated with the mountain of the festive banquet than in the Hebrew text, in which the we-group takes a rather ambiguous position. The mountain of the feast is open to all nations, and the we-group does not limit this access by being critical of Moab. Rather, it is now the text-immanent author that is critical of Moab, thus creating the ambiguity.

5. The Pheno-Text: the Characters in 1 Cor 15:54d

Verse 54d is part of the sub-pericope formed by verses 51–57.[12] Verse 51 opens with the *Aufmerksamkeitserreger* ἰδού, traditionally translated with *behold!*, but better rendered as *now* or *well*. The word ἰδού wishes to attract the attention of the addressee of the communication and to draw attention to the new information to be given. Verse 58 serves as a conclusion to the whole discourse about the resurrection in chapter 15. Next, in chapter 16, the new theme of the collection is introduced.

Found on the textual stage are at least the characters Paul, who is standardly present as the I-figure in the text, and the Corinthians, who are standardly present as the second person plural in the text. Paul communicates with the Corinthians.

What does verse 58d mean for the textual stage? In this verse, death is mentioned as a character, but in a different manner than in the Septuagint.

[12] Cf. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 290, who nevertheless considers verse 50 as the beginning of the sub-pericope.

The verbal form κατεπόθη is a passive: *death is swallowed*. Death is not swallowing, as in the Septuagint, where humans are swallowed, and therefore also the characters the Corinthians, but death itself is swallowed. As a swallowed character, death is present on the textual stage. In verses 55a–b, the I-figure even addresses death directly with two questions, both with a vocative θάνατε *oh death*: ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ κέντρον *where oh death is your sting?* and ποῦ σου θάνατε τὸ νῖκος *where oh death is your victory?*[13]

By using the passive verbal form κατεπόθη, the I-figure implies a character without explicitly naming it. After all, if death has been swallowed, then death has been swallowed by someone. In the Hebrew version of the arche-text this is the character God. But this is not made explicit in 1 Cor 15:54d; it is only implied.[14]

By not adopting the acting character that swallows death from the Hebrew arche-text, the I-figure can use both ὁ θεός *God* and ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός *Jesus Christ our Lord* as characters in verse 57. After all, God has realized that death has been conquered, namely through Jesus Christ. In this way the I-figure can expand the single acting character God from the Hebrew arche-text with the acting character Jesus Christ.[15]

Just as there is a "we," a first person plural, in the pericope of the arche-text, this is also the case in the pericope of the pheno-text. This "we" is complex, because the first person plural can have multiple functions.

– A speaking instance can indicate itself with a first person plural, which, however, does not happen in this pericope.[16] Such a first person plural is called exclusive.
– By means of a first person plural a we-group can be indicated, as distinct from the I-figure, which is the case in the arche-text (both the Hebrew and the Greek one).

[13] Verses 55a–b, in their turn, form the pheno-text of the arche-text Hos 13:14. The same communicative complexity applies for this intertextual relation as for any intertextual relation. In the context of this contribution, we will not go further into the relation between Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55a–b. However, it is worth noting that the שְׁאוֹל *netherworld* plays a role in the Hebrew text of Hos 13:14 and the ᾅδης in the Greek text of the Septuagint.

[14] Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, AB 32 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 606.

[15] Kenneth E. Bailey, *Paul Through Mediterranean Eyes: Cultural Studies in 1 Corinthians* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2011), 473 seems to suggest a relation between the passive verbal form indicating death being swallowed and God's victory through Jesus Christ.

[16] According to 1 Cor 1:1, Sostenes too has the double role of character and text-immanent author; however, there is no first person plural in 1 Corinthians indicating Paul and Sostenes together.

– But by using a first person plural, the communicating I-figure can also indicate itself and its addressees. This is called an inclusive use of the first person plural. We are of the opinion that this is the case in verses 51–57.

In verse 51a, first the characters first person singular and second person plural are distinguished. The I-figure present in the verbal form λέγω *I say*, addresses the ὑμῖν *you* plural. Next, the I-figure changes to the first person plural "we." Since the word πάντες *all*[17] is used in first position in verse 51b as well as in verse 51c, this first person plural includes both the speaking "I" and the addressed "you" plural. After that, the text can be continued using only a first person plural, which is made explicit using the personal pronoun ἡμεῖς *we*, as the repetition of πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα *we all will be changed* (verse 51c) in ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα *we will be changed* (verse 52e) demonstrates.

The πάντες *all* that the I-figure so explicitly mentions in verse 52 can be seen as an allusion to the peoples that become visible in the arche-text. These are presented twice in Isa 25:7, and twice by using the word *all*; in the Hebrew arche-text כָּל־הָעַמִּים and כָּל־הָעַמִּים, in the Greek arche-text πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν and ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Since the second person plural concerns the Corinthians, who belong to τὰ ἔθνη *the nations*, the role of this second person in the pheno-text is coloured with the peoples from the arche-text. They become visible, so they should have access to a situation beyond death. Therefore, this applies to the Corinthians as well.[18]

The I-figure in 1 Cor 15:51–57 is not concerned with whether "we" all die, but rather that "we" all change: those who are perishable and mortal will be clothed with imperishableness and immortality. For this change, it is necessary that death is absent and no longer reigns. To this end, the I-figure mentions ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος *the word that has been written*.[19]

At the end of this pericope, the first person plural is present one more time: in verse 57b Ἰησοῦς Χριστός *Jesus Christ* is interpreted as ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν *our Lord*. Just as the imperishableness and immortality belong to

[17] For the text-critical discussion on πάντες in verse 51, see Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 796.

[18] Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 290, who discusses the function of πάντες, although without mentioning the relation with כָּל in the Isaian text, interprets the second πάντες too quickly with just "all believers."

[19] Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 803 is of the opinion that this introduction only marks the quotation from Isa 25:8a. Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, SP 7 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999), 582, however, seems to suggest that Hos 13:14 is the main quotation.

an inclusive first person plural, death having been conquered, this victory is due to God's action through Jesus Christ, who is the Lord of this inclusive first person plural.

This we-group in 1 Cor 15:51–57 is different from the we-group in Isa 24:21–25:12. The Isaian we-group in the Hebrew text is ambiguous: the we-group is not yet on the festive mountain beyond death swallowed by God, but is on its way there. In the Greek text, however, the Isaian we-group is not ambiguous. The we-group in 1 Corinthians also does not have an ambiguous position and thus fits in with the Greek arche-text. Although death has not yet been swallowed, and the mortal is not yet clothed with immortality, the "we" already know that death no longer has power.

However, the we-group is an inclusive first person plural of the speaking I-figure. This means that the I-figure manoeuvres the addressed second person plural into this position. Whether the second person plural, the Corinthians, themselves would take this position, separately from the I-figure, i.e. not in an inclusive first person plural, remains an open question.

6. The Pheno-Text: the Text-Immanent Reader in 1 Cor 15:54d

With this question, we are in fact making the transition to the text-immanent reader. Where is the text-immanent reader located in the pheno-text and in the pericope in which the pheno-text occurs? We see a parallel with the arche-text through the use of the first person plural. As in Isa 24:21–25:12, the text-immanent reader accesses the situation beyond death through the first person plural; so does 1 Cor 15:51–57, albeit in a slightly different way.

The position of the we-group is not ambiguous, as long as it is considered to be an inclusive first person plural. The second person plural acts openly. It is the text-immanent reader who perceives this question and thus appeals to its position. If the text-immanent reader goes along with the inclusive first person plural, then, although biological death still exists, the text-immanent reader can also enter into the position of beyond death.

However, there is more regarding the text-immanent reader. The text-immanent reader observes how the text-immanent author interprets the arche-text, not only with regard to the characters (with regard to death, God and Jesus Christ and the we-group) and with regard to the text-immanent reader (with regard to its relation to the we-group), but also with regard to the text-immanent author.

In the Greek arche-text, it is the text-immanent author who is ambiguous about the festive mountain without death, while in the Hebrew arche-text

the text-immanent author is precisely, so to speak, the first one who completes its way to this mountain. In both versions of the arche-text, the I-figure is positive about God's actions and already seems to be involved and present in the positive situation that is to come. These two positions of the I-figure and of the text-immanent reader in the arche-text, both merge in the pheno-text: the I-figure, also text-immanent author, to be indicated with the proper name Paul, knows for sure: beyond death for all. The merging of these two positions enhances the certainty of the communication for the text-immanent reader of the pheno-text.

7. Concluding Remark

With the help of the arche-text, the text-immanent author, called Paul, creates, as it were, the largest possible we-group, to which belong the text-immanent author itself, the I-figure, who is also called Paul, the second person plural, i.e., the Corinthians, and the text-immanent reader. This is accomplished through an act of God through Jesus Christ, in faith. The text-immanent reader of the pheno-text is thus even broader than just any Christian in general,[20] but also includes an invitation to all to arrive at this thanksgiving.

Using the communication-oriented method, it becomes clear that the intertextual relation between 1 Cor 15:54d and Isa 25:8a is a re-use of the communication, both at the level of the characters and at the level of the text-immanent author and text-immanent reader.[21] The text-immanent author of the pheno-text creates, through its rearrangement of the arche-text's characters, the I-figure, the we-group, the Lord God, the nations and death, a text-immanent reader for the pheno-text, who is more strongly involved in a life beyond death than the text-immanent reader of the arche-text.[22]

[20] Cf. Murphy, *Messianic Banquet*, 104, who, however, does distinguish properly between the character "Corinthians," the text-immanent reader, and Christians in general.

[21] Limiting the intertextuality between Isa 25:8a and 1 Cor 15:54d to questions regarding eschatology, as in Christopher B. Hays, *A Covenant with Death: Death in the Iron Age II and Its Rhetorical Uses in Proto-Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 323, does not do justice to this intertextuality.

[22] We are greatly indebted to Drs. Maurits J. Sinninghe Damsté (Breña Baja, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Spain) for his correction of the English of this article.

"SUMMARY OF ALL GOOD THINGS": THE PLACE AND IMPORTANCE OF 1 COR 16:1–4

Bart J. Koet and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte

Not too long ago, an anecdote was popular in Barthian circles in Amsterdam on an alleged difference of opinion between Rudolf Bultmann and Karl Barth. The two theological giants collided on the question which chapter should be seen as the climax of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. In Bultmann's view, chapter 13 had to be reckoned the most important chapter, whereas Barth objected that only chapter 15 should be allowed to hold that position. The anecdote – perhaps an urban legend – holds it that Karl Barth had issued a copy of the Bible to be laid open at this chapter on his coffin during his funeral in 1968. Rudolf Bultmann is said to have responded by having a bible put on his coffin too, for his funeral eight years later, this time opened at 1 Cor 13. We have not been able to find evidence for the historicity of this anecdote, but *se non è vero, è ben trovato*. Whether or not the funerary details are historical, the controversy was there and Barth and Bultmann did indeed hold different views of the climax of 1 Corinthians.[1]

The question raised by the above story, historically reliable or not, is of importance to the interpretation of Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians: does the rhetoric of this letter contain a particular climax and if so, which part of the letter can be identified as such? Is it indeed chapter 13, with its deeply poetic doxology of love as the highest value in human life? Or is it chapter 15, the chapter that underpins faith in the resurrection of Christ as crucial to the belief system of the Corinthian followers of Christ? Or could there be another passage in this letter that qualifies as its climax? If so, it might be argued that the first four verses of 1 Cor 16 should be seen as such.

At first sight, this would perhaps seem to be a rather provocative idea, since this very passage is usually treated as the beginning of an *addendum*

[1] For this, see the elaborate footnote in Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians*, HUT 28 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 5 n. 12.

to the letter, viz. the closing chapter. Although our friend and colleague to whom this festive volume is dedicated never shied away from provocative ideas, especially if some basis for them can be found in the writings of the early church, we would like to phrase our research question a little more matter-of-factly.[2] In this contribution, we would like to reflect on the place of chapter 16 in 1 Corinthians, especially its opening verses, and on their relationship to Paul's argument in chapter 15. Could it be that the strong theological focus on chapter 15 as the climax of the letter blurs our perspective on chapter 16? We approach these questions based on the assumption that 1 Cor 16:1–4 is of fundamental importance to Paul, and related to the preceding argument in the letter, and we would like to dedicate our attempt to substantiate this hypothesis as a token of friendship and gratitude to Riemer Roukema.

Given the limitations of a *Festschrift*, we do not have the opportunity to outline at any length the entire structure of the letter nor the dynamics of Paul's rhetoric toward a dramatic and convincing end. We therefore limit ourselves to a few observations on the place of 1 Cor 16:1–4 within Paul's communication with the Corinthian community. We will begin our quest with a brief investigation on how 1 Cor 16 is usually discussed in commentaries and in scholarly literature in general.

1. Assessing the Place of 1 Cor 16

Our contention is that when the biblical scholar removes her or his christological spectacles, room is created to see precisely that 1 Cor 16:1–4 in its own way contributes to the call for unity in this letter and may therefore be seen as a short instruction that puts on the agenda an issue that was important, perhaps even crucial, in the communication between Paul and his addressees as a part of the beautifully constructed letter.[3]

An overview of many commentaries indicates that after extensive discussions of chapter 15, with its heavy theological and christological content, 1 Cor 16 usually comes off very lightly.[4] Two trends can be discerned in

[2] For his love and expertise regarding the interpretation of Scripture in early Christian literature, see already his dissertation: *The Diversity of Laws in Origen's Commentary on Romans* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1988), and his *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1996).

[3] Regardless of attempts by Schmithals and others to divide this letter into sections that were originally sent as separate letters to later be combined into 1 Corinthians (see Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 3 n. 6), we approach the letter as an original literary unity.

[4] For example, Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, Pillar New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 24: "1 Corinthians

the literature. On the one hand, there are interpreters who have the conclusion of the letter begin in 1 Cor 16:1, while on the other hand, there are plenty of exegetes who are uncomfortable with that and place the beginning of the actual conclusion in 1 Cor 16:13. In either case, not much attention is paid to 1 Cor 16:1–4 or to the following verses. A somewhat pejorative, and therefore all the more telling characterization of chapter 16 is given by Ben Witherington III: "Chapter 16 is a potpourri of various themes."[5]

The question of the place of 1 Cor 16 is of course related to the construction of the letter as a whole. Of the various studies of that construction, Margaret Mitchell's is one of the more authoritative.[6] Her study takes the position that 1 Corinthians in its current form should be seen as a deliberative argument in order to persuade the community of the saints (1 Cor 1:2) in Corinth to become reunited.[7]

We will be able to build on Mitchell's studies and then must go our own way when we want to further define the position of 1 Cor 16. Mitchell has made a thorough argument based on her study of ancient rhetorical textbooks like those of Quintilian and Cicero as well as of specimen speeches of deliberative rhetoric. She argues that the four characteristics of deliberative rhetoric are indeed present in 1 Corinthians: (1) the epistle urges its audience to pursue particular actions in the future;[8] (2) Paul uses the appeal to advantage;[9] (3) he uses proof by example: he positions himself

comes to a climax in chapter 15 with Paul's discussion of the resurrection as it relates to the ultimate triumph of Christ over all adversaries and the final transformation of our corruptible humanity that fully reflects God's glory." See also Andreas Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief*, HNT 9/1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 14–17 ("Zum theologischen Thema des 1 Kor"). In his discussion of the theology of 1 Corinthians, Lindemann fails to give any attention to chapter 16.

[5] Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge (UK): Eerdmans, 1995), 313.

[6] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*. There is quite a debate about the value and conditions of using rhetorical analysis for the exegesis of the NT. Especially the fact that the theories regarding rhetoric deal mainly with speeches and not with epistles is an important argument. Indeed that is the case, but even though an epistle is not the same as a speech, rhetorical analysis can still help make Paul's strategy clear. For us, Mitchell's analysis is an aid to comment on the neglect of 1 Cor 16 in the exegesis of the letter. For a short review of the possibilities and impossibilities of the rhetoric analysis, see the introduction of Joop F.M. Smit, *About the Idol Offerings, Rhetoric, Social Context and Theology of Paul's Discourse in First Corinthians 8:1–11:1*, CBET 27 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 13–15.

[7] Mitchell uses the term "Christian community" in her book. There are an increasing number of scholars who use Christ-believers for the followers of Jesus in the New Testament church. That may be a little more Luther than Paul. We prefer to use a term used in the letter itself to characterize those addressed.

[8] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 24–26.

[9] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 25–39.

as example in chapter 9 and uses Israel as such in 10:1–13;[10] and (4) in the whole of 1 Corinthians there is a strong focus on the plea against factionalism, in favor of concord.[11]

Mitchell asserts that if 1 Corinthians is a deliberative argument, it should have a defined structure.[12] In line with her conclusion that the letter does indeed have the characteristics of deliberative rhetoric she sketches that the main reason for composing this letter in its current form is: to combat what she calls factionalism – the schisms and divisions among the saints in Corinth. In chapter 3 Mitchell assesses this "language of factionalism and reconciliation" and this involves discussing terms like schism (σχίσμα; 1 Cor 1:10; see also 1 Cor 11:18) but also slogans like the ones found in 1 Cor 1:12.[13] She discusses throughout the letter all sorts of elements that have to do in some way with unity or fractures in the community.

One of the tensions she believes she finds as a cause for the existence of factionalism is the reflection of boasting about exclusive possessions, and she shows that such behavior was already seen by Aristotle as a reason for ruptures in communities as well.[14]

When discussing 1 Cor 16, Mitchell shows that factionalism is also reflected in that chapter.[15] Remarkably enough, she does not pay much attention to the collection in 1 Cor 16:1–4.[16] We will return to this point. In the fourth chapter of her study, Mitchell offers a compositional analysis. The question she wants to answer is:

> Will Paul confine himself to compose this letter? … Will he confine himself to passing from one to the other by way of juxtaposition, or will he find the means of binding them to one another by a logical or moral gradation …? In other words, will the First Epistle to the Corinthians be a heap or a building?[17]

In this part of her reconstruction, Mitchell identifies 1 Cor 1:10–15:58 as the "Epistolary Body."[18]

[10] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 39–50.
[11] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 60–64.
[12] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 53.
[13] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 65–183.
[14] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 93–95.
[15] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 177–80.
[16] That 1 Cor 16 is often neglected in commentaries is noted in Jeffrey F. Cayzer's review of Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, *RBL* June 2012 (https://www.sblcentral.org/API/Reviews/7856_8578.pdf) 5: "A reasonable amount of space is devoted to chapter 16, which tends to be accorded fairly brief treatments, even in longer commentaries …"
[17] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 184.
[18] Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 184–85.

In this reconstruction of the structure of 1 Corinthians, that many commentators share, Mitchell sees 1 Cor 15:58 as the end of the deliberative argument. Her analysis presents 1 Cor 16 in its entirety as "Epistolary Closing," the conclusion of the letter, which she then believes to contain customary business, travel plans, final admonitions, and greetings. So, the collection is seen by her as business, customary business, *appended* to the letter. Mitchell argues that the fact that Paul introduces the collection with περὶ δέ tells us only that he could assume that the Corinthians knew enough about the collection to recognize the topic. She discusses in a few sentences that the collection may have been another cause of Corinthian division since economic disparity has been a source of conflict.

The whole question of the collection is dismissed here in a few lines, and thus Mitchell, with her fine study of 1 Corinthians, nevertheless becomes an exponent of how the collection is generally handled. After the anthropological climax of 1 Cor 13, and the theological climax of chapter 15, the instructions on the collection are dismissed into the category of "any other business," which indicates that they are of lesser importance.

We have taken Margaret Mitchell's approach to 1 Corinthians as our point of departure, but this approach is widely shared in modern commentaries.[19] Let us offer just a few random examples.

Joseph Fitzmyer writes in his Anchor Bible Commentary to 1 Corinthians:

> The few verses that he [= Paul] devotes to the collection for the poor among the Christians of "Jerusalem" (16:3) give merely a few concrete instructions about how one is to take it up and send it on.[20]

According to Fitzmyer, the instructions are tantalizingly brief, because they are merely meant as a reminder: Paul had clearly instructed the Corinthians on this collection while he lived among them. Fitzmyer does consider it likely, since the matter is introduced by the περὶ δέ formula Paul uses throughout 1 Corinthians, that the question of the collection was mentioned in the letter the Corinthians sent to him.

[19] That this is an old interpretative tradition is attested for example by Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC, 2nd edition (Edinburg: T & T Clark, 1914; repr. 1929), 381: "[XVI] 1–4. Here, as at XV. 49, the Apostle suddenly descends from very lofty heights to matters of ordinary experience. It is as if he had suddenly checked himself in his triumphant rhapsody with the thought that 'the work of the Lord' in this life must be attended to. There is still much labour to be undertaken by those who still remain alive waiting for the final victory, and he must return to business."

[20] Joseph Fitzmyer, *1 Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* AB 32 (New Haven, CT / London: Yale University Press, 2008, orig. New York: Doubleday, 1974), 611.

Hans Conzelmann's *Hermeneia* Commentary of 1975 divides 1 Corinthians into three parts.[21] Part one deals with "the divisions in the community" (1 Cor 1:10–4:21), part two with the "crisis of 'bios'" (1 Cor 5–6), and part three with "answers to questions" (1 Cor 7–15). The last chapter is seen as "information and greetings," and introduced with a dry observation: "The final chapter brings, as usual, correspondence, concluding exhortation, and greetings."[22] This particular way of dealing with chapter 16 overlooks the continuity in replying to questions raised by the Corinthians – the περὶ δέ formula clearly connects these instructions with the themes dealt with in what Conzelmann sees as part three of the letter.

In the *Paideia Commentary* series, Pheme Perkins compares chapter 16 to an ordinary private letter:

> Ordinary private letters are much shorter than the long, instructional piece that concluded at 15:58. First Corinthians 16 is of a length similar to such routine communications. After the letter opening, a sender deals with the business at hand, conveys relevant information about travel plans or other persons, and concludes with brief instructions or greetings that the recipient is to convey to others. Paul opens with arrangements for the collection of money to benefit Christians in Jerusalem (16:1–4), describes his travel plans (16:5–9), followed by instructions for a likely visit by Timothy and indication that Apollos will not be coming (16:10–12). The conclusion incorporates some additional comments about members of the community (16:13–18) and greetings from others to them (16:19–21). Just as Paul's letter opening was more ornate than that of an ordinary letter, so the farewell has been expanded with liturgical elements (16:22–24).[23]

Perkins, too, fails to connect 1 Cor 16:1–4 to the preceding sections of the letter. She does state that "(t)he concrete details of collecting for the poor in Jerusalem, travel plans, and mutual greetings may not rise to the level of theological reflection."[24] As we will argue later, there is reason to think that the "practical issue" of the collection in fact reflects a profound theological statement.[25]

[21] Hans Conzelmann, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1975; German orig. 1969).

[22] Conzelmann, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 294.

[23] Pheme Perkins, *1 Corinthians*, Paideia Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 195.

[24] Perkins, *1 Corinthians*, 206.

[25] Many other commentaries can be added to this survey. See e.g. also Dieter Zeller, *Der erste Brief and die Korinther*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 48, who speaks of 1 Cor 16:1–12 as "verschiedene Projekte." See also Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 809: "With the triumphant words of 15:50–58, Paul has brought the *essential* matters between

If especially Fitzmyer's observation that the περὶ δέ formula links the opening verses of chapter 16 to the letter body is taken seriously, there is reason to regard 1 Cor 16:1–12 not as the first part of the closing section, but instead as the closing part of the body of the letter. This is exactly the approach advocated by Jeffrey Weima.[26] Weima sees the closing section of the epistle not as 1 Cor 16:1–24, but as 1 Cor 16:12–24, and argues that the two cases of περὶ δέ in 1 Cor 16:1 and 16:12 show that these verses belong to "the body of the letter."[27] To us, this seems to be a compelling argument: the closing section of 1 Corinthians does not begin in 1 Cor 16:1, but rather in 1 Cor 16:13. This verse then becomes a programmatic summary of the entire letter body, and the emphasis on alertness, standing firm in the faith, courage, and strength becomes not a general platitude, but an instruction for the Corinthians' daily lives.[28] The first περὶ δέ formula in this letter is found in 1 Cor 7:1, and there it continues with ὧν ἐγράψατε, indicating that Paul is answering a question posed to him by the Corinthians in the letter they had sent to him. It is therefore plausible that at least four out of the five other instances of this formula in the letter (1 Cor 7:25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1, 12) also indicate that Paul is answering a question from the Corinthians, and these answers thus belong to the body of the letter.[29]

If we follow this argument and we draw the line of the letter body not after 1 Cor 15:58, but after 1 Cor 16:12, the relation of the first 12 verses of chapter 16 to the preceding chapters needs closer analysis.

2. 1 Cor 16:1–12 as Part of the Letter Body

In his series of sermons on 1 Corinthians, John Chrysostom explicitly deals with the matter. Sermon 43 addresses the relationship of chapters 15 and 16 of our letter, and it is here that Chrysostom characterizes what

him and them, both by way of report and by letter, to their conclusion. But two items from their letter (presumably) still require a brief word" (emphasis added).

[26] Jeffrey Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings*, JSNTSup 101 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).

[27] Weima, *Neglected Endings*, 201.

[28] Mitchell rightly points out another connection of 1 Cor 15:58 with the sequel and that is that in 1 Cor 16:13 it refers to 15:58. She sees it as "a restatement and final appeal to the body of the letter." Cf. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 110; for the details of the relation between 1 Cor 15:58 and 16:13, see 109–11. Taking 1 Cor 16:13 as a summarizing instruction is also the way in which this verse was used in the Leiden student fraternity where one of the two authors (BJLP) was initiated in 1984 by the pronunciation of these exact words, in Greek.

[29] *Pace* W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther 4, 1 Kor 15,1–16,24*, EKKNT VII/4 (Zürich and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 434.

Paul discussed prior as a discourse concerning doctrines. Chrysostom emphasizes that in 1 Cor 16:1 Paul turns to morality. He indicates that the instructions Paul gives in chapter 16 could only be given in the wake of the discussion of the resurrection in chapter 15: belief in the resurrection paves the way to the moral obligations Paul deals with in the final chapter. Chrysostom characterizes the opening verses as the "summary of all good things" (κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν).[30] In Chrysostom's view the instructions of the opening verses of chapter 16 are no less important than the preceding chapters – it is here that profound *themata* such as inflated relationships (1 Cor 1:11–4:20), love and spirit (1 Cor 12–14) and the faith in the resurrection of the Messiah (1 Cor 15) become manifest.

Chrysostom's reading of the opening verses of 1 Cor 16 are an indication that the collection addressed in 1 Cor 16:1–4 should be seen in connection with both the travel plans described in 1 Cor 16:5–12 and the preceding instructions of 1 Cor 15. The belief in the resurrection of the Messiah is foundational for the collection, and the travel plans can be seen as its practical elaboration.

Interestingly enough, and this is obviously a somewhat random jump in the history of exegesis of this passage, we find a comparable understanding of these verses in Thomas Aquinas' analysis of it. Thomas sees these verses as the practical consequences of the teaching elaborated by Paul up to this point:

> Above, through the entire succession of the letter, the Apostle proposed to the Corinthians a general teaching; in this final chapter, he proposes to them something special and something belonging to the household.[31]

The περὶ δέ formula is not the only connection of 1 Cor 16:1–12 to the rest of the letter. When Paul ends his argument about the resurrection in 1 Cor 15:58 he turns with an imperative (γίνεσθε) and a quite explicit address to his audience.[32] He mentions that their steadfastness can get the form of abounding in the work of the Lord (1 Cor 15:58 KJV). We find the combination "work of the Lord" with Paul only in this verse and in 1 Cor 16:10, when Paul starts talking about a possible arrival of Timothy.

[30] See John Chrysostom, *Homilia XLIII in Epistolam Primam ad Corinthios* (PG 62:367).

[31] Thomas Aquinas, *Lectura supra Primam Epistolam ad Corinthios*, caput 16, lectio 1, 1024. In: *Super Epistolas S. Pauli lectura* t. 1. Ed. R. CAI, 8th ed. (Turin: Marietti, 1953), 431. Latin: "Supra per totam seriem epistolae proposuit apostolus Corinthiis quamdam doctrinam generalem, in hoc ultimo capite proponit eis quaedam specialia et familiaria."

[32] Paul addresses the readers as ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί!; the first time in this letter in this combination; cf. 1 Cor 10:1, 14. Cf. 1 Cor 4:14, 17 (with τέκνα / τέκνον).

3. The Collection as Theological Statement

So there are good grounds for a closer examination of the relationship between 1 Cor 15 and 1 Cor 16. There are certainly two matters in 1 Cor 16 that could come up in such an examination and these are at the first place the relationship of the *ekklesia* to Paul with his associates and specifically whether they are going to come along and as a second matter the collection.

In this article, however, we focus on the collection and do so by showing that at least four intertextual relationships are possible that show how important the collection was for Paul: with Romans, with Isaiah, with Paul's letter to the Galatians, and with 2 Corinthians.

It is, to say the least, remarkable that the theme of the collection is mentioned in the closing section of the letter, much the same way as Paul would do later in his letter to the Romans.[33] There, he describes the collection on behalf of the poor in Jerusalem in cultic terms.[34] He describes his task in Rom. 15:16 as follows: "to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit" (NRSV).

The language Paul uses in this passage seems to reflect the LXX of Isa 60:18–24, and if so, this indicates that Paul sees the collection on behalf of the poor in Jerusalem and Judea in prophetic terms. The funds raised by the followers of Jesus among the Gentiles are presented as the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem, a motif that has roots in the prophetic writings, and is reflected in early Jewish sources as well as sign of the end time.[35] According to Rainer Riesner the prophetic vision of Isaiah 66 may have delivered Paul's missionary agenda, and the collection by the Gentiles on behalf of the poor in Jerusalem may, as a result, be seen to reflect the theologically fundamental gesture of a Gentile pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[36]

[33] For the collection as eschatological event, see David J. Downs, *The Offering of the Gentiles: Paul's Collection for Jerusalem in its Chronological, Cultural, and Cultic Contexts*, WUNT II.248 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008; also: Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), esp. 3–9. See also his "'The Offering of the Gentiles' in Romans 15.16," *JSNT* 29 (2005): 173–86.

[34] Downs, *Collection*, 127–30, stresses the cultic background of the collection.

[35] Cf. e.g. Isa 56:6–7; 66:23; Mic 4; Zech 14; also Tob 14:6; Sir 36; *T.Levi* 14:4 and *Pss Sol* 17:34. Downs, *Collection*, 3, refers to Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations: The Franz Delitzsch Lectures for 1953* (London: SCM Press, 1953).

[36] Rainer Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus: Studien zur Chronologie, Missionsstrategie und Theologie*, WUNT 71 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 216–25.

In his study of the collection and its importance, Burkhard Beckheuer makes an important observation: "Even the answer to purely practical questions from the Corinthian congregation, as to how the collection should be organized, takes place in language of theological reflection (1 Cor 16:1–4)."[37] According to Beckheuer, Paul's words in 1 Cor 16:1–4 form an illustration of the fact that Paul "always thinks in a theocentric manner."[38]

The importance of the collection is also underlined by Paul's discussion of its organization in his second letter to the Corinthians: 2 Cor 8:14–24. This passage indicates the meaning Paul attached to the collection: he clearly wants to avoid the impression that this would be an individual enterprise. His description of Titus and the other two envoys who accompany the gifts he is planning to bring to Jerusalem is clearly rooted in Jewish legal practice.[39]

The collection was the result of the compromise Paul had achieved regarding the Gentile mission, described in Gal 2:10. In 1 Cor 16:1–4 Paul refers to the Galatians as an example for the Corinthians. It is one of the few times Paul refers to his own letters. He – as said – comes back to the collection in 2 Cor 8, and uses a similar rhetorical closure of his epistle to the Romans as we find in 1 Corinthians. The combination of these observations lends support to the idea that the collection for Paul was a major theological enterprise, that was founded on the beliefs and convictions described in the main parts of both 1 Corinthians and Romans. As a result, doing away with 1 Cor 16:1–4 (but also with 1 Cor 16:5–12) as a description of "any other business" is to misunderstand the profound theological and social enterprise Paul had set for himself.

4. Conclusion

In the above, we have taken the work of Margaret Mitchell as our point of departure. We have shown that her take on 1 Cor 16 stands in a long interpretative tradition in which the collection, mentioned in 1 Cor 16:1–4, is done away with as a practicality that also needs to be arranged. The

[37] Burkhard Beckheuer, *Paulus und Jerusalem: Kollekte und Mission im theologischen Denken des Heidenapostels*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII Theologie 611 (Frankfurt am Main, etc: Peter Lang, 1997), 271: "Selbst die Beantwortung von rein praktischen Fragen seitens der korinthischen Gemeinde, wie die Sammlung zu organisieren sei, geschieht in der Sprache der theologischen Reflexion (1 Kor 16,1–4)." Translation BJLP.

[38] Beckheuer, *Paulus und Jerusalem*, 272.

[39] Beckheuer, *Paulus und Jerusalem*, 272.

theological content of 1 Corinthians would end with chapter 15. Already Chrysostom, however, saw that this is a misperception. Paul may have described the faith in the resurrection in 1 Cor 15 in an attempt to find or establish common ground between him and the Corinthian congregation, but the real climax of the letter is found in 1 Cor 16:1–4. Paul is convinced that the conversion of Gentiles to Israel is a sign of the last days, and that in these last days the expected Gentile pilgrimage to Jerusalem should take the shape of the collection he is working on.

Perhaps the overlooking of the importance of especially 1 Cor 16:1–4 in most of the commentaries and studies concerning 1 Corinthians is caused by a one sided understanding of what theology is. Theology is not just reflection on faith positions and on expectations unseen, but also on everyday life here and now. The collection was a social statement, hand in hand with economic support, and hence the realm of socio-economic activities for Paul was included in what he considered theology. It is our intention with this contribution to foster awareness among biblical scholars and theologians with regard to this insight: for Paul, as for theology in general, everyday life matters just as much as eternity. The collection is a theological statement, exactly because it was supposed to take place *sub specie aeternitatis*.

N.T. WRIGHT ON RESURRECTION AND ESCHATOLOGY IN 1 COR 15

Wijnand BOEZELMAN

In 1 Cor 15 exegetical and historical questions about the resurrection and its implications meet. Many commentators regard the chapter on the resurrection as the climax of the letter, as 1 Cor 15 forms a well-crafted unity and provides a window to the whole of the letter.[1] Exegetically, it is vital to understand Paul's understanding of the resurrection. But what does he mean by it? Did he hold to a bodily conception of resurrection or should it be understood as referring to visionary experiences? N.T. Wright has been one of the most vocal proponents in recent times for the understanding of 1 Cor 15 in terms of bodily resurrection, challenging the scholarship represented by Rudolf Bultmann. Bultmann understood resurrection as a metaphorical way to express that Jesus' exalted status.[2] Wright, in opposition to Bultmann, labels 1 Cor 15 as the fifth witness to the original Easter events, boldly stating: "Bultmann was simply wrong: the resurrection of Jesus was a real event as far as Paul was concerned, and it underlay the future real event of the resurrection of all God's people."[3] This remark shows another element of N.T. Wright's reading of 1 Cor 15: a crucial role for Jesus' bodily resurrection in Paul's eschatological vision. Wright has not shied away from making bold claims about the Western church getting its eschatology quite wrong with regard to the denial of a future bodily resurrection.[4] In this essay, I will assess N.T. Wright's understanding of the resurrection and its eschatological implications in 1 Cor 15, primarily in his work *The Resurrection of the Son of God*.

[1] Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013); Kenneth Bailey, *Paul Through Mediterranean Eyes: Cultural Studies in 1 Corinthians* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012); Andrew David Naselli, "The Structure and Theological Message of 1 Corinthians," *Presbyterion* 44 (2018): 98–114.

[2] Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Scribner, 1951), 1:45; Hans Werner Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and Myth. A Theological Debate*, trans. Reginald Horace Fuller (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 38–43.

[3] N.T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, Christian Origins and the Question of God 3 (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003), 317–18.

[4] N.T. Wright, *Surprised by Hope: Rethinking Heaven, the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Church* (New York: HarperOne, 2008), 79–91.

In this work, Wright provides a broad-ranged discussion on the topic of the resurrection in early Christianity. He claims that the theme of resurrection features prominently throughout 1 Corinthians and culminates in chapter 15, so it must be regarded "as one of the keys to everything else he wanted to say."[5] Wright discerns in chapter 15 a clear arrangement, with a loosely chiastic structure, containing an introduction and conclusion, (15:1–11 (A) and 15:50–58 (a) respectively), two lengthy main arguments, (15:12–28 (split in two; B1 & B2) and 15:35–49 (b)), with a short practical interlude (15:29–34 (C)).[6]

1. The Bodily Resurrection of the Messiah

Much scholarly attention has been given to the account of Jesus' resurrection in 1 Cor 15:1–11. Bultmann, to whose works and heritage N.T. Wright responds throughout his works, denied a bodily resurrection by pointing to the absence of the empty grave in Paul's summary of the resurrection. Instead, he, and others after him, have understood resurrection in a metaphorical sense or as visionary experiences. Bultmann termed the empty grave stories, that imply a bodily resurrection, as legends and claimed that only after Paul the resurrection was interpreted by the evangelist Luke "as a temporary return to life on earth."[7] Bultmann's understanding of the resurrection has been very influential in New Testament scholarship. It raises the question of the origin and meaning of resurrection language in the Jewish and pagan spectre of worldviews.[8] N.T. Wright has opposed Bultmann's understanding fiercely. Wright asserts that the pagan world did not know a concept of bodily resurrection or any clear expectation of a future life. The body is a prison-house; resurrection would have been understood as resuscitation of a corpse. Pagans would not look forward to living in a corpse-like existence. Other pagans hoped for astral immortality, finally getting rid of their mortal body.[9] Within the Jewish spectre of second Temple Judaism, there was a variety of opinion regarding the final destiny of humans and future hope. Wright groups them thus: (1) no expectation

[5] Wright, *Resurrection*, 277–97, here 278.
[6] Wright, *Resurrection*, 312.
[7] Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1:45; cf. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 284–91.
[8] Leon McKenzie, *Pagan Resurrection Myths and the Resurrection of Jesus: A Christian Perspective* (Charlottesville, VA: Bookwrights, 1997); Wright, *Resurrection*, 32–84. For an elaborate discussion on both pagan and Christian resurrection or resuscitation stories, see John Granger Cook, *Empty Tomb, Resurrection, Apotheosis*, WUNT 410 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).
[9] Wright, *Resurrection*, 57–60.

of a future life, held by *e.g.* the Sadducees, (2) blessed (and disembodied) immortality, a position found in a number of intertestamental books, and (3), the expectation of a future resurrection in bodily terms.[10] The clearest instance for this third category locates Wright in reference to Dan 12:2–3, which speaks of the awakening "of those who sleep in the dust of the earth," that will shine "like the stars forever."[11] This belief in a bodily resurrection, held by Pharisees among others, was from its beginning a "revolutionary doctrine," and therefore disregarded by the Sadducees, next to the fact that resurrection was not mentioned in the Torah.[12]

Whereas Bultmann accepted a great deal of influence of pagan-Hellenistic influence on Paul and New Testament writers in general, Wright locates Paul's argument clearly as within the boundaries of Jewish thought of a Pharisaic kind. He rejects pagan and Sadducee-style influences on Paul's understanding of the resurrection. Wright explains the absence of the empty grave in 1 Cor 15 differently to Bultmann. He points to the brevity of the credal formulation in 1 Cor 15:3–5 (or 3–8), which does include a reference to Jesus' burial (15:4). The absence of the empty grave is therefore explained as the traditional formula "summarized very succinctly that entire moment in the Easter narratives."[13]

Instead, Wright asserts that Paul can take the resurrection of Jesus as an actual event for granted in his correspondence with his audience. Paul reminded his readers of the resurrection as a crucial part of the Gospel as he had proclaimed it to them. Wright situates the consolidation of this Gospel formula that Paul quotes in 1 Cor 15:3–5 to the time even before Paul became a Christian, so within the first two or three years after the resurrection of Christ. He thus asserts that it "is the kind of foundation-story with which a community is not at liberty to tamper."[14] On the basis of that, he claims that Paul understood the resurrection of Jesus Christ as an actual event in history, reading 1 Cor 15 as "intended by Paul as a long argument in favour of a future bodily resurrection." He thus rules out a metaphorical understanding of the resurrection.[15]

[10] Wright, *Resurrection*, 32–206.
[11] Wright, *Resurrection*, 109–15.
[12] Wright, *Resurrection*, 131–38, here 138.
[13] Wright, *Resurrection*, 321. See also Thiselton, *Corinthians*, 1197–1202.
[14] Wright, *Resurrection*, 319. Wright leaves the question as to where the traditional formula as Paul received it and where Paul's own contribution to the list starts open, but asserts that the multiple individuals and groups of people that have actually seen the risen Jesus make it an "unalterable Christian bedrock." (319); Thiselton also assumes a Pre-Pauline tradition in verses 3–5, see *Corinthians*, 1177.
[15] Wright, *Resurrection*, 313–26, here 314. I will not engage in depth in the historical question of what happened on Easter morning itself, but focus on Wright's reading of 1 Cor 15 with regard to the eschatological implications of a future bodily resurrection.

2. Eschatological Implications of Jesus' Resurrection

Wright claims that Paul discusses Jesus' resurrection in 1 Cor 15 to argue that it "is both the *model* and the *means* of what he will do for all Jesus' people."[16] Wright discerns three respective main sections in this argument (B1: 12–19; B2: 20–28 and b (35–49)) that pertain to the resurrection of all believers. In all of this, the bodily resurrection of Jesus is taken for granted, as a common ground between Paul and his audience.[17]

2.1 *The Possibility of a Largescale Bodily Resurrection*

In 1 Cor 15:12–19, it is evident that there are those who negate a future bodily resurrection: "Now if Christ is proclaimed as raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?" (15:12). As resurrection was commonly understood as resuscitation of corpses in pagan thought, some Corinthian believers rejected a future resurrection of believers. Reasoning from the accepted fact that Jesus has been bodily resurrected, Paul asserts that their reasoning is inconsistent, as they accepted the bodily resurrection of Jesus when Paul preached the Gospel. The logic of this section is clear, according to Wright: "if God has overcome death in the resurrection of Jesus, then the power of sin is broken; but if he hasn't, it isn't."[18] The resurrection of Jesus cannot be an isolated event; it should offer hope for the future, or it is no hope at all. As Paul states: "If in Christ we have hope in this life only, we are of all people most to be pitied (15:19)." Therefore, Wright rightly asserts that Paul understands the resurrection in bodily terms. For "future disembodied bliss" would not be salvation; to continue to be "dead, even 'asleep in the Messiah', without the prospect of resurrection, would … mean that one has 'perished'."[19] Wright's claim that this means a concept of bodily resurrection seems the most plausible reading of the chapter.[20]

See for the historical question surrounding Jesus' resurrection amongst others Robert B. Stewart, ed., *The Resurrection of Jesus: John Dominic Crossan and N.T. Wright in Dialogue* (London: SPCK, 2006), and, rather critical towards Wright's view, Michael Goulder, "Jesus' Resurrection and Christian Origins: A Response to N.T. Wright," *JSHS* 3 (2005): 187–95.

16 Wright, *Resurrection*, 316. Italics original.

17 Wright, *Resurrection*, 330.

18 Wright, *Resurrection*, 332.

19 Wright, *Resurrection*, 332–33.

20 See Thiselton, *Corinthians*, 1221–22; Paul Gardner, *1 Corinthians*, ZECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2018), 667–68; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians. Revised Edition*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014), 825.

2.2 *The Rule of the Messiah*

Wright attaches a special importance to the title Χριστός. He does not render it as Christ, but as Messiah, as he supposes that this title from very early on contained a "royal designation." This becomes especially apparent in Paul's argument about the future "worldwide kingly rule" of the Messiah in verses 20–28.[21] Because Jesus is the Messiah, "his death represents the turning-point in which the present evil age is left behind and those who belong to Jesus are rescued from it."[22] The dealing with sins in the death of Jesus, is, however, only assured in combination with the resurrection. Wright discerns a background for this Pauline thought in "the second-Temple Jewish tradition" and numerous OT passages that combine "'return from exile', 'covenant renewal', and indeed 'resurrection'" in a metaphorical sense, that would bring the "transition from 'the present evil age' to the incipient 'age to come'" by dealing with sin.[23] Paul has modified this thoroughly Jewish understanding in the light of Jesus' resurrection, and Wright claims that this is the meaning of the phrase that "the Messiah died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures (15:3)."[24] But Wright does not want to read this understanding of the Messiah dying for our sins as merely a comfort for a troubled conscience. He claims that Paul had a much larger eschatological vision.

In 1 Cor 15:20–28 (B2), Paul finetunes his argument for a two-stage resurrection of the Messiah and believers.[25] This paragraph is very central in Paul's thought and it is also at the heart of Wright's understanding of resurrection and eschatology, so I will quote it in full.

> [20] But in fact the Messiah has been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep. [21] For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. [22] For as in Adam all die, so also in the Messiah shall all be made alive. [23] But each in his own order [ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι]: The Messiah, the firstfruits, then at his coming [ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ] those who belong to the Messiah. [24] Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. [25] For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. [26] The last enemy to be destroyed is death. [27] For "God has put all things in subjection [ὑπέταξεν] under his feet." But when it says, "all things are put in subjection [ὑποτέτακται]," it is plain that he is excepted who put all things

[21] Wright, *Resurrection*, 319–20; Gardner, *1 Corinthians*, 676.
[22] Wright, *Resurrection*, 320.
[23] Wright, *Resurrection*, 320.
[24] Wright, *Resurrection*, 321; Fee, *Corinthians*, 804–5; Gardner, *1 Corinthians*, 654.
[25] Wright, *Resurrection*, 333.

> in subjection [ὑποτέτακται] under him. [28] When all things are subjected to him [ὑποταγῇ], then the Son himself will also be subjected [ὑποταγήσεται] to him who put all things in subjection [τῷ ὑποτάξαντι] under him, that God may be all in all (ESV, adapted).

According to Wright, Paul links resurrection and inaugurated eschatology very tightly.[26] Wright provides an understanding of eschatology that is very different from the concept of popular imagination. It often is associated with an imminent literal end of the world, of which Albert Schweitzer was an important catalyst. Wright has been very critical of understanding eschatology as the-end-of-the-world in this sense, arguing instead for an expectation of a "great transformation" of the world in the eschaton.[27] Paul's eschatology, does not involve "an 'imminent expectation' of the end of the world, but" a "way in which the future has already burst into the … present time [that] is characterized by a mixture of fulfilment and expectation."[28] While not everyone will be convinced by Wright in this regard, he has made a significant case for rethinking eschatological language.[29] In this inaugurated eschatology, the resurrection of the Messiah has a crucial function: it demonstrates the creator's commitment to bring a "rescuing new order to the world," in this way promising a future bodily resurrection for all the Messiah's people.[30] Wright discerns biblical references to Ps 8:7; 110:1 and Dan 7, but especially to Gen 1–3. They do not function as isolated proof texts, but provide a theology of "new creation as the fulfilment and redemption of the old."[31] The focal point in this passage is the defeat of death (15:26), resulting ultimately in a creation in which God will be all in all (15:28). In all this, Jesus as Messiah fulfils the role of bringing the world "under the saving rule of its creator God." The Messiah's death and resurrection ensure the "defeat and abolition of death [which] must … mean new life, new bodily life, resurrection life."[32] Wright thus argues for the expectation of a bodily resurrection of the Messiah people, for only that way, death would demonstrably be defeated. This clashes of course with Bultmann's understanding of resurrection of Paul, but Wright stands here with other commentators.[33]

[26] Wright, *Resurrection*, 372.
[27] See N.T. Wright, *History and Eschatology: Jesus and the Promise of Natural Theology*, The 2018 Gifford Lectures (Waco, TX: Baylor University, 2019), 51–60, here 57.
[28] Wright, *Resurrection*, 333.
[29] See also his later work Wright, *History*.
[30] Wright, *Resurrection*, 334; see also Fee, *Corinthians*, 830–31.
[31] Wright, *Resurrection*, 334.
[32] Wright, *Resurrection*, 335.
[33] See Fee, *Corinthians*, 858–61; Gardner, *1 Corinthians*, 677–80; Thiselton, *Corinthians*, 1176.

Wright takes a further clue about the physicality of the resurrection of the Messiah people through the imagery that Paul uses in this passage that is reminiscent of the Roman empire. The noun τάγμα (order) and the corresponding verb (15:23, 27–28), παρουσία (royal coming; 15:23) and βασιλεία (kingdom; 15:24) contains coded language with political overtones.[34] Wright understands Psalm 8:7 as fulfilled, because of "the Messiah's metaphorically 'military' victory over all the creator's enemies, the 'rulers, authorities and powers', both human and suprahuman, that threaten the good creation" in 1 Cor 15:27–28. Paul placed himself thus clearly within the Jewish convictions on the future formation of God's kingdom.[35] The Messiah does what was expected of the human race in Gen 1 and of the saints in Dan 7. He is,

> under the creator, over the world, reflecting the divine image into the world in terms of bringing the creator's victorious, wise, rescuing order to the world that would otherwise be subject to the destructive rule of death and all the powers that lead to it. This god will be seen to be God, and will in the end be 'all in all'.[36]

This is, according to Wright, Paul's eschatological vision, in which the bodily resurrected Messiah safeguards the permanent defeat of death and the bodily resurrection of his followers. It leads to the state in which the creator's sovereign and blessing rule will permeate everything in creation. Wright speaks of a "proleptic defeat inflicted in the resurrection of Jesus himself."[37] Jesus' death and resurrection are thus coming together in the defeat of death; the occurrence of both events together guarantees that this is to happen in the future on a much larger scale.[38]

Paul understands, according to Wright, Jesus' παρουσία in a manner consistent with this eschatology. The reference to the παρουσία in 1 Cor 15:23 and in 1 Thess 4:14–18, as well as the similar depiction in 1 Cor 15:50–58 (without mention of the term παρουσία) provide a coherent picture of Paul's eschatological vision. In all three instances, "the resurrection of Jesus the Messiah is the starting-point and means whereby the creator, in completing the work of rescuing and renewing the original creation, will raise

[34] Wright, *Resurrection*, 335–38.
[35] Wright, *Resurrection*, 336.
[36] Wright, *Resurrection*, 336.
[37] Wright, *Resurrection*, 336.
[38] The defeat of evil powers and "the establishment of YHWH's reign had truly been inaugurated in and through the messianic events of Jesus' death and resurrection." N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, vol. 4 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2013), 1068.

all the Messiah's people to new bodily life."[39] This eschatological vision in 15:20–28, thus mirrors the ordering of society with Caesar at the top, his agents in between and the common people at the bottom. Reinterpreted around Jesus as the Messiah, this means that

> the creator's new ordering will have himself at the top, the Messiah – and his people … – in the middle and the world as a whole underneath, not however exploited and oppressed but rescued and restored, given the freedom which comes with the wise rule of the creator, his Messiah, and his image-bearing subjects.[40]

This way, Paul outlined both the plan of God to rescue his creation, which will ultimately come true with the abolition of death. It is guaranteed by the resurrection of the Messiah, and a strong reminder to the church that lived in Caesar's world, that Jesus is the true Lord and Caesar.

3. The Body in the Theology of New Creation

Wright contends that 1 Cor 15 contains a Pauline exposition on the new creation, outlining "the future resurrection of all those who belong to the Messiah," in which Gen 1–3 features as a "subtext for the whole chapter."[41] After painting the eschatological vision in 15:20–28, Wright sees Paul having a brief interlude in verses 29–34, as he gets ready to address the hardest questions from skeptical Corinthian believers: how could a body be resurrected and what kind of body it will be.[42]

3.1 *How Bodies Can Be Resurrected*

Wright asserts that verses 35–49 are indicative Paul's theology of new creation, based on Gen 1–2. The contrast between the first Adam and the last Adam is present, as is the mention of birds, animals and fish (1 Cor 15:45, 39; cf. Gen 2:7; 1:20–25). Paul uses the metaphor of sowing to contrast the present creation with the new, emphasizing both discontinuity and continuity, by "setting up categories from the created order to provide a template of understanding for the new creation."[43] With the

[39] Wright, *Resurrection*, 337.
[40] Wright, *Resurrection*, 337.
[41] Wright, *Resurrection*, 313.
[42] Wright, *Resurrection*, 338–40. Bailey states that Paul puts the ethical implications deliberately in the centre of this essay on the resurrection, in *Paul Through Mediterranean Eyes*, 448. I will not further comment upon this passage as it is not directly relevant to the topic of this essay.
[43] Wright, *Resurrection*, 341.

creation story in mind, Paul asserts that it belongs to the creator's power to give life to a seed that has died (verses 36–37). This new resurrected body will be in continuity with the current body, but significantly this it will be incorruptible, as it "will be brought into being, and held in incorruptible being, by the Spirit of the creator God, as a result of the life-giving work of the final Adam."[44] The new body will be clearly a gift, as Paul stresses that the resurrection is "a work of grace."[45] Wright infers three elements from this: (1) Paul argues for a bodily resurrection, which is (2) very different from resuscitation, (by asserting discontinuity through the metaphor of a seed and its fruit). (3) The Messiah is not just the model for the new humanity, but he has the authority to bring it into reality. All of this, he asserts, is clearly within the Jewish specter of thought, yet very innovative as well, as nothing in the Jewish tradition up to that point was said in quite the same way.[46] This mixture of being Jewish, yet innovative, is caused, of course, by the unexpected resurrection of the Messiah in the midst of history. This leads Wright to distinguish Paul's new creation cosmology sharply from that of Plato's *Timaeus*. He regards Plato as holding the view of the soul's existence in terms of astral immortality, while Paul does not attempt to explain "the resurrection body within the framework of 'astral immortality'."[47] Paul's problem is not being bound to a body (as in Platonic thought), but the fact that the body has been subject to sin and death, resulting in corruption, dishonour and weakness. Since the Creator has given different sorts of glory to different elements within creation, he also has the power to do so in the resurrection of the dead (15:39–43). Wright thus rules out the possibility to understand Paul in 1 Cor 15 as thinking about the future body in terms of astral immortality.

3.2 *The Nature of the Resurrected Body*

After discussing the how, Paul moves to discussing the nature of the resurrection body. Continuing to use the metaphor of sowing, Paul states that the new body "is sown" as "a natural body (σῶμα ψυχικόν)" and raised as "a spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν)." "If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body … But it is not the spiritual that is first but the natural, and then the spiritual" (1 Cor 15:44, 46). Wright claims that many English translations have allowed Platonic ideas on the immortality

[44] Wright, *Resurrection*, 341.
[45] Wright, *Resurrection*, 343–44.
[46] Wright, *Resurrection*, 342.
[47] Wright, *Resurrection*, 346.

of the soul to blur Paul's line of reasoning at this point. Several translations lead readers to assume that the new resurrected body would be disembodied, non-physical, not touchable and not visible with ordinary sight.[48] However, such a "multifaceted disjunction is simply untrue to ancient thought in general and to Paul's thought in particular."[49] While Paul discusses the resurrection of believers, he sees Jesus' resurrection as a clear model for the future resurrection.[50] What Paul wants "is not to let the soul fly free to a supposed astral home, but to stop the 'soul', the *psyche*, from being the animating principle of the body."[51] To support this claim, Wright points out that the ancient philosophy did not distinguish that clearly between physical and spiritual, with spiritual in the sense of non-material, which is manifest from the semantic range of the words. The terms *psyche* and *psychikon* both contain different shades of meaning. In the LXX, *psychikos* was used ranging from "soul" to express non-physicalness to life or even 'life-force' in "the sense of aliveness, operating through breath and blood, energy and purpose, which is common to humankind."[52] Wright argues that Paul is thinking of the latter in 1 Cor 15:44–46 which means that the contrast is between *psychikos* as ordinary human existence versus *pneumatikos* as fully guided by the Spirit of God. It would even be more likely, according to Wright, had Paul wanted to suggest a non-physical future body, "*psychikos* would refer to the non-physical side, and whatever was being contrasted with it would be seen as more firmly bodily, more substantial."[53] With caution, Wright sees the ending of the adjectives as pointing in the same direction, since the adjectives ending with *-ikos* generally describe not composition, but "what it is *animated by*.[54]"

Wright suggests that Paul chose the distinction between *psychikos* and *pneumatikos* for the following reasons. (1) A group in the Corinthian church regarded themselves as *pneumatikoi*, and frowned upon the idea of a bodily resurrection – how unspiritual. Now the true God intended to bring them to a new bodily life through resurrection by his *pneuma*. (2) Paul might have thus posited his new creation reading against Philo's

[48] Wright, *Resurrection*, 348–49.
[49] Wright, *Resurrection*, 349.
[50] Wright, *Resurrection*, 348. See also John S. Kloppenborg, *Q, the Earliest Gospel: An Introduction to the Original Stories and Sayings of Jesus* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 80, as he claims Greek influences on Paul, in talking about a spiritual body in 1 Cor 15.
[51] Wright, *Resurrection*, 346.
[52] Wright, *Resurrection*, 350.
[53] Wright, *Resurrection*, 350–51, here 351.
[54] Wright, *Resurrection*, 352 (italics original). This line of reasoning is accepted by Gardner, *1 Corinthians*, 711–12.

allegorical exegesis of Gen 1–2. Philo separated the first man in Gen 1 which was heavenly (οὐράνιος), in contrast to man created from the dust as 'earthy'(γήινος). In contrast, Paul claimed that while God created Adam as a living psyche (ψυχὴν ζῶσαν; Gen 2:7 LXX), believers will receive the state of the final Adam and "new animation by the creator's own Spirit."[55] (3) It was Paul's most elegant option to clarify "both that the new body is the *result* of the Spirit's work (answering 'how does it come to be?') and that it is the appropriate *vessel for* the Spirit's life (answering 'what sort of a thing is it?)."[56] Paul introduced *pneuma* here, after all, to clarify the route by which God will accomplish this magnificent act of recreation and restoration. Jesus is now already, as Messiah, "ruling the world under the Father," and he is the one that after the final victory on death, who "gives the Spirit which brings people to that new bodily life in which they will share his own new image-bearingness."[57] Therefore, Jesus as the prototype of the new humanity. Jesus is not just the *soma pneumatikon*, but the first of a large number of persons that the creator intends to make through resurrection. This state of being *pneumatikos* is not just a return to the original plan that God intended for humanity, but was prevented to come to fruition due to sin; "this model of humanity is" rather "the future reality, the reality which will swallow up and replace merely *psychikos* life."[58]

Wright understands the reference to the heavenly man (ὁ ἐπουράνιος) in verse 48 not as an indication of the location where the resurrected people will go, but as the driving force for the new humanity. Heaven will be the place of origin for the new humanity, but not its permanent dwelling place. He compares this to assurance to guests in a house that there is champagne in the fridge for the party; no one will on such an occasion assume they need to be in the fridge to have the party.[59] More precisely, Wright states:

> The point is not to escape from earth and find oneself at last in heaven, but to let the present 'heavenly' life change the present earthly reality. Heaven and earth, after all, are the twin partners in the creation which, at the heart of the passage Paul has in mind throughout this chapter, the creator had declared to be 'very good'.[60]

[55] Wright, *Resurrection*, 353.
[56] Wright, *Resurrection*, 354.
[57] Wright, *Resurrection*, 354.
[58] Wright, *Resurrection*, 355.
[59] Wright, *Resurrection*, 368.
[60] Wright, *Resurrection*, 355. Cf. Wright, *Surprised by Hope*, 111.

Thus, Wright asserts that Paul does not conceive the eschatological reality to be composed of resurrected persons to be astral bodies at all; rather, those that are in the Messiah will be conformed to his image. In the future, there will not be a disembodied soul, but a transformed body, guided through and through by the Spirit.

Wright anticipates that this reading might be challenged on the ground of some Pauline statements in 2 Cor 4–5. Some scholars have argued that Paul in his second letter to Corinth argues for a non-bodily resurrection state suggesting a separate entity called the soul that is imperishable and stronger than Wright allows for.[61] In 2 Cor 4:17–18 Paul contrasts the things that can be seen and not be seen and those that are temporary versus unseen and eternal. Moreover, Paul states in 2 Cor 5:1–4:

> For we know that if the tent that is our earthly home is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. **2** For in this tent we groan, longing to put on our heavenly dwelling, … 4 For while we are still in this tent, we groan, being burdened – not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. (ESV)

The question is, would this passage not more naturally indicate astral immortality of the soul in a Platonic sense, as Paul is speaking about the "tent" that will be destroyed? In other words, could it be that Paul reasons from a Platonic cosmology or Hellenistic model? Wright concedes that Paul considers the possibility that he may die before the *parousia* by the time he wrote 2 Corinthians. That Paul has changed his underlying ideas on this topic between the writing of the two letters is, however, highly unlikely.[62] (1) there is no ontological dualism in 2 Cor 5. The contrast between the corruptible and incorruptible body in 2 Cor 5:4 is clearly echoing 1 Cor 15:54; "what is 'mortal' will be 'swallowed up' by life.[63]" (2) The letter to the Romans, written briefly after the letters to the Corinthians clearly espouses the same new creation cosmology as 1 Cor (e.g. Rom 8:22).[64]

[61] Marie-Émile Boismard, *Our Victory Over Death: Resurrection?* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999). See also Wright, *Resurrection*, 361.

[62] Wright, *Resurrection*, 361. See also Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 365.

[63] Wright, *Resurrection*, 366–67, here 367.

[64] Wright, *Resurrection*, 365. Thiselton comes to the same conclusion, *Corinthians*, 1167–73.

4. Victory over Death (1 Cor 15:50–58)

In the conclusion of the chapter (1 Cor 15:50–58), Paul fleshes out the implications of the resurrection for those who are still alive at the *parousia* of the Messiah. They need a transformation to become part of the kingdom too. For Wright, it is clear that people still alive at the coming of the kingdom will not lose their physicality as such, but will receive a changed body that is "required for God's future."[65] The main feature of God's world is that death will be defeated (cf. verse 26) and this is repeated in verses 54–57. Paul is anticipating the complete victory over death, with the resurrection of Jesus himself acting as a signpost for that. The purpose is to abolish death, "not about coming to terms with" it.[66] In Paul's view, the future body is not devoid of physicality, nor will it be like the current one, but one that needs to be transformed and changed to its ultimate glory.[67] What does Paul's expression "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (15:50)" mean? Does it mean a denial of a bodily resurrection expectation by Paul? Wright disagrees. He argues that "flesh and blood" in this passage cannot be taken as an immaterial kingdom being envisaged by Paul. What Paul wants to emphasise is that the presently living need a transformation to inherit the kingdom of God.[68] And for that reason, Paul concludes the chapter with a remark, that could be considered as an anti-climax, but which is in fact a redirection from the future hope to the present reality: "Therefore, my beloved brothers, be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in the Lord your labour is not in vain (1 Cor 15:58)." Thus, the hope of a future bodily existence implies that whatever "is done 'in the Lord' in the present will last into God's future."[69] Paul's focus on eschatology in this chapter does not allow for daydreaming in the present.

Wright's reading of Paul emphasises God's commitment to his creation. He asserts that the inaugurated eschatology that he advocates, with a distinction between the present and the future age, is not a way of daydreaming about a far-distant future with an ontological dualism in its wake. On the contrary, maintaining the distinction was in fact "a way of *not* capitulating"

[65] Wright, *Resurrection*, 357.
[66] Wright, *Resurrection*, 358.
[67] Wright, *Resurrection*, 358.
[68] Fee remarks: "Most likely the term refers simply to the body in its present form, composed of flesh and blood, to be sure, but subject to weakness, decay, and death, and as such ill-suited for the life of the future" (*Corinthians*, 884); see also Gardner, *1 Corinthians*, 722–23.
[69] Wright, *Resurrection*, 359–60.

to "ontological dualism."[70] It is fair to say that Wright has been very concerned about this and that this matches his understanding of Paul's view on the resurrection, like in 1 Cor 15:58, as Paul concludes with a very practical, down-to-earth remark to remain always abounding in the work of the Lord. This is clearly Wright's mission, to demonstrate that Christian spirituality is not about awaiting our time here till we will be transferred to distant heaven. To live in the present with future hope means for Paul, according to him, to be expecting and longing for the moment that Christ will be all in all and will transform the bodies of believers to be present at that occasion.

This calls for a discussion between eschatology and final judgment as well.[71] Wright traces five elements coming together when it comes to the *parousia* of the Lord: (1) the expectation of YHWH's return to put things right, (2) the messianic version of this (3) reappropriation of these traditions in an inaugurated eschatology, (4) Jesus as the agent of YHWH being present at the day of YHWH or the day of the Lord and (5) the fact that the *Parousia* was connected to the visit of Caesar. Wright conceives Paul to have within the final eschatology a moment "that the creator and covenant God will, at the last, put the whole world to rights."[72] Wright discusses this eschatological judgment in relation to Rom 2:1–16. He states the rationale for a final judgment as follows: "if the creator does not, at the end, rid the world of evil, then – to put it no more strongly – his credentials both as the creator and as the God of justice are severely called into question.[73]" It is therefore clear that Wright is not a universalist; he does not conceive "of a God who shrugs his shoulders over human behaviour and 'tolerates' anything and everything."[74] Ultimately, he regards God's judgment of the deeds of people as a general principle, "in terms not of individual, one-off actions but of the whole tenor of a person's habitual life."[75] The role of the final judgement in Paul's eschatological vision remains thus rather vague. It is unclear whether everyone or only those that belong to the Messiah will participate in the future resurrection. Wright puts a strong emphasis on the collective dimension of the future bodily resurrection, and leaving aside the question of the individual destiny of believers contributes to this unclarity. When he does address the

[70] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1059.
[71] Wright, *Resurrection*, 370.
[72] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1085.
[73] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1086.
[74] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1087.
[75] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1087.

topic of the afterlife – "life after life after death" – in more practical detail elsewhere, he cautiously positions himself between the traditional view of God's judgment as eternal and the view of conditional immortality, while he rejects the idea of universalism.[76] He deliberately wants to focus on the significance of the resurrection in the present. In *Surprised by Hope*, he outlines the significance of the resurrection for the present church. The church should work in the present to be a signpost of the future world, allowing God to build His Kingdom, but giving believers a vocation to build for it as well.[77] This plays out in different area's such as justice and beauty.[78] In this sense, he makes exegetical insights on the future bodily resurrection and his discernment of a new creation reading fruitful for church practice.[79]

5. Assessing Wright

Wright can be credited from his contribution to NT scholarship in reading the sources in its natural environment, the first century Jewish setting, as well as making these insights fruitful for a broader audience. Over against Bultmann, he has been able to outline the thorough Jewishness of Paul in his view on the resurrection. Wright's claim that Paul was convinced of a bodily resurrection of Jesus, as the only plausible understanding of the word resurrection in the first century has had significant impact on our understanding of New Testament eschatology. Wright has rightly raised awareness about the importance of a two-stage resurrection of the dead for Paul's eschatology. Paul achieved this not by quoting isolated proof texts, but by a sustained new-creation reading of Gen 1–2, that explained the mode of continuity and discontinuity between the present and future body.

By demonstrating the importance of the future bodily resurrection in Paul's eschatology, Wright has also made a significant case for the bodily resurrection of Jesus himself. There is no full unanimity to be expected on this topic, but Wright demonstrates that it is beyond doubt from Paul's argument in 1 Cor 15 that Paul was convinced of Jesus' bodily (i.e. non-metaphorical) resurrection. This is clear from (1) the emphasis on eyewitnesses of Jesus' resurrection in a way that is not possible anymore at the time of writing 1 Corinthians. Paul's understanding of Jesus' resurrection as a visionary experience is highly unlikely since the conception of

[76] Wright, *Surprised by Hope*, 165–207.
[77] Wright, *Surprised by Hope*, 207–9.
[78] Wright, *Surprised by Hope*, 212–32.
[79] Wright, *Surprised by Hope*, 233–89.

visionary experiences seems to lack clear explanative power.[80] (2) Paul's argument in verses 12–19. This paragraph is hardly intelligible if Paul did not think of a bodily resurrection. (3) The explicit reference to Christ as the firstfruits of many (verses 20–23). (4) The effort Paul spends on explaining both the way this new resurrection body will come into existence and what kind of body it will be (1 Cor 15:35–49). (5) The conclusion in which death is not just escaped but defeated. All in all, it seems most reasonable to assume, with Wright, that Paul was convinced that the following had happened: Jesus had risen bodily from the grave, leaving an empty tomb behind. Jesus' body had not been abandoned in the tomb, nor had it just been resuscitated; his body was transformed "in an act of new creation through which it was no longer corruptible," and that gives Paul the conviction that it will happen to all the people belonging to the Messiah as well.[81]

For that reason, anyone who wants to engage with Paul's eschatology needs to reckon with the fact that he regards Jesus' bodily resurrection as the foundation for his eschatological thinking. While it is still possible to reject Jesus' bodily resurrection on philosophical grounds, Paul decided to build an inaugurated eschatology on this conviction of Jesus' bodily resurrection.[82] Wright puts as Paul's conviction that "if Jesus of Nazareth had been raised from the dead, then it meant either that the whole cosmos had gone completely mad or that 'the resurrection' had come forward into the present," signified by Jesus' resurrection and all others later on.[83] All in all, Wright should be acknowledged for his compelling view that Paul conceived of Jesus' resurrection in bodily terms.

Wright can further be commended for his case for the renewed attention of Paul's understanding of the 11th article of the Apostle's Creed, the resurrection of the dead. Wright has articulated this both on academic and more popular levels. This is in itself very commendable as he has sought to let church confession be thoroughly informed by ongoing academic reflection. Wright relates the inaugurated eschatology with an expectation of a bodily resurrection of all believers in a fruitful way. Wright rightly resists a dualist reading of eschatology, as "[t]he 'evil' of the present age, in Jewish thought, consists not in the present world being a dark, wicked place from which we should try to escape, but in the intrusion into, and

[80] So William Lane Craig, "Wright and Crossan on the Historicity of the Resurrection of Jesus," in *The Resurrection of Jesus*, 142.
[81] Wright, *Resurrection*, 360–61, here 361.
[82] See R. Douglas Geivett, in *The Resurrection of Jesus*, 93–105.
[83] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1062.

infection of, God's good creation with the power of evil."[84] Wright's portrayal of Paul's eschatological vision contains a balanced view of the correlation between the present and the future. "God *has already* delivered us from the present evil age, he says and *has already* made us part of his new creation. The future still matters enormously. But we must not imagine, because of the *not yet*, that Paul had forgotten the *now*.[85]" Wright, rightly in my view, goes against a number of interpretations that view eschatological language as the imminent end of the physical world, downplaying the significance of the importance of living in the present, as a renewed creation is anticipated. While evangelical Christians would not side generally with Schweitzer, the language of heaven as our home has sometimes led to a lack of urgency to consider this-worldly matters of concern, such as climate change. While it is too simple to attribute this to one factor, Wright's exposition of Pauline eschatology has helped Christians to address these matters in more depth.

An area where Wright's work is problematic is in his understanding of ontological dualism and his perception of Platonism as the source of confusion with regard to the Christian understanding of eschatology. He understands Platonic astral immortality of the soul and Pauline bodily resurrection as mutually exclusive categories. He is adamantly arguing against ontological dualism throughout his works. He suggests that any type of dualism of soul and body is questionable. The soul does not seem to have a separate existence from the body. It is a legitimate question how Paul viewed life after death. Where are believers in Christ when the body has perished and dissolved? Is their soul in heaven or an intermediate state? Wright, with his suspicion against a Platonic understanding of the soul, is keen to reject ontological dualism (with a separate soul and body). While he distinguishes different sorts of bodies (*psychikos* and *pneumatikos*), it is justified to ask whether Paul is rejecting an ontological dualism as firmly as N.T. Wright does. Richard Bell questions the assumption that the immortality of the soul would compete with bodily resurrection. Agreeing with Wright that Paul did not have a Platonic understanding of soul and body, Bell maintains that Paul held to a form of ontological dualism, even when affirming a future bodily resurrection.[86] The contrast between an earthly and heavenly man (see 1 Cor 15:48–49 and 2 Cor 4:16–18) seems

[84] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1069.
[85] Wright, *Faithfulness*, 1073.
[86] Richard H. Bell, "Individual Eschatology," in *God and the Faithfulness of Paul: A Critical Examination of the Pauline Theology of N.T. Wright*, ed. Christoph Heilig, J. Thomas Hewitt, and Michael F. Bird (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017), 545.

indicative of such a contrast. Moreover, Paul expresses the desire not to be 'naked' (γυμνός); this nakedness of the soul was "not desirable" for Paul, "but nevertheless conceivable.[87]" Bell claims for that reason that the "intermediate state of bodiless existence" clearly indicates an "ontological dualism" between body and soul. This dualism is both present in 1 and 2 Corinthians, and in both cases devoid of the Platonic nuances with a negative evaluation of the body.[88] Since Wright accepts the intermediate state of humans after death, in the sense that believers will be with the Lord, awaiting the final resurrection while their bodies are dissolving on earth, I think it is a valid question in what way believers are in heaven – not as the final destination, but being with the Lord in heaven as understood in ancient Jewish thought.[89] The fact that Wright considers the state of the current dead as in heaven, with their bodies dissolved, makes Bell's proposal of an ontological dualism – yet without negative evaluation of the body – much more plausible than Wright's constant denial of an ontological dualism. That Wright's conception of Platonism is problematic is also clear from the fact that there have been many Christians throughout the centuries that engaged with Platonism, without necessarily rejecting a future bodily resurrection.[90]

6. Conclusion

Let me conclude. N.T. Wright understands Paul's argument in 1 Cor 15 as using the uncontested view of Jesus' resurrection to function as the first part of a two-stage resurrection. The Messiah has defeated death proleptically already, as is clear from his resurrection and this gives believers in the Messiah the guarantee that those who have passed away and those who are still alive when the Messiah returns to the earth as the rightful king will receive a transformed body. To the Corinthians that rejected this Pauline teaching, quite likely because of their (still pagan) understanding of resurrection as resuscitation of corpses, Paul presented his new-creation reading, mirroring Gen 1–2: the future resurrection will come after the

[87] Bell, "Individual Eschatology," 547.
[88] Bell, "Individual Eschatology," 548.
[89] See Markus Bockmuehl, "Did St. Paul Go to Heaven When He Died?," in *Jesus, Paul, and the People of God: A Theological Dialogue with N.T. Wright*, ed. Nicholas Perrin and Richard B. Hays (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2011), 211–21; as well as N.T. Wright, "Response to Markus Bockmuehl," in *Jesus, Paul, and the People of God*, 231–32.
[90] Jason Byassee, "Natural Theology Crucified," *The Christian Century* 137.6 (2020): 31, 33.

abolition of death and decay. As to the question of how this would come to pass and what kind of body this would be, Paul demonstrated that God as the creator will be able to provide for this transformed body. This transformed body, the σῶμα πνευματικόν, does not consist of spiritual matter, but has the πνεῦμα rather as its animating principle, thus guaranteeing that it will not lead to dishonour and decay. Wright's rejection of any ontological dualism in Paul is problematic. Since Wright affirms that believers will be with the Messiah after their death and their bodies remain on earth, his strict denial of an ontological dualism is not tenable. However, in general, Wright can be appreciated of providing greater clarity on Paul's motive to address the topic of the resurrection in 1 Cor 15.

PREFIGURING GOD'S FUTURE: 1 CORINTHIANS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TIME

Peter-Ben SMIT

1. Introduction*

In his academic work, Riemer Roukema has discussed 1 Cor 15 a number of times, both as such and in its interpretation in the early Church, not in the last place by Valentinians (which connects the text to Roukema's work on Gnosticism).[1] This contribution takes a slightly different approach to the same text, by asking the question how and with what consequences time is structured in Paul's discourse on the resurrection from the dead. Time would seem to be an appropriate topic now the honoree of this volume crosses the boundary to a new period in his life, the *otium cum dignitate*.

At first glance, time does not seem to be the primary question that Paul addresses in 1 Cor 15, which is about the reality of the resurrection in general and of Christ in particular. Yet, an important corollary of his argument is that the time one lives in is, or is not determined by the past of Christ's resurrection and future of one's own (hoped for) resurrection. In pursuing this line of thought, this paper connects with the so-called "temporal turn" in the humanities and biblical studies that seeks to draw attention to the importance and consequences of the construction of time through cultural techniques. The exegetical experiment that will unfold in what

* For reasons of time and space, references to secondary literature have been kept at a minimum.

[1] See, e.g., Riemer Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity," in *"If Christ has not been Raised …" Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, Andreas Merkt and Tobias Nicklas, NTOA 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 33–60; Riemer Roukema, "Origen's Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15," in *Gelitten. Gestorben. Auferstanden. Passions- und Auferstehungstraditionen im antiken Christentum*, ed. Tobias Nicklas, Andreas Merkt and Joseph Verheyden, WUNT 2.273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 329–42; see also Riemer Roukema, "Paulus' verhandeling over de opstanding. 1 Korintiërs 15," *Interpretatie* 21:2 (2013), 33–35.

follows will show how fruitful intentional attention to the construction of time and its effects in at least 1 Cor 15 and potentially in New Testament studies at large can be.

Of the three distinct disciplines that have been exploring time the most intensively in the recent scholarly past as far as biblical studies is concerned, i.e., social memory studies, queer and feminist studies and studies of apocalypticism and messianism,[2] here especially the first and the last approaches are taken into consideration, with some attention to the possible use of "queering" time for describing what Paul does with the construction of time in 1 Cor 15.[3] To these theoretical perspectives, the concept of "prefiguration" is added, as a concept that may be able facilitate the analysis of Paul's treatment of time and its consequences. 1 Cor 15 is a text that is particularly inviting for such an exploration, as Paul offers two scenarios for constructing time and the place of the faithful in it, one including and one excluding the resurrection of the dead and the resurrection of Christ.

2. Time and the New Testament

The so-called "temporal turn" in New Testament studies, admittedly still in its infancy, consists of giving focused attention to the question of time in a new way, going beyond time as a "natural" phenomenon and asking the question how time is conceived of, how it is actively constructed, and what convergences and conflicts between various understandings of time exist. The question of the construction of identities and the exercise of influence and power constitutes an important background to such approaches, as the awareness that counting and structuring time in one way or the other does much to position human beings and to outline their role in society, as well as to conceptualize the role of societies and their institutions. This can take different forms, both in antiquity and today, in which the remembrance of the past and the anticipation of the future play key roles in structuring the present.

[2] See Lynn Moss Bahr, "The 'Temporal Turn' in New Testament Studies," *CurBR* 18 (2020): 268–79, 268; for a survey of the same topic in an adjacent field, see: Sarit Kattan Gribetz and Lynn Kaye, "The Temporal Turn in Ancient Judaism and Jewish Studies," *CurBR* 17 (2019): 332–95.

[3] On temporality and queering, see, e.g., Kent L. Brintnall (ed.), *Sexual Disorientations: Queer Temporalities, Affects, Theologies* (New York: Fordham University, 2017), as well as the contributions edited by Stephen D. Moore and Denise Kimber Buell in *BibInt* 28:4 (2020).

Social memory studies is a discipline that, as it name indicates, focuses on the remembrance of the past as something that constructs the present and its outlook.[4] What is remembered (and thereby constructed, even to the extent of being invented)[5] and how is of enormous significance for the construction what can, in this context, be called a "mnemonic" community's identity and outlook. Regarding early Christianity, Byrskog's brief formulation is helpful here, without being able to survey the extensive literature concerning social memory here:

> The early Christian groups can be seen as emerging mnemonic communities that negotiated their sense of belonging in relation to the larger mnemonic environment of the Jewish people. There was a mnemonic battle over what to remember and what to forget. In this process, the social memory was an effective means of control and identity formation.[6]

As the remembrance of Christ's resurrection plays an important role in 1 Cor 15, the notion of remembering will be returned to below. – Just to be sure, early Christians (as a Jewish sect) were certainly not the only ones employing the remembrance of the past to construct the present and to live towards the future; a notion of a "golden age" that was to be revived during the rule of an emperor, for instance, functions along precisely the same lines.

A second field that has been much concerned with time is, of course, the study of early Christian (and Jewish) eschatology, messianism and apocalypticism, which is, certainly within the context of New Testament studies, an even richer field of research than that of social memory studies. When,

[4] See for a survey, e.g., the contents of *BTB* 36:1 (2006), as well as Sandra Hübenthal, "Erinnerung/Gedächtnis," *WiBiLex*, www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/48895 (2020; accessed 1 November 2022). – Of course, the discipline is also concerned with the counterpart (and sometimes necessary complement) of remembering, i.e., forgetting, on which see, for instance: Riemer Roukema, "Vergessen, was hinter mir liegt. Die altkirchliche Auslegung von Philipper 3,13b," in *Erinnern und Vergessen – Remembering and Forgetting: Essays über zwei theologische Grundvollzüge – Festschrift für Hans-Martin Kirn*, ed. Markus Matthias, Riemer Roukema and Gert van Klinken (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2020), 45–49, as well as the further contents of the volume in which this essay of Roukema's appeared.

[5] See the foundational publication Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983), as well as the following example of a great many publications on the topic in the field of theology and religious studies: Anton Houtepen and Jan-Willem van Henten (ed.), *Religious Identity and the Invention of Tradition*, STAR 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

[6] Samuel Byrskog, "A New Quest for the Sitz im Leben: Social Memory, the Jesus Tradition and the Gospel of Matthew," *NTS* 52 (2006): 319–36, 323; see also: Peter-Ben Smit, "Paul and Memory," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World. A Handbook*, ed. Paul Sampley, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 2.147–70.

with De Boer,[7] understanding Paul as a thinker characterized by an apocalyptic eschatology, one can expect elements in his writings that emphasize the expectation of the future on the one hand and elements that stress the revelation of special knowledge of God (and God's intentions) on the other. Both of these elements construct time and, with that, a person's or a community's play in the world (and the world itself). The well-known tension between the "already" and the "not yet" in such forms of thinking is of importance for its construction of time and is of significance beyond simply being a tension. In this philosophical reflection on what he calls "messianic time," Agamben has formulated this aptly, as Bahr describes it:

> Agamben focuses on Paul's notion of "messianic time," which he understands as a time within time, a time that is within chronological time but distinctive to it and "graspable" in that it was inaugurated with the arrival of the Messiah, an event that suspends the conditions of the world without doing away with them … In this messianic context, Paul and his communities live in a protracted now, a time in which the conditions of the world fall away and new modes of being can be realized.[8]

While a third body of theory that has been much concerned with time, i.e., gender critical (queer and feminist) approaches, will, for pragmatic reasons and more substantive reasons will be touched on only in passing below, a fourth approach to time, or at least a fourth manner of structuring time will be highlighted here. This concerns the notion of "prefiguration", which is, in this context, not to be understood as a form of typological Scriptural exegesis, but rather as a way in which a community can understand itself, i.e., as already embodying the future in the present.[9] This notion is prevalent in contemporary political theory concerned with protest movements that already seek to give shape to the future that they agitate for in their own communal lives (Occupy would be an example) and it also seems to be highly appropriate for understanding early Christian movements, which, as it has been argued variously, already sought to embody the kingdom of God under the conditions of the world they lived in, i.e., a world determined by the conditions of the Roman empire to a substantial extent. A prefigurative self-understanding restructures time by

[7] See, e.g., Martinus C. de Boer, *The Defeat of Death: Apocalyptic Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 5*, JSNTSup 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), as well as the essays by the same author collected in: *Paul, Theologian of God's Apocalypse: Essays on Paul and Apocalyptic* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2020).

[8] Bahr, "'Temporal Turn'," 274.

[9] On which, see: Peter-Ben Smit, "Exploring the Eschaton. The Lord's Supper as a Cultural Technique Enabling Prefigurative Politics," *Yearbook for Ritual and Liturgical Studies* 38 (2022): 59–72.

making not so much the present and the powers that are normative, but rather the future, which relativizes the present. Often, such prefigurative movements take their cue from a particular way of remembering the past, as it will also appear to be the case in 1 Cor 15. Remembrance and expectation are, in such ways of thinking, two sides of the same coin (and this coin, of course, reminds one of the close connection between protology and eschatology in various strands of early Jewish and Christian thought).

At this background, which could, of course, be elaborated in much more detail theoretically, it is now possible to turn to elements of time and its construction in 1 Cor 15, especially its first 28 verses.

3. Time in 1 Cor 15

The construction of time begins in the first verses of 1 Cor 15 already, as Paul reminds the Corinthians of the gospel that he proclaimed and thereby appeals to a memory, the content of which is normative for the Corinthian community (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἑστήκατε (verse 1) and that also determines their future (as is indicated by δι' οὗ καὶ σῴζεσθε, verse 2).[10] Paul then recapitulates the contents of his proclamation in some detail in verses 3–11, in which he also inserts himself into the chronology of the events that constitute the core of his proclamation, i.e., the chain of events leading from Christ's death, by way of his resurrection, the string of witnesses up until and including Paul.[11] Paul thus not only proclaims the gospel, by being one of its authoritative witnesses, he also embodies it, his own biography, as remembered by himself, is part of the proclamation. This past is, as remembered and embodied by Paul, who is, in a way, a kind of living memory, determinative for the Corinthian community's identity. For the construction of time, this matters, as it is the remembrance of this tradition,

[10] For various aspects of this in 1 Cor at large (and in 1 Cor 15), see, for instance: Anders Eriksson, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proof: Pauline Argumentation in 1 Corinthians*, ConBNT 29 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998). On 1 Cor 11 and the role of memory and rhetoric there, see: Smit, "Paul and Memory."

[11] Analyses of this segment abound, see, for example: Birger Gerhardsson, "Evidence for Christ's Resurrection According to Paul: 1 Cor 15: 1–11," in *Neotestamentica et Philonica*, ed. David Edward Aune, Torrey Seland, and Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, NovTSup 106 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 71–91. Of particular concern is often the question of the (absent and possibly implied) notion of an empty tomb; see: James Ware, "The Resurrection of Jesus in the Pre-Pauline Formula of 1 Cor 15.3–5," *NTS* 60 (2014): 475–98, esp. 477–79, for some positions questioning Paul's assumption of an empty tomb, a forceful recent argument in favor of it is: John Granger Cook, "Resurrection in Paganism and the Question of an Empty Tomb in 1 Corinthians 15," *NTS* 63 (2017): 56–75.

with these events and these characters in the leading parts, that matters, not something else (quite irrespective of the factual historicity of the memory, to be sure). This privileging of a particular memory both highlights some things, i.e., its own contents, and also relativizes or even marginalizes other things, especially other memories or traditions that could also have been determinative for the Corinthian community (e.g., the remembrance of the history of the city of Corinth, the chronology of the Empire, or yet something else).[12]

This particular remembrance then issues into a forward looking perspective from verse 12 onwards, where Paul cites the question that he wants to address: Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;[13] Following on this, he first spells out the consequences of a negative answer to this question, i.e., that Christ cannot have been risen, that his proclamation is empty and that the faith would be vain, while it would turn him and other proclaiming the gospel into people giving a false witness about God (verses 13–19). Some of this has temporal dimensions, for instance the idea that one's memory is false, i.e., that one needs to revise one's way of looking at history (because Christ has not risen, for instance, or because what one has proclaimed so far turns out to be false), which would be quite far-reaching, both in general and in this particular case. Key is, however, verse 19, where Paul connects a theoretically revised memory, i.e., that Christ has not risen and that there is no resurrection of the dead, with the present and future: εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. The adjustment of the memory of the past impacts the present because all of a sudden the chronology of one's life is determined by the power of death (and sin) again, rather than by the expectation of one's resurrection with Christ. A particular notion of the past thus determines what one may expect of the future and that constructs one's position in the present. Of course, this is the position that Paul rejects, but its temporal dimensions are nonetheless of interest.

[12] Although (surprisingly) not interacting with New Testament literature, the contributions in Gregg Gardner and Kevin Lee Osterloh (ed.), *Antiquity in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 123 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), give a very good impression as to the politics of time involved here.

[13] The details of the rhetorical structure of 1 Cor 15 cannot be discussed here, but have received treatment in various studies, for instance: Jeffrey R. Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15. A Study of Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection*, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie 42 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

When Paul outlines the perspective that he stands for, from verse 20 onwards, a different construction of time comes to the fore as well. First, he states the content of the "true" memory: Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν (verse 20) and with the space of only a few words, he connects this backward-looking perspective with a forward looking one, given that Christ has risen as a first fruits of those who have fallen asleep (ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, verse 20).[14] This expression, in fact, constructs an entire view of history based on an interpretation of Christ's resurrection, which is not merely an event in the past and one that concerns Christ alone, but one that determines the future and those who have fallen asleep in general. Paul develops this further by way of an Adam-Christ analogy in verse 22 and a more detailed statement of his understanding of first fruits in verse 23, before outlining the culmination of it all in verses 25–28, where it appears that Christ will surrender his rule to the Father, that death (and sin) itself will be conquered, and that God will be πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν (verse 28).[15] The cosmological dimensions of this vision are, in a way, an extrapolation of the idea that Christ's resurrection is the beginning of a larger development, and with that it is the extrapolation of a particular construction of time through the remembrance of Christ's resurrection. Its consequences are substantial, as this line of thinking sets up God as the eventual ruler of everything and implies the defeat of death and all "ungodly" powers and principalities (including all forms of sin) that may be.[16]

This construction of time has significant consequences for the way in which Paul and the Corinthians can understand themselves, at least according to Paul. This, he elaborates in the section of 1 Cor 15 that follows, i.e. verses 29–58, which all depend on the temporal framework that Paul has elaborated in verses 1–28. Thus, it becomes possible to develop a

[14] The image of the first fruits not only takes up a metaphor from Israel's (past) tradition, but also serves to structure time through a particular interpretation of Jesus' death that is not just a historical event of the past, but also something that points forward to the future and determines the same. Cf. for instance: Joost Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia: A Tradition-historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15*, NovTSup 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 49–55.

[15] A term that has a very rich history of interpretation, which, however, cannot be the focus of the present contribution. See for one strand of the history of interpretation: Klaus-Heinrich Neuhoff, *"Gott alles in allem" (1Kor 15,28). Theosis, Anakephalaiosis und Apokatastasis nach Maximos dem Bekenner in ihrer Bedeutung für die Kosmische Christologie* (PhD dissertation; Tilburg University, 2004).

[16] If the argument of Emma Wasserman, "Gentile Gods at the Eschaton: A Reconsideration of Paul's 'Principalities and Powers' in 1 Corinthians 15," *JBL* 136 (2017): 727–46, that the principalities and powers are to be understood as gentile deities is convincing, the social impact of Paul's eschatological scenario in 1 Cor 15 is enhanced even more.

different perspective on human life as it is, in all its frailty (and, as Paul's language of honor and shame suggests, in its social marginalization as well).[17] Verses 42–43 are particularly expressive in this regard:

> Οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν. σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει·

The temporal frame that Paul introduces makes it possible to consider human embodied existence as it is now as anticipating future glorification at the resurrection with Christ (and at the transformation of such existence through the resurrection). Being part of this chronological trajectory thus determines a person's identity substantially, as no longer how society regards one is determinative anymore, nor the perspective of a life ruled by the inevitability of death (or the power of sin), but rather the future determines one's true identity, a future, to be sure, based on the memory of Christ's resurrection and all that it implies.

Paul's vision of the resurrection is, in this way, deeply political, as it relativizes social norms and creates space for a renewed kind of self-esteem for those who are marginalized (lacking honor, for instance) or whose lives are determined by death (and/or sin), which also has a social dimension (e.g., the poor, or also women and children were more likely to die young than [adult, free, wealthy] men). In some ways, this could be conceptualized as a form of "queering" time, although this would probably work best in a discourse that takes its point of departure in the crucifixion, rather than in the death and resurrection of Christ as such, as they appear in 1 Cor 15, i.e., without an explicit reference to the crucifixion, which is both a strongly gendered manner of dying and one that is emphatically associated with marginalization.

4. Prefiguration and Time in 1 Cor 15

The way in which a self-understanding and an identity emerges out of Paul's construction of time through particular and connected ways of remembering and looking towards the future can well be described by means of the notion of prefiguration, which is closely connected to the tension between the "already" and "not yet" as it is characteristic of eschatological forms of apocalypticism. Its effect is precisely what Agamben refers to as the suspension of the conditions of the world, even if they

[17] In the end, this is part and parcel of Paul's understanding of the cross, which, again, cannot be elaborated upon here.

also remain in place, which creates space for new ways of being in the world. Prefiguration can be seen as taking place on a number of levels in 1 Cor 15.

First, Christ's death and, especially, resurrection, prefigure that of those who have fallen asleep; Paul conceptualizes this by means of the metaphor of the "first fruits" (ἀπαρχή, verse 20), and it is probably the most important rhetorical move in the entire chapter. Christ's death all of a sudden is not only a real event in the past, but also something that announces something else and thereby structures the chronology of human life in a fundamental manner.

Second, as an extension of this first observation and entering the realm of power a bit more explicitly, Paul's notion that Christ has indeed risen and that this resurrection is the type of the resurrection of those who have fallen asleep, also means that this resurrection has set the entire cosmos on a particular chronological trajectory, one that leads to the final victory of all powers hostile to God and God's Christ, including death (and certainly including sin). Christ's resurrection, implying an incidental victory over death, thus prefigures the eventual victory over death (and all hostile powers, such as sin). This chronology has as a corollary the relativization of all such powers in the here and now already, whatever they may be.

Third, as a consequence, the current embodied existence of the Corinthians, characterized by frailty and shame, can be understood as prefiguring strength and glory, rather than foreboding a descent into nothingness. This is a kind of prefiguration that reverses one's perspective on the way things would have appeared at first glance in Corinthian society and it is a direct consequence of the relativization of "common" or "normal" norms governing social life due to the chronological trajectory that Paul has introduced in the course of his argument.

Thus, in Paul's interpretation, Christ's resurrection leads to an identity that is based on a new kind of chronology and that offers the space to create a new self-understanding and to relativize social and existential (even biological) norms and standards, especially to the extent that they are hostile to God and God's intentions, substantially by viewing one's own life in Christ as a prefiguration of the life of the world to come, God will be all in all.

5. Conclusions

Based on the above considerations, it appears that the effect of the structuring of time along the lines of the remembrance of Christ's resurrection and the expectation of the resurrection of the faithful has effects

that go widely beyond a more or less personal or communal hope of a "life after death," even if this is certainly also part of Paul's conviction and message. With Agamben, this new construction of time can be understood as a situation in which the conditions of the world, determined by imperial time, for instance, or by the kind of time measuring appropriate for a life without hope for resurrection life with Christ, are suspended. This calls into question powers that seem to determine life at large on both an existential and a social level, i.e., if human existence is no longer determined by sin or death, then different forms of life become possible than if one allows oneself to be entirely determined by the powers of sin or death, then space emerges for social experimentation even if the conditions of the present seem overwhelmingly powerful. This can be further elaborated by means of the following four observations.

First, the importance of the notion of time, its construction and the effect of its construction has become clear again. Although time has been a topic of attention in New Testament studies, arguably it could be given more ample consideration, as it has such a large impact. Thus, engaging with the "temporal turn," as it has had its impact in the humanities and the social sciences at large, does bear fruit for New Testament studies as well.

Second, in the construction of time, both more proleptic, i.e., forward looking, future-oriented dimensions were seen to be of key importance, while at the same time backward looking perspectives appeared to be highly significant and the two were, at least in 1 Cor 15, closely connected: the future that Paul envisioned was based on a very particular memory of the past. This highlights the importance of time as a social construct, a topic not always stressed in New Testament studies.

Third, the construction of time in 1 Cor 15 can well be seen as part of Paul's overarching eschatological apocalyptic outlook, in which both the revelation of the course of history and the course of history itself are of importance. This importance goes widely beyond providing insight or information, however, as it was also shown how the construction of time had a direct impact on the social and existential self-understanding of the Corinthians.

Fourth, it was indicated that the notion of "prefiguration" offers particular opportunities for encapsulating Paul's outlook, which is characterized by not only the tension between the "already" and the "not yet," but also by its effects, which entails the very real possibility of embodying a future reality in the present already and to do so based on the relativization of the conditions of this world through the chronological framework provided. In doing so, a new theoretical perspective was introduced that

indeed furthers the understanding of the way in which time is constructed and has an impact on the description of the position of believers in the world in 1 Cor 15.

Finally, by way of outlook, it may be suggested that when it comes to the constructive (albeit not uncritical) reception of Paul's letters, including 1 Cor 15, in the 21st century, it might be inviting to explore ways, in which the apostle's way of rethinking time and thereby creating space for the embodied imagination of alternative ways of life, alternative futures even, could offer avenues of thought for the exploration of new, better and more just and sustainable futures for our world. Could communities, such as churches, receiving Paul's letters, as secondary addressees, as it were, even be inspired to begin to embody such futures?

PAUL AS OPPONENT *AND* "GREAT APOSTLE" OF GNOSTICS

Gertram SCHAEFFER

The relationship between Paul and Gnosticism is a long-debated subject. Some think Paul was a Gnostic,[1] others that Paul's opponents were Gnostics. Especially in the First Letter to the Corinthians scholars find evidence of Gnostic teachings.[2] This position is, however, criticized by many who deny elements of Gnosticism in First Corinthians at all.[3] These differing views are the result of contradicting definitions of Gnosis and Gnosticism. It is in my opinion of the utmost importance to make a distinction between Gnosis and Gnosticism. In Antiquity Gnosis (γνῶσις) meant "knowledge" or, by its (Christian) opponents, "the γνῶσις falsely so called" (1 Tim 6:20). In this connection the word γνῶσις does not refer to rational, philosophical knowledge, but to a religious, spiritual insight – based on secret revelation.[4] Gnosis was a religion: it did not arise as a Christian heresy nor was it a degenerated form of Greek philosophy. It was a religion in its own right.[5] Paul preached the Gospel in an environment where this Gnosis (as an esoteric religion) existed. He opposed this Gnostic thinking, but in doing so he was radicalizing his opponents, who eventually developed

[1] Thus Elaine H. Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul. Gnostic Exegesis of the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1975).

[2] Wilhelm Lütgert, *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth: ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Christuspartei*, BFCT 12.3 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908), first suggested that Paul's Corinthian opponents were Gnostics. Cf. Walter Schmithals, *Die Gnosis in Korinth: eine Untersuchung zu den Korintherbriefen*, FRLANT 66 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956); Ulrich Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit: eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu I. Kor. 1 und 2*, BHT 26 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1959). However, Wilckens later changed his mind (see "Zur I Kor. 2.1–16," in *Theologia Crucis – Signum Crucis: Festschrift für Erich Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Carl Andresen and Günter Klein [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979], 501–37).

[3] For example Birger A. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and Its Relation to Gnosticism* (Missoula, MT: SBL Nag Hammadi Seminar, 1973).

[4] These two sentences are an almost direct quotation from Roelof van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 403–16, 403.

[5] Van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," 415.

systems of thought, later to be called Gnosticism. In discussing central topics in First Corinthians, I want to illustrate this development of Gnosis into Gnosticism.[6]

1. An Incipient Gnostic Thinking in Corinth

To identify the audience to whom First Corinthians is addressed is very important, for this could provide a clue to the correct interpretation of many terms used in this letter, common in later Gnosticism. Was the audience of Paul Gnostic? The difficulty with demonstrating Gnostic influences in First Corinthians – written ca. 55 – is the supposed absence of Gnostic literature in that period. But Paul's Corinthian opponents believed as in later Gnosticism in a kind of realized eschatology, denied bodily resurrection and used many Gnostic terms. Of course, one should not overplay parallels; many in the first century (and years prior to the writing of First Corinthians) regarded for example the body inferior to soul and spirit.[7] However, while the *dualism* of Paul's opponents need not be necessarily interpreted in the light of Gnostic thinking, the opinion that *resurrection has taken place spiritually in the present* should. After all, the standard teaching of Jesus' death and bodily resurrection must have preceded any spiritualized conception of these events. It is indeed very unlikely that communities that had never heard of these events would have understood and embraced Gnostic-docetic resurrection-views.[8]

Writings often cited as demonstrating Gnostic thinking are third century texts of Church Fathers and Nag Hammadi. Writings of Church Fathers correspond in its main outlines to the picture given of Gnosticism in Nag Hammadi-texts.[9] Church Fathers, however, regarded Gnosticism as a

[6] See Gertram Schaeffer, "Simon de Tovenaar: 'Vader van alle Ketters'," in *Waar haalden de gnostici hun wijsheid vandaan? Over de bronnen, de doelgroep en de tegenstanders van de gnostische beweging*, ed. Abraham P. Bos and Gerard P. Luttikhuizen (Budel: DAMON, 2016), 98–114. In that chapter I have illustrated a similar development from Gnosis to Gnosticism in what is in my opinion the first Gnostic movement, that of the Simonians.

[7] Anthony Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 226, 240, 269.

[8] Andreas J. Köstenberger and Michael J. Kruger, *The Heresy of Orthodoxy: How Contemporary Culture's Fascination with Diversity Has Reshaped Our Understanding of Early Christianity* (Nottingham: Crossway, 2010), 43.

[9] Barbara Aland, *Was ist Gnosis? Studien zum frühen Christentum, zu Marcion und zur kaiserzeitlichen Philosophie*, WUNT 239 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 5, 106; Hans-Martin Schenke, "Die Relevanz der Kirchenväter für die Erschließung der Nag-Hammadi Texte," in *Das Korpus der griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller: Historie, Gegenwart, Zukunft: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. Johannes Irmscher and Kurt Treu, TUGAL 120 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), 215–22.

Christian heresy, while in several Nag Hammadi-texts the non-Christian nature of many tenets of Gnosticism is also evident. Gnosticism either originates as a Christian heresy or it originates as a non-Christian movement or both. Each position has its adherents. Nag Hammadi-texts do not help solve the chronology of Gnosticism – none is demonstrably earlier or even contemporaneous with New Testament-texts. On the other hand, that Nag Hammadi-texts do contain also non-Christian expressions of Gnosticism, makes it likely that Christians in their formative period drew on external Gnostic terminology: even though at a later stage they found it necessary to combat extreme developments of Gnostic thinking.[10] Anyway, Gnosticism cannot be seen independently of Christian dogmatic development: in fact, the oldest theological systems were those of Christian Gnostics.[11]

It is very important to distinguish Gnosis from Gnosticism. Gnosis refers to knowledge of divine mysteries, reserved for an elite, Gnosticism refers to the developed systems known from the second century onwards.[12] Gnostic ideas were already around when Christianity originated: Gnosis developed concurrently with Christianity in a similar environment.[13] The two had several interactions in the first century, before they developed into separate religions in the second-to-third centuries. Of course, in the many years after the first-century text of First Corinthians a different Gnostic thinking developed. But although there is a danger in extrapolating backwards into the first century connotations of later Gnosticism, it can be done cautiously.[14] Several recognizable Gnostic ideas were already beginning to permeate the Church at a very early stage. First Corinthians reflects a kind of incipient Gnostic "protest exegesis" of texts later to be known as the Bible.[15]

[10] Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 282–88.

[11] Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion. The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1991), 236.

[12] It is generally accepted that a distinction must be made between Gnosticism as it defines Gnostic systems which first emerged in the second century, and the worldview of Gnosis, with its tendencies in a Gnostic direction (proto-Gnosticism), typical for the first century. See Ugo Bianchi, "Documento finale," in *Le Origine dello Gnosticismo. Colloquio di Messina 13–18 Aprile 1966: Testi e Discussioni Pubblicati a cura di Ugo Bianchi* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), xx. See also Van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," 403–416.

[13] Stephen C. Haar, *Simon Magus: The First Gnostic?* BZNW 119 (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2003), 32: "[O]ne occasionally means by 'Gnosticism' Christian *gnosis* in distinction to pre-Christian pagan *Gnosis*."

[14] Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 19.

[15] See Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Die Gnosis. Heilslehre und Ketzerglaube* (Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder, 2001), 66–67 for the term "Protest-Exegese."

Paul's opponents re-interpreted the Gospel that he had preached. Passages in the New Testament in general and in First Corinthians especially, constituting elements present within the sphere of Gnosis, may be correctly labelled proto-Gnostic (that is: Gnosis not yet radicalized into Gnosticism).

2. Gnostics in the First Century?

Gnosis can be defined as a primarily religious, secondarily philosophical movement, characterized by eclecticism and the conviction that human beings are actually divine, but by external factors (materiality and corporeality) alienated of their divine origin, from which γνῶσις provides redemption.[16] The *Corpus Hermeticum* is an important example of this Gnosis. These Greek Hermetic texts claim to be translations of works written in the Egyptian language (*CH* XVI.1–2). One of the oldest Hermetic texts is a papyrus dating back to the second century CE,[17] which supports the view that this literature developed at the beginning of the Christian era.[18] And then there was the discovery of *The Book of Thoth*, a dialogue between the god Thoth – whom the Greeks identified with Hermes – and his disciple Mr-rḫ. *The Book of Thoth* is composed of fragments, dating from the first century BCE to the second century CE originating from various sites in Egypt. *The Book of Thoth* is linked to the Hermetica in general and more specifically the content of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.[19] This Book proves that Hermetic literature belongs to a cultural phenomenon that preceded the origin of Christianity and partly coexisted with it.

Every text of the Bible which is reflected on in the *Corpus*, is combined with the starting-point: "Who knows himself, knows the All" (*CH* IX.4). Because this knowledge implicates a divine origin, material-earthly man is inferior. Yet, nowhere in the *Corpus* is an absolute dualism between

[16] Gertram Schaeffer, *Vrouwe Wijsheid en Vrouwe Dwaasheid. De Wijsheid als bijbels scheppingsbeginsel en concurrerende zin-perspectieven in hellenistisch jodendom, gnosticisme en vroeg-christelijk denken* (Amsterdam: Buijten en Schipperheijn, 2013–2014), 432–36; Schaeffer, "Simon de Tovenaar," 98.

[17] *Papyrus Vindobonensis Graeca* 29456.

[18] Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton: University Press, 1993) "has convincingly argued that the hermetic writings emanated from the same cultural and religious milieu, namely that of Graeco-Egypt in the centuries around the beginning of our era, contemporaneous with the origin of Christianity" (Roelof van den Broek, "Hermetic Literature I: Antiquity," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, 487–99, 488).

[19] Richard Jasnow and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *The Ancient Book of Thoth: A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica (Vol. 1–2)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 65.

the physical life of man and his heavenly essence, as in later Gnosticism.[20] The question is: "The elements of nature – whence have they arisen?", the answer is: "From the counsel of God" (I.8–9). Therefore, material creation is good, but man as a spiritual being is superior to matter. God created man "like himself" (I.12) and let himself be known as such: "The final good for those who have received knowledge is to come in God (ἐν θεῷ)" (I.26)[21] and leave behind corporeality. "Man is twofold – in the body mortal, but immortal essentially" (I.15a); mortality has nothing to do with sin, but has originated out of the combination of ἄνθρωπος and φύσις. The world lacks perfection, but through γνῶσις man can be delivered from the world and death is a purge (καθάρσις), removing the guilt of birth (XIV.7). This is not yet Gnosticism, because God has not created a body with evil motives as the Gnostic Demiurge – which is the main characteristic of Gnosticism.[22] No, it was God's intention to create a *material* earth and man.[23] But he has given man the possibility to be delivered from materiality through γνῶσις. To the question: "But why… has God not given everyone νοῦς?," the answer is: "It was his wish, my son, to show this to man as a prize to win" (IV.3). Man must win with the utmost exertion, in a rational way, the purely spiritual existence through a process of re-deification.[24]

3. Paul's Gnostic Opponents

Gnostic ideas like (!) those in the *Corpus Hermeticum* were already intruding the Corinthian Church during Paul's missionary activities. After he preached the Gospel there, Paul went to Ephesus and from there he wrote a letter (1 Cor 5:9), that is lost.[25] Some informed Paul about the

[20] Van den Broek, "Hermetic Literature I," 490: "The *Poimandres* teaches a dualism …, not an *absolute* dualism."

[21] Plato's vision of man "becoming *like* God" (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ) (*Theaitetos* 176a5–b2) is radicalized in Gnosis "to come *in* God" (ἐν θεῷ).

[22] Rightly so Michael A. Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: University Press, 1996), 265, who proposes to speak of "biblical demiurgical" texts and traditions.

[23] Aland, *Was ist Gnosis?*, 13: "Auch der Kosmos hat entsprechend seine Würde, weil er Etappe auf dem Weg der Gestaltung des Gefallenen und damit Voraussetzung für die Erreichung des Ziels der eschatologischen Errettung ist."

[24] See for an extensive analysis of the *Corpus Hermeticum*: Schaeffer, *Vrouwe Wijsheid en Vrouwe Dwaasheid*, 442–59.

[25] Ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ could be an epistolary aorist, referring to First Corinthians which Paul was currently writing. But there is little in favor of this. See John B. Polhill, "1 Corinthians: A Church Divided," *The Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 6 (2002): 4–29. Also the argument that 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 is a portion of this "previous

Corinthians (1:11) *and* he received a letter from themselves. He reacted with the following words: "Now for (Περὶ δὲ) the matters you wrote about" (7:1). Because this introductory περὶ δὲ returns several times in his letter (7:25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1), Paul likely refers to subjects of the Corinthians themselves in their letter. The first six chapters were written as a reaction to oral reports Paul had received about undesirable conditions in the Corinthian church and wrong wisdom-speculations, the chapters 7–14 in answer to the letter of the Corinthians, chapter 15 deals with a severe misconception of the meaning of resurrection and, finally, chapter 16 contains concluding remarks.[26]

The first explicit information about Paul's opponents is given in 1 Cor 1:10–12, where Paul says they were engaged in "quarrels." They taught that they were wise pneumatics and proclaimed their disbelief in redemption through Jesus' dying on the cross. Paul admits that the preaching of the crucified Christ (as such the supreme *Wisdom* of God! [1:18]) is the object of intellectual scorn and foolishness in the eyes of the so-called "wise" (1:26). But Paul insists that God in *his* wisdom saved mankind by way of the cross and that it was not according to his plan that men by their exercise of wisdom should attain knowledge of him: "For since in the wisdom of God (σοφίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ) the world through its wisdom did not know him, God was pleased through the foolishness (μωρίας) of what was preached to save those who believe (πιστεύοντας)" (1:21). The foolishness of the preaching is that of Christ crucified (ἐσταυρωμένον): a perfect participle, meaning that Christ not only was once crucified but remains after his resurrection the crucified one (1:23). Πίστις sees σοφία, where γνῶσις sees μωρία. But although this *seems* to be foolishness, "we do, however, speak a message of wisdom" (2:6).

By wisdom Paul does not mean some secret teaching, withheld from the unspiritual and a privilege of the wise. Already in Corinth, there were Gnostics who believed in γνῶσις which surpasses faith that rests upon revelation. The possession of this γνῶσις should account for perfection and the essence of Christianity.[27] Paul counters this: there can't be any feeling

letter" has been convincingly rejected by John B. Polhill, "Reconciliation at Corinth: 2 Corinthians 4–7," *RevExp* 88 (1989): 354–56. It is better to see 1 Cor 5:9 as a reference to an earlier, lost letter.

[26] Cf. Craig L. Blomberg, *1 Corinthians*, NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994), 29–30.

[27] Lütgert, *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister*, 134: "Wir haben mit der korinthischen Gemeinde zum erstenmal Gnostizismus in dem Sinne, daß eine den Glauben überbietende Gnosis, die auf Offenbarung beruht und deren Besitz die christliche Vollkommenheit ausmacht, als das Wesen des Christentums gilt."

of pride, because all wisdom *derives from God*. God's secret is not known by any way other than revelation (2:8). Nevertheless, although what is taught is a revelation of God, it is not received by all. Paul explains this by making a contrast between the psychic and the spiritual man: "The psychic man (ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος) does not accept the things that came from the Spirit of God" (2:14), but "the spiritual man (ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς)" (2:15) does. By πνευματικὸς Paul does not mean a man with νοῦς, which he has won "as a prize to win" in a rational way, as in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. There is also no reference to an antithesis between body and soul,[28] but only between the unconverted and the converted life. A natural man has not, but the spiritual man has received the Spirit of God (Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ) as a supernatural indwelling power. But not as a means of deification, as in the *Corpus*: it is God's grace that bestows knowledge, which means not primarily man's knowing God, but man's being known by God.

However, it is remarkable that Paul speaks of "wisdom among the mature (ἐν τοῖς τελείοις)" (2:6). The τέλειοι are those already schooled in Christian knowledge, grown up in "maturity." Paul speaks clearly of different levels of understanding. The σοφία Θεοῦ has been reserved for those Christians who are already mature. The τέλειοι, then, is Paul's term for superior believers. This sounds Gnostic.[29] Also when he says that "we declare God's wisdom (σοφίαν Θεοῦ) a mystery (μυστηρίῳ) that has been hidden" (2:7), Paul uses vocabulary popular in later Gnosticism. The Gnostic τέλειος was bound up together with the μυστήριον; τέλειος was the Gnostic to whom the μυστήριον was revealed. But Paul uses these terms polemically, much different from Gnostic content. He does not envisage "grades" of Christians: *all* should go on to maturity. There is no spiritual truth unavailable for even the humblest believer. The mystery that is hidden is revealed and only unknowable for the unconverted. Preaching does not save those who have γνῶσις, but rather those who have πίστις.

[28] The noun "spirit" (πνεῦμα/πνεύματος), the adjective "spiritual" (πνευματικοί/πνευματικά) and the adverb πνευματικῶς stand not in a dialectic tension to the noun σῶμα, that is, the "physical" or "material," but to the noun σάρξ ("flesh") and the adjective σαρκίνοις/σάρκινος. See Dirk van der Merwe, "The Characterisation of the Spiritual Christian: In Conversation with God according to 1 Corinthians 2," *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* (2018): 1–10, 7.

[29] Already Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit*, 60, underlined the thoroughly Gnostic content of this terminology.

4. Being "Puffed Up"

In 3:3–4 the quarreling in Corinth is discussed and Paul's judgment on that matter is that the Corinthians are "fleshly" (σαρκικοί). This is a strong accusation (and an ironic one in a congregation that prized its spirituality). Paul could not speak to the Corinthians as unto spirituals (ὡς πνευματικοῖς), but only as unto carnals (ὡς σαρκικοῖς) (3:1).[30] It is not about opposing parts of the human being, rather, these terms refer to orientations of a person. Paul distinguishes between a life lived *in* the flesh (ἐν σαρκί) – inevitable since man is a bodily being – and *according to* the flesh (κατὰ σαρκά) – a morally wrong lifestyle that must be abandoned if one wants to reach the kingdom of God.[31] The word σαρκινός, "made of flesh," means weak without blame, while on the other hand, σαρκικός means "to be characterized by the flesh," which is blameworthy. Paul does not contend that his opponents are unchanged men (natural), but that they *live* as those who are unchanged, not walking according to the Spirit. They thought it possible to be Christian and to be wise in the world at the same time. If anybody is of that opinion, Paul continues, let him become a fool (3:18). To stress his point, he quotes Ps 94:11: "The Lord knows that the thoughts of the wise are futile."[32] In 1 Cor 1:18–25 Paul said that what God does looks foolish to the world, here he says that what "the wise" do looks foolish to God (3:20). The foolishness of Paul's opponents had to do with their wrong attitude with regard to the apostles who distributed the mysteries of God (μυστηρίων Θεοῦ) (4:1); that what was hidden, but revealed in Christ. Paul says explicitly that his preaching is according to the Scripture and he warns: "Do not go beyond what is written (μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν), then you will not be puffed up (φυσιοῦσθε)" (4:6). Being "puffed up" (φυσιοῦν) is a verb which Paul uses frequently (4:18–19; 5:2; 8:1; 13:4), indicating that pride was typical for his opponents. They easily went "beyond what was written"[33] and preached by the apostles.

[30] Sam Creve, Mark Janse, and Kristoffel Demoen, "The Pauline Key Words πνεῦμα and σάρξ and their Translation," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 20 (2007): 29–46, 29.

[31] Ioan Mihoc, "The *Spirit* and the *Flesh* in the Pauline Anthropological Vocabulary," *Text şi discurs religios* 5 (2013): 69–83, 69, 79.

[32] Paul quotes from LXX (93:11) with a modification, "the wise" (τῶν σοφῶν) instead "of man" (τῶν ἀνθρώπων; MT אָדָם). Paul's alteration of the text is closely linked with the course of his argument. The wise are just "men," unchanged people (natural). For Paul "the wise" and "the natural" are interchangeable, because both have not recognized Christ as the Wisdom of God.

[33] There is widespread agreement that ὃ γέγραπται refers to Scripture, as everywhere in the *Corpus Paulinicum* (Rom 12:19; 14:11; 1 Cor 1:19; 3:19; 9:9; 10:7; 14:21; 15:45;

Paul distinguishes two kinds of knowledge. There is a "puffed up" (worldly) knowledge, which is vehemently repudiated (1:20; 2:5,13; 8:2; 13:2,8). But there is also knowledge of God through Christ. The way to distinguish false from true knowledge is the test of love (ἀγάπη) (8:3). The false γνῶσις "puffs up" in pride, instead of demonstrating ἀγάπη. Knowledge and wisdom are valueless apart from love (13:1–3). Paul's opponents said: "We all possess knowledge (πάντες γνῶσιν ἔχομεν)" (8:1) and affirmed γνῶσις and freedom (8:1–4, 7–13).[34] They did not believe they needed salvation from sins committed and thought they were not bound to the rules of Scripture and to what Paul had written in his earlier letter (5:9). Paul, however, rejects their attitude of "all things are lawful" (6:12) with implicit references to Gods Commandments in the Old Testament, *the* Law.[35] Again he warns not to go "beyond what is written" (4:6) – although here implicitly.

5. The Resurrection-Body

Finally, Paul objects the teaching of his opponents that resurrection had already occurred (1 Cor 15:29–32). Some of the Corinthians (1 Cor 15:12) were *spiritualizing* the resurrection.[36] Paul asserts that if Christ's resurrection is not a historical fact, Christianity is a vanity of vanities (1 Cor 15:14–19). He underlines the inseparability of Christ's resurrection from the believer's: if Christ did not rise, then neither shall "those in Christ" be resurrected. The key to salvation lies in Jesus' crucifixion as a redemptive act and the bodily resurrection of Christ. Paul's opponents had at first accepted the resurrection of Christ upon hearing the Gospel (1 Cor 15:1), but they did not accept any resurrection *beyond* that of Jesus. Therefore Paul emphasizes Christ's bodily resurrection as the first of many: "But now (Νυνὶ δέ)[37] Christ has been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of

Gal 3:10,13; 4:22,27), καθὼς γέγραπται (Rom 1:17; 2:24; 3:4,10; 4:17; 8:36; 9:13,33; 10:15; 11:8,26; 15:3,9,21; 1 Cor 1:31; 2:9; 2 Cor 8:15; 9:9), αἱ γραφαί (Rom 1:2; 15:4; 16:26; 1 Cor 15:3,4) and γεγραμμένοις (Gal 3:10).

[34] Panayotis Coutsoumpos, "The Strong/Gnosis, Paul, and the Corinthian Community," in *Paul and Gnosis*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and David Yoon, Pauline Studies 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 188–208, 189.

[35] Scott D. Mackie, "The Two Tables of the Law and Paul's Ethical Methodology in 1 Corinthians 6:12–20 and 10:23–11:1," *CBQ* 75 (2013): 315–34 demonstrates that the background of 1 Cor 6:12–20 is Deut 6:5 and that 1 Cor 10:23–11:1 is connected to Lev 19:18.

[36] Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 6–15.

[37] When Paul opens with νυνὶ δέ he introduces some of his "profound statements" (David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003], 705).

those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor 15:20). Paul stresses "the order" (τάγμα) (1 Cor 15:23) in which resurrection takes place, contrary to the Gnostic belief that the spiritual resurrection has already taken place. Paul writes: "In Christ shall all be made alive, but each in his own order: Christ the firstfruits (ἀπαρχή), then at his coming those who belong to Christ" (1 Cor 15:22b–23). The risen Christ is not the Redeemer identical with the redeemed in whom the ἀνάστασις has already taken place (as in later Gnosticism), but he is the enhanced earthly Christ, who is the ἀπαρχή. Especially the word ἀπαρχή, used in relation to the risen Christ, shows that the ultimate ἀνάστασις for the believer is not yet realized. Christ is risen and he has already a spiritual body, "those who belong to Christ" have not yet done so.

The risen Christ differs bodily from "those who belong to him" in the present. Paul writes "that Christ was buried, that he was raised … and that he appeared (ὤφθη)" (1 Cor 15:3–5). The concept ὤφθη never refers to mortal men in the New Testament. It underlines the fact that the Jesus that was buried, is not similar to the Christ after the resurrection. Risen from the dead he "appeared" in a "spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν). The "natural" body is perishable and "sown in weakness," while the "spiritual" resurrection body is imperishable and "raised in power" (1 Cor 15:42–44). Paul is concerned with the φύσις of the resurrection body: the mortal body is corruptible and "natural," the resurrection body incorruptible and "spiritual." Paul uses the metaphor of planting in saying "it is sown" and "it is raised," implying that the bodies are transformed from one kind of substance to another ("we shall all be changed").[38] When Christ returns, the change of those still living will take place suddenly, but they too will be changed (ἀλλαγησόμεθα) (1 Cor 15:52). The use of ἀλλάσσω indicates changing of the same body. Semantically, "resurrected" (ἐγήγερται) (1 Cor 15:4) also points to Jesus' rising in his own body, rather than being transformed into a body discontinuous from that what was buried. Paul uses ἐγείρω in 1 Cor 6:13–14 also to compare Christ's resurrection with those of his believers in the future. Paul affirms that if Christ's resurrection was bodily, the future resurrection of "those who belong to him" is also bodily.[39]

[38] Alan G. Padgett, "The Body in Resurrection: Science and Scripture on the 'Spiritual Body' (I Cor. 15:35–58)," *WW* 22 (2002): 155–63, 160.

[39] Direct quotation Brisio J. Oropeza, "Clashes with Death, Immortality, and Being in Adam and in Christ: Corinthian Diversity of Beliefs about the Resurrection, and Paul's Response (1 Cor 15)," paper presented at the SBL conference (San Antonio), November 2016, 1–28, 3.

There are, however, several contradicting opinions concerning the "psychic body" (σῶμα ψυχικόν) and the "spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν). It is clear from the context that σῶμα refers to a *body*. The difficulty lays in interpreting that "body" as physical or purely spiritual. It is necessary to discuss the definition of the σῶμα πνευματικόν, because the confusion stems from the definition of this term.[40] Some scholars think that "the spiritual body" is Paul's term for the immortal soul, while others think it is an incorporeal body. Both agree that the phrase σῶμα πνευματικόν is not material,[41] but denotes the composition of the risen body: a body composed of πνεῦμα. These views are largely based on Paul's description of the resurrected in a σῶμα πνευματικόν in 1 Cor 15:44 and his comment in 1 Cor 15:50 that "flesh and blood" (σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα) cannot inherit the Kingdom.[42] Contrary to these views, I maintain that 1 Cor 15 deals with a material resurrection body. To begin with 1 Cor 15:44: that "flesh and blood" cannot enter the Kingdom does not mean that the human body is irrelevant. It is about a body ill-adapted to express "spirit," man who is σαρκικός, "characterized by the flesh," who is unable to enter God's Kingdom.

Paul contrasts the "natural" and "spiritual" body by comparing the first Adam with the last (Jesus) (1 Cor 15:44b). There are not two types of body contrary to each other; rather, there is a chronological development: "It is not the spiritual that is first (πρῶτον), but the natural and then (ἔπειτα) the spiritual" (1 Cor 15:46). The "natural body" becomes "spiritual." The "natural body" is reality in the first Adam, the "spiritual body" has become reality in the risen Christ (and not yet in "those who belong to Christ"). Adam was created with a body composed of dust (אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה – Gen 2:7), in Paul's version of the text: "man is from the earth" (ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός) (1 Cor 15:47). God then "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul" (לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה – Gen 2:7), hence, this body is "soulish." Although being created in God's image

[40] Pieter F. Craffert, "'Seeing' a Body Into Being: Reflections on Scholarly Interpretations of the Nature and Reality of Jesus' Resurrected Body," *R&T* 9 (2002): 89–107, 94; Pieter F. Craffert, "What on Earth (or in Heaven) is a Resurrected Body? The Outline of a Historical-Anthropological Answer," in *One Text, Thousand Methods: Studies in Honor of Sjef van Tilborg*, ed. Patrick Chatelion Counet and Ulrich Berges, BibInt 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 227–53, 238–40.

[41] Peter Carnley, *The Structure of Resurrection Belief* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 231–34; Richard Carrier, "The Spiritual Body of Christ and the Legend of the Empty Tomb," in *The Empty Tomb: Jesus Beyond the Grave*, ed. Robert M. Price and Jeffery Jay Lowder (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2005), 105–219.

[42] Andrew W. Pitts, "Paul's Concept of the Resurrection Body in 1 Corinthians 15:35–58," in *Paul and Gnosis*, 44–58, 45.

(בְּצַלְמֵנוּ – Gen 1:26), this "earthly" man has a soul, but not the divine Spirit associated with Christ's resurrection. The source of the present body's life is the soul and the risen body is given life by the Spirit.[43] For Paul the "earthly" man is not a composition of body and soul, but a soul-driven body. The σῶμα ψυχικόν designates not a body consisting of "soul-substance," so the σῶμα πνευματικόν does not designate a body formed out of "spirit-stuff."[44] God's Spirit transforms the ψυχικός into a πνευματικός. Not the body as such is changed, but the soul-principle that animates the body will be replaced by the Spirit in the resurrection. So, while Paul speaks of the resurrected condition as a "spiritual body," this does not mean a nonphysical or ethereal existence. Rather, it refers to a spirit-driven physical body, untouched by any of the entropies of evil.

6. "Going Beyond What is Written"

In his debate with his opponents, Paul drew on their conceptual terminology to express his own faith. He took over some thought-patterns and vocabulary of his religious environment for polemical purposes. But while Paul did take over some of the ideas and terminology of an incipient Gnosticism, he was not influenced by the borrowed language in terms of content. At the same time, however, Paul's way of expressing his ideas was attractive to Gnostics.[45] While Paul was *opposing* proto-Gnostic thinking, different later Gnostic systems *drew heavily* on Paul all the same. There was no thoroughly worked-out Gnosticism in Corinth yet; Paul's opponents were proto-Gnostics still developing their views. And although it is not possible to reconstruct a direct sequence between the Corinthian γνῶσις and the Gnostic ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ of Nag Hammadi-texts, important

[43] James Ware, "The Resurrection of Jesus in the Pre-Pauline Formula of 1 Cor 15.3–5," *NTS* 60 (2014): 475–98, 488–89.

[44] So correctly Oropeza, "Clashes with Death," 8–9. Scott Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency in the Resurrection of the Dead: An Exegetico-Theological Study of 1 Corinthians 15,44b-49 and Romans 8,9–13* (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2004), 124–30 correctly points out that the use of the adjectival ending of -ικός in ψυχικός and πνευματικός connotes mode of existence rather than substance.

[45] Tertullian, *Marc*. III.5.4 speaks of Paul as "haereticorum apostolus." Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom*. VII.17) tells that Valentinus' disciples claimed that he had been taught by Theudas, a pupil of Paul. The "Hypostasis of the Archons" (NHC II/4, 86.21) opens with a reference to Paul as the "great Apostle" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ). See James D.G. Dunn, "'The Apostle of the Heretics': Paul, Valentinus, and Marcion," in *Paul and Gnosis*, 105–118; Klaus Koschorke, "Paulus in den Nag-Hammadi-Texten," *ZTK* 78 (1980): 177–205; Riemer Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 13.

similarities between them cannot be ignored.[46] Especially Valentinian writings drew heavily on Pauline material, but interpreted this not literally, but figuratively.

It is possible that the "Gospel of Truth" is written by Valentinus himself;[47] it is in any case an important Valentinian text in which is upheld that the Gospel is revealed in Christ as "the hidden ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ" (NHC I/3, 18.12–17) – an allusion to, among others, 1 Cor 2:7.[48] NHC I/3, 19.32–35 says that Gnostics "were known [by God]; they were glorified, they glorified. There was manifested in their hearts the living book of the living – the one written in the thought and the mind." This seems to be a reference to 1 Cor 8:6, but only apparently,[49] because in terms of content there is an important difference with Paul. According to Paul God's grace gives knowledge, where Gnostics taught that it is man's knowing God, instead of man's being known by God. This re-interpretation was made possible, while Gnostics thought they were allowed to go "beyond what was written," because in them God's word was written in "thought and mind." And God taught them that, for example, the death of Jesus on the cross was not salvific in doing away with sin, but "he was nailed to a tree; he published the edict of the Father on the cross. O, such great *teaching*!" (NHC I/3, 20.25–29).

It's all about knowledge (ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ) and teaching, which was necessary, because according to Valentinians written texts do not adequately

[46] Coutsoumpos, "The Strong/Gnosis," 194.

[47] Sasagu Arai, *Die Christologie des Evangelium Veritatis. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leiden: Brill, 1964), 13; Willem C. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," in *The Jung Codex. A Newly Discovered Gnostic Papyrus*, ed. Frank L. Cross (London: Mowbray, 1955), 90–104. But see for arguments against Valentinus' authorship Christoph Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentinus*, WUNT 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 339–65.

[48] See NHC I/3, 18.14–15: "This gospel about the one who is searched for, was revealed to those who are perfect (ⲉⲫ̄ϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) through the mercy of the Father: the hidden mystery (ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ), Jesus." See especially "The Gospel of Philip" (NHC II/3, 67.29–30): "The Lord worked everything in a mystery (ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲡ); because of this the things that are perfect (ⲉⲫ̄ϫⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ) have opened to us." The phrase "in a mystery" occurs in 1 Cor 2:7, but the Coptic texts are not direct quotations of that verse. The Coptic ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲡ adverbially is equivalent to the Greek μυστηριωδῶς. Einar Thomassen, "*Gos. Philip* 67:27–30: Not 'in a mystery'," in *Coptica–Gnostica–Manichaica: Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 925–39 concludes that therefore the parallel with 1 Cor 2:7 disappears. I disagree. Although there is a difference between the noun "mystery" and the adjective "mysterious," the adjective describes still *that* noun.

[49] Andreas Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum: das Bild des Apostels und die Rezeption der paulinischen Theologie in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Marcion*, BHT 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1979), 316.

convey divine truths. In fact, the "Gospel of Truth" is a book about books, describing Jesus "putting on a book" or "wrapped in a scroll" (ϭⲁⲗⲉϥ), nailed to the cross, reading aloud the contents of his own heart. The verb ϭⲱⲗ is a technical term describing the "rolling or unrolling" of a scroll. Jesus became "the crucified book," that contained "writing" which had significance "beyond all that is written."[50] Jesus "published the edict (ⲇⲓⲁⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ) … on the cross" (20.26), like a public "book of life"[51] and its content became inscribed on the hearts of the elect. Anyone who has "a book written on the heart" has knowledge and authority to go "beyond what is written." The "Gospel of Truth" teaches an open revelation.[52] The Gnostics were living books, "each … a perfect truth, writing like a book that is perfect (ϵⲑ̅ϧⲏⲕ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ)" (23.5–6). Revelation is open and available to anyone who is elect and "text of truth." Church Fathers, however, rejected the possibility of revelation from hidden sources "beyond what is written." Athanasius, for example, says: "Paul does not contrive his words through other words, but with the things which are written in the Scriptures."[53] Church Fathers complained that although Gnostics derived their doctrines from Paul, they made alterations and misinterpreted his writings.[54] In other words: Gnostics used Paul's words far too freely.

7. Denying Physical Resurrection

In another important Valentinian text, the "Gospel of Philip," is written about the resurrection. As in 1 Cor 15, the Adam-Christ typology is important. The Spirit (part of man's original constitution), which the first Adam had lost in the fall, Christ receives and brings back to humanity (NHC II/3, 69.5–8; 70.35–71.8; 74.14–24). At Christ's baptism "the Father … came down" (71.8) and Christ was crucified to make the cross a new tree of knowledge of the Father (73.8–19). This unification features highly in the "Gospel of Philip," because it can also be experienced by every individual Christian. Christians must appropriate the inner, true body of Christ as their resurrection-body (70.34–71.15). He who receives the Spirit "is no longer a Christian but a Christ" (67.26–27). That is a key passage in this Gospel, representing the soteriology of deification through

[50] Anne S. Kreps, *The Crucified Book: Sacred Writing in the Age of Valentinus* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 2022), 105.
[51] Karen King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Harvard: University Press, 2005), 155.
[52] Markschies, *Valentinus Gnosticus?*, 66.
[53] Athanasius, *Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter* 26.42–53 (Kreps, *The Crucified Book*, 128).
[54] Cf. Plotinus blaming Gnostics for distorting Plato's ideas (*Enneads* II.9).

"becoming Christ."[55] Which goes clearly beyond Paul's "becoming *like* Christ" (1 Cor 11:1).

This "becoming Christ" has no small consequences. The resurrection of the *material* flesh is rejected: "Some are afraid lest they rise naked. Because of this they wish to rise in the flesh and [they] do not know that it is those who wear the [flesh] who are naked." Then follows a direct quotation of 1 Cor 15:50: "Flesh [and blood shall] not inherit the kingdom [of God] (ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ [ⲉⲓ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲱ] ⲣ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ[ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ)" (NHC II/3, 56.26–34). This does not mean that there is no resurrection of "the flesh" whatsoever. The author of the "Gospel of Philip" continues: "I find fault with the others who say "it will not rise." Then both of them are at fault" (57.9–11). He rejects the opinion that it is necessary to resurrect in a material body, but at the same time he denies that there is no resurrection in the flesh: "It is necessary to rise in this flesh (ϩⲁⲡⲟ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ), since everything (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) exists in it" (57.19). What is meant with this "everything" (ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ) in "this flesh" (ⲧⲉⲉⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ)? It is evident that this does not support Paul's preaching of the resurrection of the *material* flesh. The flesh that shall not inherit the kingdom is the flesh "which is on us" (57.1), but there *is* a flesh that shall inherit: "that which belongs to Jesus and his blood" (57.3). In the Eucharist the Christian who "eats his flesh and drinks his blood" is deified,[56] already in this life. By participating in the Eucharist, he acquires Christ's flesh and can enter heaven (57.3–8). This is possible, because "the Eucharist is Jesus" (63.21). It is possible – even necessary – to acquire the resurrection in this life, because the Christian has already "received the truth in the images" (86.14). It is all about deification in this and the afterlife. In the life to come, there is a spiritual resurrection, not in a material body, but "in the flesh," that is Christ. This knowledge, warns the author of the "Gospel of Philip," makes free, "but the free man does not sin" (77.17). The Gnostic believer has "a sense of superiority over the whole world, but love builds up (ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲱⲧ)" (25–26) – a direct quotation of 1 Cor 8:1. Where Paul speaks about the false γνῶσις

[55] Hugo Lundhaug, "Begotten, Not Made, to Arise in this Flesh: The Post-Nicene Soteriology of the *Gospel of Philip*," in *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels*, ed. Eduard Iricinschi, Lance Jenott, Nicola Denzey Lewis, and Philippa Townsend, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 235–71, 253.

[56] Lundhaug, "Begotten, Not Made," 255–63; Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs*, 251. Cf. A.H.C. van Eijk, "The Gospel of Philip and Clement of Alexandria. Gnostic and Ecclesiastical Theology on the Resurrection and the Eucharist," *VC* 25 (1975): 94–120.

that "puffs up" in pride, instead of demonstrating ἀγάπη, here the Gnostic says that ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ and ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ are complementary.

"The Treatise on the Resurrection" also uses Paul extensively[57] and goes also "beyond Paul." The unknown author is able to do this, because he claims to have Christ-given knowledge (NHC I/4 49.41–50.2). He believes that Christ "swallowed up death (ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲁⲫⲱ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲕ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲟⲩ)," a reference to 1 Cor 15:54: "Death has been swallowed up."[58] In doing this, Christ "gave us the way of our immortality. Then, indeed as the Apostle said, 'we suffered with him and we arose with him and we went to heaven with him'" (45.22–29). Nowhere in the *Corpus Paulinicum* is this quotation to be found. But in Gnostic circles Paul's texts were freely combined.[59] This "going to heaven" is "the spiritual resurrection, which swallows up the psychic in the same way as the fleshly" (45.39–46.2). The elect-believer who participates in Christ's deeds has the resurrection in the present: "Flee from the divisions and the fetters and already you have the resurrection (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲕ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ). If he who will die knows about himself that he will die… why not consider yourself as risen and (already) brought to this (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲕ ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛⲁⲡⲉⲉⲓ)?" (49.16–24). Nowhere in the Nag Hammadi-texts is the influence of Paul greater than in "The Treatise on the Resurrection." However, it was not possible for the unknown author to interpret Paul completely in the Gnostic way, therefore he chose to teach his own Gnostic theology, thereby freely using Pauline ideas, especially on resurrection.[60] Valentinians emphatically denied what they call a "literal" interpretation.

8. Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy

Some scholars emphasize that it is remarkable that Paul seems to be especially popular with Gnostics: it almost seems that his views were more attractive to them than to Church Fathers.[61] But the repetition of "it seems" indicates a subtle relativization. In fact, Paul was influential in early "orthodox" *and* "heterodox" Christianity alike. But let us first ask the question: is it legitimate to speak of "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" at the beginning of Christianity – that is in the period that the New Testament-texts

[57] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 318.
[58] Similar is only the keyword "swallowed": ⲱⲙⲕ.
[59] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 319 thinks that the words are a combination of Rom 8:17, Col 2:12 and Eph 2:6.
[60] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 322–23: "Rheg zeigt… daß eine 'gnostische Interpretation' des Paulus letztlich nicht möglich ist, sondern in Aporien führt."
[61] See again n. 45.

originate? At first there were no concepts of "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" (or "heresy"). This division was late in being consciously developed[62] – that is in the third century texts of Church Fathers. There *was* variety of belief in the first century, but that has never been seriously in dispute. The question is: when can we speak of mutually complementary perspectives on Christ (later called "orthodox"), and when was there diversity that was contrary to the core of the earliest Christological affirmations (Jesus' redemptive sacrifice on the cross and his bodily resurrection from the dead)? What was later called "heterodox" or "heretical" was a kind of diversity that differed in the critical core affirmation of Jesus crucified, buried and risen bodily. This kind of "diversity" was already denounced in the pages of New Testament writings[63] – chiefly in 1 Cor 15. Of course, the story of how in the beginning of Christianity the lines of what is compatible with the Gospel and what is not compatible were drawn,[64] is a long and complicated one that cannot be addressed fully here. Instead, my concern will be more narrowly whether the diversity of Christian opinions in the first century threatened the core of the Gospel.

Was there a single version of Christianity that can be considered as normative or "original"? Or were there different versions of Christianity in the first century, all on equal historical footing?[65] In my opinion, diversity in Christian belief was inevitable while this diversity flows from Jesus Christ as a most controversial figure.[66] Again, there was diversity in Christianity from the beginning, but at the same time there was an undebatable fixed set of early core beliefs that were shared by all New Testament-writers. The New Testament-writings display a certain degree of diversity that does not compromise its underlying doctrinal unity. That is to say, there was tolerance in matters of nonessential areas.[67] For example, the early Church had to deal with a lot of doctrinal questions such as the relevance of Moses' law in Christian life or with a lot of ethical rules concerning, for instance, marriage. There were differing opinions, but this

[62] I. Howard Marshall, "Foreword," in *The Heresy of Orthodoxy*, 11–12, 11.
[63] Köstenberger and Kruger, *The Heresy of Orthodoxy*, 99–100.
[64] I. Howard Marshall, "Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earlier Christianity," *Them* 2 (1976): 5–14, 13.
[65] Since the publication of Walter Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1934) it has often been said that Christian "orthodoxy" is but one form of several "Christianities" that were equally claiming orthodox status in the time that Christianity did arise.
[66] Rightly so, Köstenberger and Kruger, *The Heresy of Orthodoxy*, 159.
[67] Andreas J. Köstenberger, "Diversity and Unity in the New Testament," in *Biblical Theology: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Scott J. Hafemann (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2002), 144–58.

legitimate diversity was balanced by its underlying unity: New Testament-writers (later called "orthodox") were strictly unified with regard to the core belief encapsulated in the Gospel of salvation through faith in the crucified and bodily (!) risen Christ.[68] Therefore, "orthodox" New Testament-writers had to deal with opponents, precursors of Gnosticism (later called "heterodox" or even "heretics"), who denied physical and/or bodily resurrection.

9. From Gnosis to Gnosticism

The crucial question remains *how* Paul eventually could be determinative in "orthodox" and "heterodox" Christianity, both excluding each other. Paul was followed by many who accepted his views on for example bodily resurrection (the so-called "orthodox"). At the same time "some" (1 Cor 15:12: τινες) were inspired by Paul to challenge them.[69] The conflict with Paul seems to have produced a clearer self-image in Gnostics. Groups often need enemies to create and sustain their boundaries and to develop self-identity.[70] Paul's opponents in Corinth had been inclined to be Gnostic, but they were not yet Gnostic in the way Gnosticism was.[71] It is thus anachronistic to read back in First Corinthians the fully developed Gnosticism of Nag Hammadi.[72] On the other hand, an incipient or rudimentary form of Gnosticism (Gnosis/proto-Gnosticism) in this letter cannot be denied.[73] Paul opposed Gnostic thinking (proto-Gnosticism), but he was at the same time radicalizing his opponents, who eventually developed systems of thought, later to be called Gnosticism. It is therefore necessary to underline the difference between the still developing Gnosis in the first century and the fully articulated Gnostic systems (Gnosticism) in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

But this distinction between Gnosis and Gnosticism has not unanimous scholarly approval.[74] And indeed, acceptance of an unambiguous definition

[68] Köstenberger and Kruger, *The Heresy of Orthodoxy*, 75.

[69] Michael Kaler, "Paul at Nag Hammadi," in *Paul and Gnosis*, 139–60, 159.

[70] Jerry L. Sumney, *'Servants of Satan', 'False Brothers' and Other Opponents of Paul* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1999), 18.

[71] Sasagu Arai, "Die Gegner des Paulus im I. Korintherbrief und das Problem der Gnosis," *NTS* 19 (1972–1973): 430–37.

[72] For this reason very few have followed Schmithals in his hypothesis of a *developed* Gnosticism at Corinth.

[73] Robert McL. Wilson, "How Gnostic were the Corinthians?," *NTS* 19 (1972–1973): 65–74; Robert McL. Wilson, "Gnosis at Corinth," in *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett*, ed. Morna D. Hooker and Stephen G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982), 102–14.

[74] For example, Williams, *Rethinking Gnosticism* (1996), attacked what is usually understood by terms as "Gnosis" and "Gnosticism" as vague and without any specific meaning and rejects them completely.

of what is understood by terms as Gnosis and Gnosticism will always be debatable – although my attempt to make some kind of clarification[75] is, as I hope, helpful. Undeniable, at any rate, is that there existed already in the first century a religious movement characterized by esoteric knowledge (γνῶσις) as the only means of salvation, which implied a process of re-deification.[76] As said before, Gnosis was a primarily religious, secondary philosophical movement, characterized by eclecticism and the conviction that human beings are actually divine, but by external factors (materiality and corporeality) alienated of their divine origin, from which γνῶσις provides redemption.[77] The *Corpus Hermeticum* is an important example of this Gnosis. In this *Corpus* there is not yet an anti-cosmic attitude; the cosmos is described as a beautiful creation of the supreme God. The Gnostic authors of the *Corpus* could sometimes speak of the world as the "plenitude of vice" (*CH* VI.4), but they never ascribed the origin of the world to an imperfect and evil Demiurge.[78] However, characteristic for the Gnostic systems of the 2nd and 3rd centuries is the assumption that the world has not been created by the supreme transcendent God, but by a lower, imperfect and even bad Demiurge.[79]

These Gnostic systems were referring to a kind of γνῶσις that overlapped significantly with the earlier uses of that word in the religious Gnosis, but also had a somewhat different meaning due to its place in an anti-cosmic myth and worldview. For them, γνῶσις was the realization that one did not really belong in this material world, but rather in a divine world that is utterly unlike it and separate from it.[80] Gnosis developed in a process of "protest exegesis" of texts later to be known as the Old and New Testament into Gnosticism. Gnosticism is a scholarly invention and is used in particular to indicate a special brand of Gnosis, that flourished in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. This term Gnosticism must be reserved for and be used only with respect to the Gnostic mythological systems that were developing from the 2nd century onward. These systems expressed itself in a combination of important notions derived from Jewish (Wisdom) thinking, Christian thought and eventually Greek philosophy.[81] My definition

[75] See especially Schaeffer, *Vrouwe Wijsheid en Vrouwe Dwaasheid*, 431–586 and Schaeffer, "Simon de Tovenaar," 98–114.
[76] Van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," 404.
[77] Schaeffer, *Vrouwe Wijsheid en Vrouwe Dwaasheid*, 432–36; Schaeffer, "Simon de Tovenaar," 98.
[78] Van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," 413.
[79] Van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," 404.
[80] Nichola Denzey Lewis, *Introduction to "Gnosticism." Ancient Voices, Christian Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 12–13.
[81] Van den Broek, "Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion," 403–16.

of Gnosticism is: "A very colourful way of eclectic thinking, according to which God is absolutely transcendent, who produced a divine world with which man is related, a tragical 'fall' in this divine world – a fall external to man – with as a result the origin of a Demiurge or unknowing creator-god, who alienated man from his divine origin,[82] but for which redemption in the form of esoteric knowledge is given, so that man can return to his divine origin, first in earthly man, eventually complete after dying physically and becoming purely spiritual."[83]

In Gnosticism, creation was viewed as an evil act and the creator an evil god, different from the "highest God."[84] Salvation is destruction of the existing physical creation and the return of the spiritual part of man to its divine origin in a process of re-deification. This has radical consequences for the Gnostic view on Jesus' death on the cross and on the resurrection. In Gnosticism the sacrificial interpretation of Jesus' death on the cross is absent.[85] Although his "suffering" is mentioned, at the same time it is said in the most radical Gnostic texts that Christ was not subjected to any real suffering at all. Though he was punished, he did not die actually, only in appearance. The spiritual Christ had avoided the cross, either by separating himself from the physical Jesus at the crucifixion or by having substituted someone else in his place.[86] Although there is no reason to suspect that Paul's Corinthian opponents had such a fully developed Gnostic theory as we see in most of the Gnostic writings from the second-third centuries, the seeds were already there in first-century Corinth.

10. Concluding Remarks

In First Corinthians Paul rejects his opponents' (proto-)Gnostic opinions. He thought it necessary to reinforce the identity of the Church, but conflicts often lead opponents to produce a clearer self-image. Groups often use opponents to create and sustain their boundaries and to develop

[82] See for example "The Apocryphon of John" (NHC II/1, 9,25–10,7), "The Letter of Peter to Philip" (NHC VIII/2, 135,10–15), "A Valentinian Exposition" (NHC XI/2, 36.28–38).

[83] Schaeffer, *Vrouwe Wijsheid en Vrouwe Dwaasheid*, 435–36; Schaeffer, "Simon de Tovenaar," 98.

[84] "The Apocryphon of John" (NHC II.1, 10.11–20).

[85] Riemer Roukema, "Sacrifice in 'Gnostic' Testimonies of the Second and Third Centuries CE," in *The Actuality of Sacrifice: Past and Present*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Marcel Poorthuis, Joshua Schwartz, and Yossi Turner, Jewish and Christian Perspectives 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 153–69, 156.

[86] "Second Discourse of the Great Seth" (NHC VII/2 55.16, 56.19); "Letter of Peter to Philip" (NHC VIII/2 138–139).

identity.[87] Paul's opponents shared the worldview of Gnosis, but they and their followers radicalized and developed systems of thought "beyond what is written." In the time that Gnosticism emerged, some Gnostics claimed especially Paul's preaching as the primary source of their theology. This is remarkable, because Gnostic interpretations of Paul's letters do not do justice to their literal content,[88] which was anti-Gnostic. The most important example of this is Paul's preaching the physical resurrection of Christ and his underlining the inseparability of Christ's resurrection from the believer's. Already in Corinth his opponents denied the physical resurrection of the dead in general, although believing that Christ had risen. The radicalized Gnostics taught in the full-blown Gnosticism that Paul was right in saying that if Christ did not rise, then neither shall "those in Christ" be resurrected, by claiming the opposite: if Christ did not die on the cross himself and did not rise, then neither "those in Christ."

Although Paul did take over some of the thought patterns and vocabulary of an incipient Gnosticism, instead of being influenced theologically by the borrowed terms, he used them for his consistent preaching of the crucified Savior, the true Wisdom of God. His whole teaching was in fact not constitutive for Gnosticism, but anti-Gnostic. But one of the main characteristics of Gnosticism is their eclectic, not literal reading of texts for their purposes.[89] Quotations of Paul are substantively reversed to the contrary,[90] which is the reason why Irenaeus could relatively easily refute the Gnostic interpretation of Paul's texts. But typical for Gnosticism and already for Paul's opponents in Corinth was "to go beyond what is written" (1 Cor 4:6). So, although Gnostics made an effort to explain Paul's writings, they felt also free to "correct" them. They could do so, because their eclecticism allowed them to "take from Paul" what was convenient in their systems and spiritual experience was valued higher than literal interpretation. And the way Paul himself used Gnostic terms deliberately in an attempt to adjust to the vocabulary of his opponents, made it easier for later radicalized Gnostics, to (ab)use his writings.

[87] Sumney, *Identifying Paul's Opponents*, 18.
[88] Correctly so Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs*, 268.
[89] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 300–02.
[90] Lindemann, *Paulus im ältesten Christentum*, 303: "… der Inhalt der paulinischen Aussage … ist in sein Gegenteil verkehrt."

ΑΥΤΗ Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ Η ΠΡΩΤΗ (REV 20:5B): MAKING SENSE OF THE APOCALYPSE'S PREFINAL PHASE

Henk Bakker

In John's prefinal vision martyrs become resurrected priests, who are vindicated, and who rule in judgement with the messiah for a thousand years. The millennium is an indication of a perfect sabbath day, or an extended time of priestly rededication of a wounded world. Hence, the millennium is to be taken as a transition phase, beginning and ending with a resurrection, to be expanded and deepened in Rev 21–22. This article explores the meaning of resurrection (ἀνάστασις) in Rev 20, the unique blending together of textual allusions in the report, in order to critically evaluate its rhetoric, as it structures a priestly counter reality. It will also pursue the possibility of dating the historical background of this counter reality to the years CE 67–68.

1. Introduction

Despite the fact that most classifications of the Apocalypse[1] tend to frame the book somewhere between prophetical, eschatological, apocalyptic, and mystical, the indicator martyrdom literature seems most satisfying. The basic orientation of the Apocalypse of John is directed toward the final destination of those who suffered and persevered for the sake of the faith. Christian suffering and martyrdom may well be at the centre of the author's mind, in particular as the martyr's death runs through the overall story line of the twenty-two chapters.[2]

[1] The names Revelation and Apocalypse are used interchangeably in this article for the same book.

[2] See Jan Willem van Henten, "The Concept of Martyrdom in Revelation," in *Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte – Konzepte – Wirkungen*, ed. Jörg Frey, James A. Kelhoffer, and Franz Tóth, WUNT 287 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 587–618. Van Henten correctly observes that the Apocalypse is void of any hammered-out definition of "martyr/martyrdom," but that it stands at the beginning of an early Christian process of doing so, with the help of other Jewish traditions, e.g. Daniel and Maccabean. See also Mitchell G. Reddish, "Martyr Christology in the Apocalypse," *JSNT* 33 (1988): 85–95.

Remarkably, the only historical name in the book (beside the author's[3]) is that of Antipas the martyr (Rev 2:13), if this is a real name after all, which makes his death into a live example of true martyrdom. After all, he is referred to as "my faithful witness, who was put to death in your city." The apposition ὁ μάρτυς μου, ὁ πιστός seems to set an example for the rest of the martyrs who follow, in particular for the 144 thousand faithful, the Jewish remnant (שְׁאֵרִית).[4]

So, in a series of prefinal visions, the prophet watches how the remnant of true believers, which for the greater part would be threatened and slain, were to be revived and rewarded in the end. The martyrs are summoned to wait for retribution to come (Rev 6:9), and have to wait no less than fourteen chapters before the promise is fulfilled (Rev 20:6).

Even though the idea of resurrection seems ubiquitous in the Apocalypse (e.g. Rev 2:11; 7:9; 14:1), the word ἀνάστασις turns up only twice (Rev 20:5 and 20:6). Moreover, the group of "souls that came to life" appears to be an order of its own, for their resurrection is not to be delayed anymore, and marks the beginning of a thousand-year reign.[5] John was not only observing that the era of resurrection was about to commence, but in particular that the beginning of that era would be marked by the ἀνάστασις of a special class.[6] The epilogue of the book takes up the tragedy of the martyrs' story, the bloodshed and humiliation (decapitation), and brings it to a climactic ending in which the bodiless souls come to life, receive bones and flesh, power and status (κρίμα).

2. Martyrs First

Opinions differ as to the substance and literalness of the ἀνάστασις indicated in Rev 20:5. Klaus Berger maintains that the concept of resurrection

[3] The name "John" here is used pragmatically and provisionally, and does not claim authorship of any sort.

[4] Rev 1:5 (all English translations are taken from the RSV), "Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness"; 2:10, "Be faithful, even to the point of death"; 3:14, "These are the words of the Amen, the faithful and true witness"; 17:14, "with him will be his called, chosen and faithful followers"; 19:11, "before me was a white horse, whose rider is called Faithful and True"; 21:5, "He who was seated on the throne said, 'I am making everything new!' Then he said, 'Write this down, for these words are trustworthy and true'"; 22:6, "The angel said to me, 'These words are trustworthy and true'."

[5] Cf. Albrecht Oepke, "ἀνάστασις," *TDNT* 1:371–72, and Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes: Beiheft zur 3. und 4. Auflage* (Zürich: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1982), 73. Of 43 instances in the NT, ἀνάστασις occurs 16x in the Gospels, 11× in Acts, and only a few times with Paul. Comparable to Rev 22:5 are Mark 12:18, John 5:29, Acts 1:22 (23:6; 24:15), Rom 1:4, and Heb 6:2.

[6] See for example *Ascen. Isa.* 9,11–12, Tertullian, *An.* 55.4, and *Passio Perpetuae* 11.2–8 and 12.1–7.

was brought to a new level, a spiritual level, amply confirmed in early Christian martyr texts, namely that martyrs were expected at the moment of death to immediately ascend to heaven.[7] Hence, Joel Beeke defines the millennium as the rule of the church with Christ, of which the "risen" martyrs represent a fascinating expression.[8] Berger's and Beeke's interpretation of the millennial reign is primarily based on their understanding of major early Christian voices concerning regular eschatological expectations.[9] Early Christians considered themselves spiritually present in the end time scenarios sketched in the Apocalypse, at least partially, and even prefigured in the thousand year reign.[10]

Nonetheless, John Thomas and Frank Macchia introduce justified grounds to contradict the assumption that the first resurrection had a non-literal meaning in the mindset of its original readers. After all, while ambiguities abound, it is certain that the hearers would understand the "coming to life" as similar to the coming to life of Jesus. The ἔζησαν here appears also in Rev 2:8 (ἔζησεν), to describe the resurrection of Jesus. So, "while modern interpreters may be fascinated with the idea that this coming to life is a spiritual, not a physical resurrection, such an idea would likely be quite foreign to Johannine readers."[11]

Furthermore, as Grant Osborne observes, the verb ἔζησαν, together with the explanatory words ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη, most likely point to a bodily resurrection, not merely to a spiritual conversion (so Augustine), or to the intermediate state (so Hughes, Hendriksen, Beale, and Van de Kamp).[12] Consequently, the text speaks of two bodily resurrections, separated by (1) a timespan, symbolically described as a thousand years reign, (2) and

[7] Klaus Berger, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes, Kommentar*, *Teilband 2: Apk 11–22* (Freiburg: Herder, 2017), 1335–36.

[8] Joel R. Beeke, *Revelation*, Lectio Continua Expository Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2016), 517–22. Cf. Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary* (Leicester: InterVarsity, 1990), 208–16, and Hendrik R. van de Kamp, *Openbaring. Profetie vanaf Patmos*, Commentaar op het Nieuwe Testament, derde serie, 5th rev. ed. (Kampen: Kok, 2012), 436–38.

[9] William C. Weinrich, ed., *Revelation*, ACCS: New Testament XII (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2005), 320–51. Only Victorinus seems to be an exception (see 331, 333–34). Cf. C. Lorenzo Rossetti, "Millennio e Prima Risurrezione: Ap 20:1-6 e il destino escatologico dei santi: un'ipotesi esegetica e suo significato teologico (Prima parte)," *Gregorianum* 88 (2007): 273–290. Rosetti takes the first resurrection as an inchoative, bodily glorification situated in the celestial time of the Church (millennium). The martyr's union with the interceding Christ is anticipatory for the whole body of the Church.

[10] See Judith Kovacs and Christopher Rowland, *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ*, Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 200–16.

[11] John Christopher Thomas and Frank D. Macchia, *Revelation*, The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 353, 354 (ἔζησεν Rev 2:8, and ἔζησαν Rev 20:4, 5).

[12] Grant R. Osborne, *Revelation*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2002), 703–8.

pertaining to two sorts of people: that is, those taking part in the first resurrection, mainly (or solely) martyrs, and those taking part in the belated resurrection, a group consisting of mainly (or solely) non-believers. The church as a whole may share in the first resurrection, albeit in the slipstream of the martyrs (so Ladd, Johnson, Thomas, and Beale), but this is definitely not clear. As a matter of fact, the church as a whole may well have its share in the later resurrection, not in the first (so Beckwith, Caird, Mounce, and Aune).[13] Anyhow, there is no certainty as to the details the seer perceived for the unfolding of the eschaton. These visions resist any systemization.[14]

Moreover, it seems arbitrary (and artificial) to take the use of ἔζησαν in Rev 20:4 and 20:5, in two adjoining verses, in two different ways: the first to be an ἀνάστασις in heaven, in angelic bodies; the second to be an ἀνάστασις on earth, in tangible, physical bodies.[15] This can only be maintained if one allows one's dogmatic presumptions to prevail over sound hearing (cf. Rev 1:3). Craig Koester correctly observes that in the prefinal phase, full attention is directed to the vindication of the righteous.[16] Misjudged, maltreated, and killed by the powers that be, the supreme Judge not only intervenes, but raises the righteous from the dead, rehabilitates them, and installs them as co-judges in heaven.[17]

As a matter of fact, Koester is right in that early Christians believed that "resurrection occurred in stages."[18] In the eschaton familiar social ladders will be turned upside down. The first shall be last, and the last shall be first. The meek and low will inherit the earth, and they will rule and judge. Until these tormented personae have been rehabilitated, no one can yet arrive at their destiny.[19] In the first place, thrones have to be established,

[13] Osborne, *Revelation*, 707.

[14] Cf. Walter Klaiber, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 255–60, at 258, and Craig R. Koester, *Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 38A (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 788.

[15] Cf. Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John: An Introduction and Commentary*, The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 238, and Vern S. Poythress, "Genre and Hermeneutics in Rev 20:1–6," *JETS* 36 (1993): 41–54, at 54. See also Matt Waymeyer, "The First Resurrection in Revelation 20," *The Master's Seminary Journal* 27 (2016): 3–32.

[16] Koester, *Revelation*, 785, 786 (and see 781–83).

[17] Cf. Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), 359.

[18] Koester, *Revelation*, 786. Contra Eduard Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, NTD 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 105.

[19] See for the aspect of eschatological stages in a variety of Jewish texts, for example, Dan 12:2, 2 Macc 7:14, Pss. Sol. 3:11–12, 1 En. 51:1–2, 91:10, 92:3, 1 Thess 4:13–18,

and mandates have to be commissioned (κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς), so that they are vitally involved in executing lawsuits. Το κρίμα may be understood, quite simultaneously, as the act of administrating justice to aggressors as well as to their victims.[20]

According to David Aune too, it appears that "only *martyrs*" experience the first resurrection, but he diverges from most of his peers in situating their rule on earth, and not in heaven.[21] Furthermore, Aune characterizes the rule as transitory, because it establishes a preparatory reign orientated towards the eradication of all evil.[22] Since the so-called millennium does not really form the stage of peace and calm, but rather builds up dark expectations – Satan "must be loosed," and "will be loosed," see verses 3 and 7 – the eschaton has actually nothing positive in it.[23] At least in comparison to Messianic interludes in *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Apoc. Baruch*,[24] the transitory atmosphere of the millennium is expressed in grim terms, yet soberly and in a contained way.

3. The Beginning of the Sabbath Day

Revelation 20's unique disposition is a construction of echoes from Isaiah, Psalms, Daniel, and Ezekiel. John's "own contribution" is manifest in the way these echoes are reworked and presented in his vision.[25] Isa 24

1 Cor 15:23, Mark 10:31, Matt 5:5 (Ps 37:11), Acts 24:15, John 5:28–29, 4 Ezra 7:32–44, 2 Bar. 30:50–51. Although eschatological stages are not explicitly mentioned in all of these texts, they seem to be implicit throughout, see Koester, *Revelation*, 786.

[20] Cf. Friedrich Büchsel, "κρίνω, κτλ," *TDNT* 3:942, "But it can also mean the right which someone has, namely, the oppressed," see Exod 23:6 (LXX), Job 13:18 (LXX), 19:7 (LXX), 31:13 (LXX), 32:9 (LXX). See on the share of rule Rev 2:26–28; 3:21; 5:9–10; 1 Cor 6:2; Matt 19:28.

[21] David E. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, WBC 52C (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 1080–1107, at 1090 and 1104. However, see for the "hypothetical" other reading ("I saw thrones, and those … were given authority … both the souls who had been beheaded … and those who had not") Arie W. Zwiep, "Identity Matters in the Book of Revelation: The Rhetorical Device of σύγκρισις as a Key to its Structure and Message," in *Troubling Texts in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of Rob van Houwelingen*, ed. Myriam Klinker-De Klerck, Arco den Heijer, and Jermo van Nes, CBET 113 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 427–48, at 443–45.

[22] Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 1105.

[23] George R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, NCBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), 292.

[24] See 1 En. 93:3–10; 93:11–17 (written between 175–167 BCE), 4 Ezra 7:26–44; 12:31–34 (ca. CE 90), 2 Bar. 29:1–30:1; 40:1–4; 72:2–74:3 (ca. CE 110), and see Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 1104–8.

[25] Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, 284–96, at 289. Cf. Sijbrand Alblas, *De ark van het verbond in het laatste Bijbelboek* (PhD dissertation, Kampen: Theologische Academie

and Ps 90 are blended together, and connected to the idea of an intermediate reign of the Messiah King. The arrest of Satan, the "host of heaven," matches neatly with the Lord's "day" (which counts for a thousand years), and with the expectation of the prefinal reign of an anointed ruler. In the Christianized form presented by John, the reign is shortened by underscoring merely the end of it, implying war and judgement.[26]

Rev 20:1–3	Isa 24:21–22
Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven, holding in his hand the key of the **bottomless pit** and a great chain. And he seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and **bound him for a thousand years** [χίλια ἔτη], and threw him **into the pit** [εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον]**, and shut it** and sealed it over him.	On that day the Lord will punish the host of heaven, in heaven, and the kings of the earth, on the earth. They will be gathered together as **prisoners in a pit** [LXX εἰς ὀχύρωμα]**; they will be shut up in a prison** [LXX εἰς δεσμωτήριον]**, and after many days** they will be punished.

To be sure, if the term "thousand years" designates one-seventh of a cosmic week, as was common in early Christian thinking, the indication "thousand" should be taken as a day, as the seventh day, the sabbath day.[27] Inasmuch as the sabbath is a day of rest, it is also a day of reflection and confrontation. Consequently, the thousand-year reign may be deemed σαββατισμός, a period of healing and judgement, the day of the Lord,[28] and for that matter "today" (σήμερον) may become that day. If people open their hearts, and do not harden them, σήμερον could transform into σαββατισμός (as in Hebrews[29]).

The intervention of the angel in the binding of Satan inaugurates an extended sabbath, a period of priestly reign to judge the world, and to bring creation to rest (Rev 20:6, ἔσονται ἱερεῖς). Priestly cleansing of the earth, of the land of Israel itself, its holy city, and the Temple Mount, is at the

Johannes Calvijnstichting, 1993), 247. See also Jon Kenneth Newton, "Time, Language, and the Purpose of the Millennium," *Colloquium* 43 (2011): 147–68, at 149.

[26] Cf. Eduard Lohse, "χίλιοι, κτλ," *TDNT* 9:466–71.

[27] Cf. Barn. 15,4–5; Ps 90:4, "A thousand years [LXX χίλια ἔτη] in your sight are like a day that has just gone by, or like a watch in the night," and 2 Pet 2:8, "But do not forget this one thing, dear friends: With the Lord a day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years are like a day." Cf. 2 En. 33:1; Irenaeus, *Haer*. 5.28.3; 5.33–36. However, see Jack T. Sanders, "Whence the First Millennium? The Sources behind Revelation 20," *NTS* 50 (2004): 444–56, who gives serious consideration to the likelihood of a Zoroastrian background.

[28] Cf. Cornelis van der Waal, *Openbaring van Jezus Christus, deel 2: Verklaring* (Oudkarspel: De Nijverheid, 1981), 341–51, at 341.

[29] Heb 4:6–9.

core of Israel's hope, as is described by Deutero-Isaiah, and in the Book of Jubilees. Isaiah says:

> For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth … No more shall there be in it an infant that lives but a few days, or an old man who does not fill out his days …; for like the days of a tree shall the days of my people be … They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, says the Lord.[30]

In the same vein the *Book of Jubilees* proclaims:

> And the days will begin to increase and grow longer among those sons of men, generation by generation, and year by year, until their days approach a thousand years, and to a greater number of years than days … and there will be no Satan and no evil (one) who will destroy, because all of their days will be days of blessing and healing. And then the LORD will heal his servants, and they will rise up and see great peace. And they will drive out their enemies … and they will see all of their judgements and all of their curses among their enemies.[31]

Both prophecies, despite disparity of provenance, univocally portray how restoration will materialize on the expanded sabbat, during which time and life shall be protracted, and evil and curse will be expelled. The extended sabbath is restricted in time by the use of ἄχρι twice in Rev 20:3, 5. At the beginning Satan must be imprisoned "until" he must be released, and the resurrection of all other dead must be suspended "until" the sabbath period is over. So, at the beginning, and at the end, the sabbath is limited, because its character is preparatory and transitory, a quite common feature in Jewish apocalyptic thinking.[32] For John, the millennium is the long starting day of the expected change of heaven and earth, and opens with a preliminary judgement of evil powers, so that the Jewish land and its people may begin to heal, and from there the rest of the world and the nations (Rev 22:2).

[30] Isa 65:17–25.

[31] Jub. 23:27–30 (cf. 4:29–30; the texts were probably written around 161–140 BCE), *OTP* 2:101–102.

[32] Cf. 4 Ezra 7:28–29, "For my Messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him, and he shall make rejoice those who remain for four hundred years." After this period the Messiah will die. See Michael Edward Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990), 202, 215 ("The view that the messianic kingdom will be limited is found in various sources"), 216, and in particular 207–13 "Excursus on the Redeemer Figure," at 208 and 213. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch: Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), 225. Compare also *2 Baruch* 40:3.

In the Book of the Watchers too (1 En.), a time of cleansing is foreseen, in which judgement and consummation will gradually be accomplished. The Lord orders Michael to bind the fallen angel Shemihaza, and others with him, for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth.

> Until the day of their judgement and consummation. The righteous will escape, and they will live in peace. The "plant of righteousness" will appear, and vines will grow which yield "a thousand jugs of wine."[33] Then, finally, the earth shall be "cleansed" from all "impurity and wrong," "lawlessness and sin," "defilement and uncleanness."[34]

In Jewish apocalyptic literature a period of temporary confinement of evil powers is customary, because the priestly work of purification needs time to effectuate and deepen, so as to prepare creation for its final rest and destiny. Such schematism is also present in the Babylonian Talmud, as it discusses the coming of the Messiah within the timespan of a sabbatical cycle (septennium, שְׁבַע), more particular at the end of the sixth day. Accordingly, rabbis predicted the coming of the Messiah also within the scope of two thousand years, at the end of the week, or after eighty-five Jubilee cycles. Obviously, the exact momentum was unknown ('I do not know').[35] Likewise, the exact duration of the messianic period differs among rabbis as well.[36]

In any case, in Rev 20 the thousand-year reign denotes a preparatory period, an extended, but limited, sabbath day, with the purpose of vindication, cleansing, and healing. This is how John understood, and used, the texts in front of him (Isaiah, Psalms, Daniel).[37] In order to grant peace

[33] The imagery of luxury of wine and food is well known in early Christian literature, see Papias in Irenaeus, *Haer.* V 33,3–4. See also 2 Bar. 29:5.

[34] 1 En. 10:11–22 (probably pre-Maccabean), see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 215–16, 224–28.

[35] b. Sanh. 97a.b.

[36] Cf. b. Sanh. 99a, in *Der Babylonische Talmud* 9, transl. Lazarus Goldschmidt (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag, 1996), 63–76, in particular at 74–76: "R. Eliézer sagte: Die messianischen Tage werden vierzig Jahre anhalten … R. Eleázar b. Ázarja sagte: Siebzig Jahre … Rabbi sagte: Drei Generationen … R. Dosa sagte: Vierhundert Jahre … Rabbi sagte: Dreihundertfünfundsechzig Jahre … Abimi, Sohn des R. Abahu, lehrte: Die messianischen Tage werden für Jisraél siebentausend Jahre anhalten … R. Jehuda sagte im Namen Semuéls: Die messianischen Tage werden so lange anhalten, wie seit dem Tage, an dem die Welt erschaffen worden ist, bis jetzt: *so lange, als der Himmel über der Erde steht*."

[37] Cf. Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish & Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 25–28, at 28, "If we ignore priests and their friends in our search for the origins of apocalyptic literature or even apocalyptic eschatology, we are in danger of losing all of our candidates." See also Simon C. Mimouni, "Apocalypse 20, 1–15: entre millénarisme et apocalypticisme?" *Revue des études juives* 169 (2010), 135–174, and Keith Augustus Burton, "The Millennium: Transition to the Final Aeon," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 38 (2000), 207–22.

and restoration, the country should ritually be cleansed by a new priestly caste (Ezek 37–48[38]). In the following sections this preliminary conclusion will be explored further.

4. Installation of a New Priesthood

In John's mindset, the new priestly caste was governed by Christ, and was accordingly structured by the service of celestial elders and risen martyrs who follow him.[39] In terms of intertextuality, Dan 7 and 12 were central in his thinking, since he was going back and forth between these chapters in the course of his apocalyptic voyage. Hence, the expectation of the triumph of the martyrs, the righteous remnant of the end-time, was paramount to him (θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, Dan 7:9).

Rev 20:4, 12	Dan 7:9, 22, 26–27, and 12:1–3
Then **I saw thrones**, and seated on them were those **to whom judgment was committed** [**κρίμα ἐδόθη**] … **and books were opened. Also another book was opened, which is the book of life. And the dead were judged by what was written in the books, by what they had done**.	**Thrones were placed** … **judgment was given** for the saints of the Most High [LXX **τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν ἁγίοις ὑψίστου**] … But **the court shall sit in judgment** … And there shall be a time of trouble … **everyone whose name shall be found written in the book. And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt**. And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever.

The remnant consisted of the privileged, to whom the power of implementing peace and consolation were entrusted. Therefore, the millennium should not be taken literally, Bauckham asserts, because it deals entirely with vindication itself, not with the manner in which vindication was to be delivered.[40] In order to be able to dispense justice, that is cleansing and healing throughout Israel and the earth, two conditions were necessary:

[38] See in particular Ezek 39:12, 14, 16.

[39] Revelation portrays the Church as a kingdom of priests, see Rev 1:6, 5:10, and 20:6. The plural "thrones" is only used for elders and martyrs (Rev 4:4; 20:4). The single "throne" is reserved for the throne of God and the Lamb (Rev 3:21), and for the throne of Satan and the beast (Rev 2:13; 16:10). Καὶ εἶδον θρόνους (Rev 20:4) may pertain to both, elders and martyrs.

[40] Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 106–8, at 108. Cf. John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC 30 (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 164–65.

time, and divine guarantee of abundance of life. Both conditions were addressed by John in that God guaranteed abundance of time in calling forth a perfect sabbath *and* abundance of life, in pronouncing a blessing upon the judges (μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος, 20:6).

5. The Power of Prophetic Pictures

The imagery of *anastasis* comes with dramatic pictures, though John constrained himself, albeit partially, for in Rev 21–22 he follows up on his initial description. Most probably, John's text on the first resurrection was inspired by Ezekiel's narrative, and possibly Isaiah's. Ezekiel introduces a moving vision of Israel's national restoration, which was to be compared with a shocking miracle, nothing short of the resurrection of a valley of dead bodies: "they came to life." Johannes Tromp is right in his presumption that, due to Christian tradition and expectation, the resurrection Ezekiel witnessed developed into the spiritualized lens through which the early Church formatted its own future.[41]

Conceivably, the indication "first" in the words "first resurrection" refers to the order of events John noticed in Ezekiel's accounts of Israel's resurgence. The order being as follows: (1) the miracle of the resurrection; (2) subsequently the defeat of Gog; (3) consequently the purification of the holy land, and (4) finally the inauguration of the new temple. Obviously, the sequence of these events presumes a conclusive ending, a so-called second resurrection, in which all of the living and the dead, viz. the Israelites, the "people of the land," the nations, and the people of Gog, would be held accountable to God.[42]

Rev 20:4–5, 7–9	**Ezek 37:5, 10, 38:2, 18, and 39:6**	**Isa 26:19**
Also I saw the souls … **They came to life [ἔζησαν] …** This is the first resurrection [**ἡ ἀνάστασις** ἡ πρώτη] … And when the thousand years are ended, Satan will be loosed from his prison and will come out to	Thus says the Lord God to these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter you, **and you shall live** …, and the breath came into them, **and they lived**, **[LXX ἔζησαν]** … Son of man,	Thy dead shall live, their bodies **shall rise** [LXX **ἀναστήσονται** οἱ νεκροί καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς

[41] Johannes Tromp, "'Can These Bones Live?' Ezekiel 37:1–14 and Eschatological Resurrection," in *The Book of Ezekiel and its Influence*, ed. Henk Jan de Jonge and Johannes Tromp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 61–78.

[42] Cf. "that wicked man shall die in his iniquity" (Ezek 3:18), and see Ezek 38:23; 39:4, 21, 27; 44:10–14 (verse 12, "they shall bear their punishment"); 45:17, 20.

Rev 20:4–5, 7–9	Ezek 37:5, 10, 38:2, 18, and 39:6	Isa 26:19
deceive the nations which are at the four corners of the earth, that is, Gog and Magog, to gather them for battle … And they marched up over the broad earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city; **but fire came down from heaven and consumed them.**	set your face toward Gog, of the land of Magog … and prophesy against him … But on that day, when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, says the Lord God, my wrath will be roused … **I will send fire on Magog and on those who dwell securely in the coastlands**.	μνημείοις]. O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!

Clothed in Ezekiel's drama, the first resurrection was projected as a shocking account of a mass grave of skeletons coming to life, because the Word of God was spoken to them: "Prophesy to these bones, and say" (Ezek 37:4). The most macabre aspect of Ezekiel's story was its gradual realization, so that, still short of life and mind, the bones and bodies for a brief moment in time existed as an army of undead, which, indeed, was horrific. The inner movie of heinous massacre, so to say, was played backward, until the shocking images passed away, for the dead "lived" (ἔζησαν, LXX). For certainly, the gloomy picture of the mass grave of cadavers told the story of a tormented people, whose existence and identity seemed finished, but whose case could not rest.

Ezekiel drew up apocalyptic pictures of a new temple for a people perplexed and vexed by utter desolation. They had lost their temple, their homeland, families, and their national hope, and yet, the prophet describes a new future. In a spatial concept of a new temple (not a blueprint[43]), eschatological dimensions were portrayed in which a new priesthood would be able to serve in Israel again.

As prophecy sought to sustain and nurture human imagination in such a way that new avenues were opened to cope with losses, devastation of life, and basic supplies, so apocalyptic pictures were key tools to not only break through the numbness of perpetrators, but also through the apathy of their victims.[44]

[43] Konstantin Stijkel, *Visualising the Vision: A Study of the Plan of Ezekiel's Temple* (PhD dissertation, Amsterdam: Protestant Theological University, 2021), 216–32, at 231.

[44] See Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination*, 40th Anniversary ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2018), 21–46, in particular at 41–44; Adela Yarbro Collins, "Katharsis: De kracht van apocalyptische taal in de Openbaring van Johannes," in *Visioenen aangaande het einde. Apocalyptische geschriften en bewegingen door de eeuwen*

So far, my analysis of the resurrection text in Rev 20 confirms its martyrological importance, as it envisages a new priesthood for the beginning of the eschatological sabbath, that is the day of the Lord. By using imagery from Ezekiel, Daniel, Isaiah, and Psalms, the author distillates a series of pictures, in which he emphasizes the judicial and restorative character of that day. Above all, the resurrection of the martyrs would initiate an event of vindication, and create a counter-reality vis-à-vis the real-life situation of the churches addressed in the book. In the final section, the historical background of this counter-reality is looked for.

6. Creating a Priestly Counter-Reality

As a matter of fact, the very interplay between martyrs, risen priests, the "camp of the saints," and "the beloved city" in Rev 20 makes these data hard to locate historically. After all, under the rule of Domitian persecution of Christians was neither extensive nor intensive. If the social context of Christians should be understood as a counter-reality, such as expressed in the Apocalypse, in which ordinary Christians, threatened and martyred by a hostile Hellenist-Roman environment, eventually will judge the world with Christ, then substantial evidence should be looked for in earlier decades.[45]

Indeed, as a counterimage of the ark of the covenant in the Jerusalem temple, the ark in the heavenly sanctuary (Rev 11:19) could not merely represent hypothetical space. In ancient times the spatial realm never consisted of mere neutral space, because both spheres, "here," and out "there," would always correspond. So, if the priestly liturgy was operative "there," it should somehow function "here" as well.[46] Consequently, even if the temple was destroyed by the time the Book of Revelation was written, it must have been written shortly afterwards, when some of the priestly work, despite the local disaster, was nonetheless continued.[47]

heen, ed. Jan Willem van Henten and Osger Mellink (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1998), 107–37, and also Jon Kenneth Newton, "The Epistemology of the Book of Revelation," *HeyJ* 59 (2018): 733–46.

[45] Peter Lampe, *New Testament Theology in a Secular World: A Constructivist Work in Philosophical Epistemology and Christian Apologetics* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 95–97.

[46] Cf. Henk Bakker, "'So On Earth': Liturgy From Heaven," in *Prayer and the Transformation of the Self in Early Christian Mystagogy*, ed. Hans van Loon, Giselle de Nie, Michiel Op de Coul, and Peter van Egmond, Late Antique History and Religion 18: The Mystagogy of the Church Fathers 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 41–60.

[47] Cf. 1 Clem. 41.2–3, and Diogn. 3.3–5.

During the years of war in CE 66–70, the priestly branch suffered significantly from the civil war between Jerusalem's peace party on the one side, and the Zealots (or zealotic parties) on the other side, in particular the parties of John of Gischala, Menachem ben Juda, Eleazar ben Simeon, Simon bar Giora, and the Edumaeans.[48] Obviously, Christian priests who were part of the Christian Church from its very beginning (see Acts 6:7), were also targeted while these partisans occupied the city, although some may have fled Jerusalem already in the winter of 67–68, and have taken shelter in Pella.[49]

When procurator Gessius Florus, by his own misconduct and greed, inflamed Jewish rage and resistance toward Roman dominion, priests and aristocrats (foremost Saduccees) initially settled for peace, attempts which failed miserably. Even the violent intervention of Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria, ran aground. Eventually, in order to keep credibility, the nobility, among whom chief priests, Sadducees, notable priests and Pharisees, were compelled to take sides against Rome. The pro-Roman population left Jerusalem, and all of the rest, "partly by force and partly by persuasion," was won to the rebels' side.[50] However, the Zealots, who meanwhile annexed various towns and fortifications, kept on pushing the limits. From then on, confrontation and disaster seemed inescapable.[51]

Subsequently, the Zealots and the Jerusalem peace party were driven apart, although the latter attempted to reorganize the country in order to

[48] See for a series of ominous events leading up to the war Josephus, *B.J.* 2.422–424 (425 on *sicarii*); 2.441 (killing of high-priest Ananias and his brother Ezechias); 2.529; 4.147 (brigands appointed their own high priests, and one of them was more of a "clown," who "scarcely knew what the high priesthood meant," 155); 4.204–207 (defence of the temple by Ananus and others); 4.305, 313, 314, 318 (Idumaeans marching to the Temple – 8500 dead, and in search for chief priests, Ananus killed); 4.348 ("civil war"); 4.578 (Simon attacking the Temple); 5.1 ("civil strife"); 5.15–17 (people killed while sacrificing). Menachem ben Juda was surnamed the Galilaean, and "the doctor" (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.433; cf. "like a veritable king" in 2.434, so, possibly he was later even referred to as Messiah in y Ber. 2:4, 16). Translations from *B.J.* follow Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. Henry St. John Thackeray, LCL 203 and 210 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989 and 1990).

[49] See for the so-called "flight to Pella" Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3,5,3; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 29,7,7–8; Josephus, *A.J.* 2.555–556; and P. H. R. van Houwelingen, ed., *Apostelen: dragers van een spraakmakend evangelie*, CNwT (Kampen: Kok, 2010), 120–25.

[50] Josephus, *B.J.* 2.556, 562.

[51] Both procurators, Lucceius Albinus (CE 62–64) and Gessius Florus (CE 64–66), were characterized by Josephus as sort of bandits, though Florus made Albinus by comparison "a paragon of virtue," *B.J.* 2.277. Cf. Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, vol. 1, rev. ed. by Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 485–508, and Hendrik Jagersma, *Geschiedenis van Israël, deel 2: Van Alexander de Grote tot Bar Kochba* (Kampen: Kok, 1985), 187–96, at 190.

defend its rights and civil status against Roman armies. Zealots put no trust in appointees like Josephus son of Matthias over Galilea, who was profoundly mistrusted by John of Gischala, a "reckless partisan" himself, says Schürer.[52] Ultimately, a malicious civil war broke out, which lasted from CE 67 to 68.[53]

Initially John of Gischala and Eleazar ben Simeon, the priestly leader of the Jerusalem Zealots, banded together and shared forces, so as to take full control over Jerusalem and the Temple Mount. However, when conflicts deepened, and Simon bar Giora entered the scene, three rival parties eventually held sway in the city, each one of which operated from their own quarters. John as well as Simon were addressed as tyrants. Simon was tagged the "second," and was acclaimed by his people as "saviour," "protector," and "master of Jerusalem."[54] John also was depicted as a tyrant, who confiscated a nearby palace to display himself as a ruler.[55] He captured the Temple Mount and the Castle of Antonia. Eleazar gained mastery over the inner court of the temple. Simon bar Giora, who was expelled from Idumea by Vespasian, occupied the upper city, and part of the lower city.[56]

According to Josephus, the civil strife finally agglomerated in a "triangular affair" (στάσιν ἀνακμάσασαν τριμερῆ γενέσθαι[57]), with three parties wrecking and defiling the city and its holy places. Worshippers were killed in the temple while sacrificing, an abomination which brought Josephus in his written account to the brink of collapsing, because he was appalled by this utter desacralization.[58]

During the strife it was permitted for those who wished to worship to go up and enter the Temple Mount, both "Jews and strangers," after a thorough search.[59] In doing so, worshippers ran the risk of being under attack from aggressors on either higher or lower places. Inasmuch as "going up" obviously implied a change of places, for example from John's

[52] Schürer hastens to add that John of Gischala's mistrust was, after all, not unjustified, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. 1, 490.

[53] Henry Wheeler Robinson, *The History of Israel: Its Facts and Factors*, 2nd ed. revised by Leonard H. Brockington, Studies in Theology 42 (London: Duckworth, 1964), 164.

[54] Josephus, *B.J.* 4.573–77.

[55] Josephus, *B.J.* 4.567–69.

[56] Cf. Jagersma, *Geschiedenis van Israël, deel 2*, 192, and Wheeler Robinson, *The History of Israel*, 165–66.

[57] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.2 and 105 (ἡ μὲν οὖν στάσις οὕτω τριμερὴς οὖσα πρότερον εἰς δύο μοίρας περιίσταται).

[58] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.15–20.

[59] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.15. The original text may read either "native Jews suspiciously and with precaution, strangers after a thorough search," or "native Jews after a suspicious and cautious search, strangers with less apprehension."

territory to Eleazar's, no visitor of the temple area was safe, so, many "casual victims" lost their lives on holy ground.[60] Moreover, they were killed by "quick-firers, catapults and stone-throwers," and fell before their sacrifices, sprinkling with "libations of their own blood that altar universally venerated by Greeks and barbarians," Josephus says.[61] Among the dead were natives, aliens, priests and laity, and "the blood of all manner of corpses formed pools in the courts of God," Josephus contends.[62]

He deeply deplores and laments the city's losses and agony, addressing Jerusalem as "thou" here. Indeed, she has become "a sepulchre for the bodies of her own children," and her sanctuary became a "charnel-house of civil war," turning the city into a desecrated area, which was to be "purged with fire" by the Romans, Josephus maintains. Before advancing the narrative of events, he expresses the hope that the city's fate might be turned around, if ever she may "propitiate" God's decision to leave her devastated (εἴγε ποτὲ τὸν πορθήσαντα θεὸν ἐξιλάσῃ).[63]

Not only was the temple profaned by sedition, strife and massacre, Josephus states, for John of Gischala, when he managed to take control of the temple, also committed sacrilege by melting down many of the temple offerings, vessels required for public worship, bowls, salvers and tables ("temple-robbery," Ἰωάννης … πρὸς ἱεροσυλίαν ἐτρέπετο). The sacred wine and oil, kept by the priests in the inner temple, he distributed to his men, who not only drank from the wine "without horror," but also anointed themselves with oil. Josephus, again, expresses his heartfelt indignation here, for due to these atrocities the whole generation, and its temple, were ruined.[64] Ultimately, though, the partisans prepared the Romans for an easy entry.[65]

Josephus's discourse, although considerably biased, could allow for an early origin of the Book of Revelation. Josephus notes that priests and laity, natives and aliens, were killed when the civil war was fought out

[60] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.14, 17 (ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἱερουργούντων ἀνῄρει … καὶ πολλοὶ σπεύσαντες … ἔπεσον αὐτοί).

[61] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.17.

[62] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.18.

[63] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.19–20. In the Maccabean tradition, too, a martyr's death may somehow purify the land and its people, see 4 Macc. 6,28–29 (καθάρσιον αὐτῶν ποίησον τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα καὶ ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν λαβὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν), 17,21–22 (καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καθαρισθῆναι ὥσπερ ἀντίψυχον γεγονότας ... καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν). Cf. 2 Macc. 7,37–38 (στῆσαι τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ὀργήν).

[64] Josephus, *B.J.* 5.562–66 (566: "these men's frenzy involved the whole people in their ruin," cf. 19: "for thou wert no longer God's place" (γὰρ οὔτε ἦς ἔτι χῶρος οὔτε μένειν ἐδύνασο).

[65] See for Titus speaking to John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora Josephus, *B.J.* 6.328: 'you, who, without bestowing a thought on our strength or your own weakness, have through inconsiderate fury and madness lost your people, your city, and your temple.'

on the Temple Mount. The altar was "sprinkled" with libations of their blood. The bloodshed was so extensive, that "pools" of blood stained the temple courts.[66] The gory details remarkably match the bloody descriptions in the Apocalypse. John noticed that the souls of the faithful, assassinated because of their faithfulness, were kept "under the altar." *In visio* he also witnessed how the temple square was defiled and profaned, how it was measured up, bloodstained by two beasts, even by a whore who drank the blood of her victims.[67]

The innocent dead in the Apocalypse were mainly part of a priestly remnant, vaguely depicted with the number of 144 thousand, who suffered and persevered, and who were resurrected without delay on the day of the Lord. Many of this remnant, the Jewish-Christian nucleus of Israel, had sided with James the Just, who was assassinated a couple of years before the outbreak of the sedition (CE 62). James's influence on the Jerusalem church, on Christian contribution regarding halachic and liturgic traditions in the city, and on the expected (eschatological) reform of the temple, cannot be overestimated. According to early Christian tradition James, more or less, enjoyed a priestly status.[68]

Jerusalem Christians may have expected to save and preserve the temple, if they managed to turn the tide, atone for the sins of Jerusalem by sharing and living Jesus's message of forgiveness in the very heart of the city. However, when in the course of the early sixties James was killed, and polarizations and antagonisms increased,[69] hope diminished, and Christians gradually prepared for leaving the city.[70] After all, James, like most Christians, shared pharisaic teachings, in that they were neither

[66] Rev 6:9 (after breaking the fifth seal), and Josephus, *B.J.* 5.17–18.

[67] Rev 11:1–2, 7–8; 13:1, 11; 17:1–6.

[68] See Josephus, *A.J.* 20.200–207, Hegesippus (and Clemens Alexandrinus) in Eusebius, *HE* 2.1–2, 22–23 (23,5–6 in particular: "he alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary … and he used to enter alone into the temple and be found kneeling and praying for the forgiveness for the people"), Acts 21:18, and Eusebius, *HE* 2.1.2. Cf. Richard Bauckham, "For What Offence Was James Put to Death?" in *James the Just and Christian Origins*, ed. Bruce D. Chilton and Craig A. Evans, NovTSup 98 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 199–232, at 206–18; Robert Eisenman, *Jakobus, der Bruder von Jesus. Der Schlüssel zum Geheimnis des Frühchristentums und der Qumran-Rollen* (München: Bertelsmann, 1998), 521–742, in particular 587–651.

[69] Josephus clearly connects James's death with the procuratorship of Albinus (CE 62–64) and the high priesthood of the Sadducee Ananias (Ananus II), both of whom Josephus speaks negatively, see *A.J.* 20.197–199, and *B.J.* 2.271–276 (however, in *B.J.* 4.319–325 Josephus speaks quite positively about Ananias). Cf. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. 1, 465, 468–70.

[70] Eusebius, *HE* 2.23.18. Cf. Rev 18:4, "Come out of her, my people, lest you take part in her sins, lest you share in her plagues."

lovers nor haters of temple-aristocracy.[71] In any case, the temple should be cleansed, and if this failed, as Josephus alleged, God's judgement should be accepted without complaint. For Jewish Christians, basically Jacobites, this was the Lord's Day, on which the temple would be done away with, and a counter-reality from heaven would materialize on the face of the earth.[72] In the Book of Hebrews, too, the readers ware summoned to focus on the heavenly temple and its liturgy, which still was symbol and model of the derived version on earth, which Moses had copied (παραβολή, Heb 9:9).[73]

7. Conclusion

In the face of civil war and loss (in particular CE 67–68), Jewish Christians in Jerusalem oriented themselves to the Jesus tradition as they understood it. Their expectations were foremost Christian-pharisaic in scope, merging with an apocalyptic touch of immediacy and urgency. They ardently believed in the resurrection of the dead, in particular of those who suffered for their faith. They differed from Jews who rejected the resurrection of the dead, such as Sadducees and others in noble ranking, and who put no trust in expectations of another world or an otherworldly temple.[74] For Jerusalem Christians such expectations were basically part

[71] Cf. S. Safrai, "Jewish Self-government," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, vol. 1, CRINT 1.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 377–419, in particular 400–01.

[72] Cf. Jas 5:9, "behold, the Judge is standing at the door," and see Arthur A. Kohen, "Resurrection of the Dead," in *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought: Original Essays on Critical Concepts, Movements, and Beliefs*, ed. Arthur A. Cohen and Paul Mendes-Flohr (New York: Scribner, 1987), 807–11.

[73] Possibly the book of Hebrews originated in the same circumstances as Revelation, namely in the decade leading up to the war with Rome. During the rule of Albinus and Ananias the city of Jerusalem became an unsafe place for priests, because Albinus was corrupt, and Ananias took the priestly tithes for himself, see *A.J.* 20.197–207 and *B.J.* 2.272–276. Albinus ordered his servants to go to the threshing floors of the priests, and force them to let go of their right (however, Josephus gives a very positive assessment of Ananias in *B.J.* 4.319–325, so he may not have been the instigator after all [yet the Latin reads "sed etiam alii pontifices" in *A.J.* 20.207, and Niese (ed. maior) reads οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς ὅμοια]). If they nonetheless refused, he had them arrested, maltreated, and even tormented. In the book of Hebrews, the priestly position is addressed, also the tradition of tithing, and of course persecution, social depravation, and backsliding (Heb 8:4; 7:2, 4, 6, 9; 10:11, 26–34; 13:2–7).

[74] Regarding eschatological expectations, and foremost resurrection of the dead, the Pharisees and Sadducees were deeply divided. See for example m. Sanh. 10,1, "And these are they who have no share in the world to come—he that says there is no resurrection of the dead laid down in the Law [הָאוֹמֵר אֵין תְּחִיַּת הַמֵּתִים מִן הַתּוֹרָה]," in Philip Blackman, *Mishnayoth*, vol. 4 (New York: Judaica Press, 1977), 285.

of their prophetic counter-reality, as they envisaged a new priesthood, a new heaven and a new earth. The awaited resurrection of the dead had no cause in itself, for the main purpose of the momentous event was to cleanse Israel, the nations, and all of God's creation, and to restore the priestly role of mankind in the world.

The first resurrection in Rev 20:5 demarcated John's priestly goal for the world, as it was the overture of a long sabbath of healing and restoration, so that ultimately evil could be dealt with. Renewal of the world takes time, the text assures, because evil, sin, and devastation should not be underestimated. For that reason, ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη pertains to the flesh as well, since physical reality, humiliated bodies, were involved. It needs a bodily resurrection to vindicate a martyr, John contends.

PART 3

BIBLICAL RECEPTION HISTORY AND THE CONTINUATION OF RESURRECTION THEOLOGY

"MARANATHA": EXPRESSION OF AN EXPECTATION OF THE FUTURE OR REMINDER OF AN IMPERATIVE PRESENCE? THE DIDACHE REREAD

Paul VAN GEEST

The relative brevity of this note is inversely proportional to the esteem in which I hold Riemer Roukema, the academically highly regarded and always encouraging professor to whom this Festschrift is dedicated. Rather, it can be traced back to an effort to succinctly expound an insight regarding the Aramaic expression recorded in *Didache* 10.6 in its transliterated form μαραναθα.[1]

1. Maranatha: Grammatical Aspects and Their Implications

Possibly μαραναθα is the earliest known prayer in Christianity.[2] Before it was used by the didachist it was used by Paul in 1 Cor 16:22 as well as by John in Rev 22:20. Since Paul quoted the phrase at an early date, it is likely that μαραναθα was winged among the earliest Christians long before any formal eucharistic liturgy existed. But it is equally possible that μαραναθα was already used in a eucharistic context as early as Paul's usage of the term in Corinthians.[3] Apart from the uniqueness of this expression, Hengel stressed above all that it must have been used in the liturgy.[4]

[1] In this contribution, the Greek text of the *Sources chrétiennes* is used: Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, ed., trans., *La doctrine des douze apôtres* (*Didachè*), SC 248bis (Paris: Cerf, 1998). The English versions by Michael W. Holmes, ed., trans., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2007) and Bart D. Ehrman, ed., trans., *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1, LCL 24 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003) are also used.

[2] Graydon F. Snyder, *Inculturation of the Jesus Tradition: The Impact of Jesus on Jewish and Roman Cultures* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1999), 217.

[3] Charles F. D. Moule, "A Reconsideration of the Context of Maranatha," *NTS* 8 (1959–1960): 307–10; also published in: Charles F. D. Moule, *Essays in New Testament Interpretation* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 222–26.

[4] Martin Hengel, "Abba, Maranatha, Hosanna und die Anfänge der Christologie," in *Denkwürdiges Geheimnis: Beiträge zur Gotteslehre: Festschrift für Eberhard Jüngel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingolf U. Dalferth, Johannes Fischer, and Hans-Peter Großhans

Conzelmann did not rule out the possibility that the expression could be interpreted both eucharistically and eschatologically, and that μαραναθα was originally an eschatological exclamation that in the course of time acquired a eucharistic meaning through its inclusion in the liturgy.[5] Thus, in μαραναθα there was an association with the second coming, which in turn was and is closely associated with the resurrection and final judgement ("...who will come to judge the living and the dead"). In any case, from the place where the expression is included in the Didache, it is undeniable that μαραναθα was prayed in the liturgy in the early second century, the birth time of the little work as we know it today.

That μαραναθα was not translated but transliterated provides evidence that the expression had an expressiveness early on as a reference to the Lord (*mār*: "lord") that became more intense than if the term had been translated and explained in Greek. Admittedly, there were differences of opinion as to who exactly was meant by "the Lord." Khomych believed that this referred to God the Father.[6] However, most studies emphasised that by "Lord" Paul meant Christ himself.[7] After all, the first Christian community remained connected to their exalted Lord who "nur äusserlich entzogen war"; they continued to pray to the Lord even when, inclusively, they generally prayed to the Father.[8]

Μαραναθα is composed of three Aramaic elements.[9] First, there is *m ār ān* (*a*), "Our Lord," from *mār*, "lord" and *-ān* (*a*), "our." Then there is (*ă*) *t ā'*. If this is read as *tā*, it is an imperative, expressing a wish: "come!" Reading μαράναθά as an imperative was substantiated by the assumption

(Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 145–83; esp. 161: "festen Platz im ältesten Gottesdienst"; 163: "Im Zusammenhang mit der Mahlfeier wäre auch an eine Bitte um die Gegenwart des Herrn <<im Geiste>> beim Mahl zu denken." See for the unicity of the formula: 150–61.

[5] Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1988), 300–1.

[6] Cf. Taras Khomych, "From Maranatha to Epiclesis? An Inquiry into the Origins of Spirit Invocations in Early Christianity," in *The Holy Spirit and the Church according to the New Testament*, ed. Predrag Dragutinović et al., WUNT 354 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 427–40, esp. 438.

[7] See Hengel, "Abba," 161 (christological meaning); and also Matthew Black, "The Maranatha Invocation and Jude 14,15 (1 Enoch 1:9)," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 189–96; and Siegfried Schulz, "Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus," *ZNW* 53 (1962): 125–44, esp. 126–27.

[8] Hengel, "Abba," 170.

[9] See Andrew Messmer, "*Maranatha* (1 Corinthians 16:22): Reconstruction and Translation Based on Western Middle Aramaic," *JBL* 139 (2020): 361–83, esp. 368–73.

that the Greek ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ ("Come, Lord Jesus!," Rev 22:20) is a Greek translation of Aramaic μαράνα θά. Understood this way, the expression mainly expressed the hope for Christ's return on the Last Day.[10] While acknowledging that grammatically there are other possibilities, Matthew Black tends to assume, for example, on the basis of 1 Enoch 1:9, a connection with the παρουσία.[11] But if this second part of the word is understood as *ăt ā*, then it can be read as a perfectum and expresses that the Lord "has come." The fact that in 1 Cor 16:22 μαραναθα immediately follows a curse ("If any man does not love the Lord, let him be anathema. Maranatha. The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you") prompted church fathers like John Chrysostom, Ambrosiaster, Theodoret of Cyrus and Jerome to assume that a perfectum was implied.[12] Interpreted as part of a curse formula, μαραναθα would mean that the Lord has come and has already ascended to his throne (cf. Dan 7:13), rendering him better capable of making the curse effective.[13] Scholars like Moule, however, assumed that anathema as curse formula and μαραναθα as plea formed a unity with Paul. The plea in this context entailed a wish for the Lord to come as judge and act on the curse.[14] Thus understood, the exclamation and the prayer are at the same time a reminder of faith in the Lord's return, which is closely linked to his final judgement and the resurrection of the dead connected with it, as expressed most strikingly by Paul in 1 Cor 15.

[10] For the eschatological interpretation, see Khomych, "From Maranatha," 439: "future oriented," 440: "clearly eschatological orientation"; Moule, "A Reconsideration," 308–9: "formulae were directed primarily at any rate towards this expectation," 309: "maranatha meant: 'the Lord may come soon'"; Larry J. Kreitzer, "Eschatology," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), 260: "Maranatha is a prayer, uttered within a liturgical context, that may call for the future Parousia of the Lord. The parallel in Revelation 22:20 would support such an interpretation"; and Sarel J. P. Slabbert, "Μαράνα θά as a hermeneutical key for reinterpreting the Imprecatory Psalms" (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2018), 233: "The desire expressed by ἀνάθεμα maranatha echoes the psalmists' desire for justice. For Christians the realization of justice will be experienced when the Lord returns, which are also indicated as the Day of Judgment (see Matt 10:14–15)." See also 237, 238.

[11] Black, "Maranatha Invocation," 195.

[12] See Messmer, "Maranatha," esp. 362–63 and 382: "In conclusion, the linguistic data from WMA (Western Middle Aramaic, PvG) argue in favor of *maranatha* meaning 'our Lord has come.'" For the interpretation developed by Thomas Aquinas, Paul of Burgos and authors from the seventeenth century onwards: 363–7.

[13] Cf. Walter Dunphy, "Maranatha Development in Early Christology," *ITQ* 37 (1970): 294–308 (294: summary state of research on past tense, future tense of "Maranatha"; references to John Chrysostom).

[14] Moule, "A Reconsideration," 306–9.

Both ways of reading are grammatically possible.[15] If the imperative way of reading is accepted, whereby this expression is understood as an invocation, it becomes eschatological and fits perfectly with other allusions to parousia in 1 Corinthians (4:5; 5:5; 11:26; 15:23). And when μαρανα θα is understood as referring to a past event, it intensifies awareness of God's incarnation.[16]

Based mainly on reading Paul, a third possibility was suggested which was in line with the second. This way of reading was considered justifiable from the assumption that μαρανα θα, possibly already with Paul and certainly in the Didache, was prayed in a liturgical setting. Taking into account the liturgical context, μαρανα θα was understood as invocation of and at the same time referring to the Lords presence (Conzelmann, Hengel, Vild), without ruling out an appeal to a heavenly judge to warn unworthy participants in the eucharist (Wainwright).[17] The expression μαρανα θα then implies an intensification of the awareness of Christ's presence in the community engaged in a eucharistic meal.[18]

One of Riemer Roukema's fields of research has been the future expectations of early Christians; eschatology has always had his attention. That is why I have chosen to comment in this paper on the interpretation of μαρανα θα, as the term was used in the Didache. Is an expectation of the future being expressed here? After all, in the Didache, the resurrection is recalled at the end, albeit briefly. Or is it rather expressing the presence of Jesus above all? By interpreting μαρανα θα first in its wider context and then in its immediate context, in which the wider context is condensed, I believe a new layer of meaning can be discerned in the expression. Leading in my reading was Dunphy's remark that "while one can hold that its use [in the Didache] is in a eucharistic setting, this does not necessarily prove that is has a eucharistic meaning." "Words can take on very different connotations in differing situations, and with the passage of time the same word will develop in meaning as the reality itself or our understanding of this reality, develops."[19]

[15] See John A. Emerton, "Maranatha and Ephphatha," *JTS* 18 (1967): 427–31 (427: "non conclusive"); Dunphy, "Maranatha Development," 294–308; Schulz, "Maranatha," 125. Cf. also Hengel, "Abba," 162–63; Black, "Maranatha Invocation," 189–96 (emphasises versatility of verse).

[16] Marian Vild, "The Aramaic maranatha in 1 Cor 16:22. Translation Queries and Their Theological Implications," *Text Şi Discurs Religios* 5 (2013): 97–108.

[17] Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 300; Hengel, "Abba," 161; G. Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2003), 86.

[18] Vild, "Aramaic maranatha," 102.

[19] Dunphy, "Maranatha Development," 296.

2. The Didache

Even though Eusebius tried to deny this in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (1.2–3), Judaism was relevant to early Christianity. Taylor in particular convincingly showed that Harnack, Simon, and Feldman had assumed too much of a parting of the ways between Jews and Christians.[20] The Didache also reveals that Judaism contributed substantially to the development of one of the first Christian codes of conduct in which, according to good Jewish practice, only two options were presented: a way of life and a way of death (Did. 1). These options determine the basic structure of the Didache, as we will see below. The small tract is one of the oldest irrefutable proofs of the existence of a Judeo-Christian tradition. The summary of the Law in Matt 22:34–40 and Didache 2, and its further elaborations in Didache 1 and 3, constitute the age-old evidence that in the earliest Christianity an arrangement of life was advocated that was grafted onto the Jewish one.

Several church fathers had spoken about the little work.[21] But as it was untraceable, the Didache was long thought lost. Metropolitan Philotheos Bryennios discovered it in 1873 in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople. He published the *editio princeps* in 1883.[22] Since then, many questions have arisen about its genesis, authorship, title, and time

[20] Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs Buchhandlung, 1906), 5–23; 48–79; 220–39; Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 342–416; Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations Between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire, AD 135–425*, trans. Henry McKeating (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1996; French, second edition: Paris: de Boccard, 1964), 167–75, 316–55; Miriam S. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus*, StPB 46 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 10–20; passim ("parting of the ways"). Cf. also Elisabeth Boddens Hosang, *Establishing Boundaries: Christian-Jewish Relations in Early Council Texts and the Writings of Church Fathers*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 167–76. Through a meticulous analysis of the interdictions regarding the relations of Jews and Christians contained in the canons of the Council of Elvira, of Laodicea and in other important documents from the fourth to the sixth century, she discovered that contacts between Jews and Christians were still very close well into the sixth century.

[21] Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.4, 20, 100; Pseudo-Cyprian, *Adversus aleatores* 4 reminds of Didache 4.14, 14.2, 15.3. See also *Canones Ecclesiastici Apostolorum* (ca. 300 CE) 7, 1–32 (extension of *Didache* 7), Rufinus, *Symb.* 38; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.4.

[22] The manuscript is currently kept in the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem under the signature *Codex Hierosolymitanus* 54. For descriptions of other manuscripts in which the Didache has been partially transmitted, see Rordorf and Tuilier, "Introduction," SC 248bis.

of creation, to which no conclusive answers can be given yet.[23] Over the years, doubts grew as to whether the Didache could be attributed to a specific author. Scholars became increasingly convinced that the Didache was shaped in a process of writing, scraping, adding, rewriting and editing in which, apart from the Jewish, various early Christian traditions also left their traces. In conjunction with this assumption the insight developed that the redaction of the Didache found by Bryennios was by no means the definitive one. Rather, it was to be regarded as a dynamic and "open" text, in which adjustments and rewritings were made as the need arose in a community for more clarity on issues such as order of life, liturgy, and organisation than was given in the previous redaction.[24]

3. The Structure of the Didache

The Didache is divided into three parts. The first part introduces the "Two-Way Doctrine/Teaching" (1.1–6.3), the liturgical texts form the second part (7.1–10.7), and the third part describes the "ministers" and their job requirements (11–15). In the brief conclusion (16), the last days are outlined, in which love will turn to hate and lawlessness will lead to hatred and betrayal but after which the Lord, at an unknown hour, will return with all his saints. Heaven will open after the resurrection of the dead and the final judgement takes place.

The first section, which reads like a code of conduct, outlines "two paths": "one of life and one of death". In the Didache, these paths are not considered from the perspective of a cosmic struggle between light and

[23] A historiography is included in Jonathan Draper, ed., *The Didache in Modern Research*, AGJU 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1–42. For the sources and the milieu in which the Didache was written: Huub van de Sandt, "Two Windows on a Developing Jewish-Christian Reproof Practice: Matt 18:15–17 and *Did.* 15:3," in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?*, ed. Huub van de Sandt (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 173–92; id., "Law and Ethics in Matthew's Antitheses and James's Letter: A Reorientation of Halakah in Line with the Jewish Two Ways 3:1–6," in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in their Jewish and Christian Settings*, ed. Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen K. Zangenberg, SymS 45 (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 315–38; id., "Essentials of Ethics in Matthew and the *Didache*: A Comparison at a Conceptual and Practical Level," in *Early Christian Ethics in Interaction with Jewish and Greco-Roman Contexts*, ed. Jan Willem van Henten and Joseph Verheyden, Studies in Theology and Religion 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 243–61. For some indebtedness to the paulinic school, see Peter J. Tomson, "Paul's Practical Instruction in 1 Thess 4:1–12 Read in a Hellenistic and Jewish Perspective," in *Not in the Word Alone: The First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, ed. Morna D. Hooker, Monographic Series of Benedictina: Biblical-Ecumenical Section 15 (Rome: Benedictina Publishing, 2003), 89–130, esp. 120–24.

[24] Jürgen K. Zangenberg, "Reconstructing the Social and Religious Milieu of the Didache: Observations and Possible Results," in Van de Sandt and Zangenberg, *Matthew, James, and Didache*, 43–69.

dark as Gnostics would later do. The reader is placed before a fundamental life choice which is to become concrete in loving God, then one's neighbour, and finally in adhering to the Golden Rule: "Everything you don't want to happen to you, don't do the same to another" (Did. 1.2). Matthew also included this Golden Rule as a summary of the Law (Matt 7:12). Here the didachist and Matthew differ in nothing from the way in which certain ethical movements in Judaism sought perfection by loving God and one's neighbour through observance of the Torah (cf. Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18). It is therefore likely that these works originated in the same "milieu".[25] A subtle difference, however, is that the Didache explicitly explains that not only love is required but also hatred of one's neighbour is condemned (Did. 2; cf. 1 and 16).[26] The forces opposed to love are brought up in the Didache much more confrontationally than in the Gospel of Matthew.

In the so-called *sectio evangelica* (Did. 1.3b–2.1) passages from the gospels of Matthew and Luke resonate, in which certain phrases can be traced back to the so-called "Jesus tradition": words that stem from sayings and thoughts of Jesus himself, for instance about turning the left cheek when one has been slapped on the right (Did. 1.1; Luke 6:30; etc.). It is striking that themes elaborated in Christianity by Paul or John, such as the resurrection, are hardly dealt with in the Didache. In this first part, the didachist shows himself to be down to earth and his directives aim at an awareness of concrete behaviour.

The second, liturgical part (Did. 7.1–10.7), deals with the rituals of baptism, fasting, personal prayer, and eucharist: activities in which the identity of both the individual Christian and the Christian community is consolidated. The order of the first two sections is significant. Life as a Christian is preceded by the choice to do good and to refrain from evil. It is not the other way around. Quite possibly, this order reflects an emergent practice in which the doctrine of the Two Ways was taught during the instruction of future Christians before their baptism. The directives concerning fasting (8.1) and prayer (8.2) can be traced, as in Matt 6:5–18, to Jewish practices. Additional evidence for this is that the Didache also mentions the third, related, Jewish custom of almsgiving (Did. 15; cf. 1, and Matt 6:1–18). [27] Didache 7 indicates that the conjunction of fasting and receiving baptism is an early Christian practice.

[25] Matthias Konradt, "The Love Command in Matthew, James, and the Didache," in Van de Sandt and Zangenberg, *Matthew, James, and Didache*, 271–88, esp. 286–87.

[26] Jewish texts written in Greek also condemn this hatred; see Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, "Introduction," 29.

[27] Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, CRINT 3/5 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2002), 16–24.

The thanksgivings expressed over the bread and wine in chapters 9 and 10 are indebted in form and content to Jewish meal prayers.[28] However, being baptised appears to be a requirement for participation in the eucharistic meal (Did. 9). God is recalled as Father and almighty Creator and as Giver of the bread and wine required at the meal. Moreover, God is given thanks for the life and knowledge mediated by Jesus. God as Lord is also asked to preserve his church – a place of salvation where one finds life, knowledge, faith, and immortality – from all evil and to perfect it in his love (Did. 9; 10). Christian in the prayers, however, is that Jesus is called there four times God's Child (παιδός; Did. 9, 10) through whom the meal community came to know God (Did. 9). Since David is also called "child" it is evident that Christ must be associated with the mighty King David. It is striking that the meal prayers of the Didache do not in any way recall Jesus as Messiah nor his death and resurrection. Nevertheless, this does not say everything. Μαραναθα is expressed in a liturgical context, in which it is very likely that the presence of the Lord here and now is assumed. But it does not therefore have to be ruled out, given the concluding section of the Didache and the way Paul connects the short prayer with the utterance of *anathema*, that faith in Christ as Judge and in the resurrection resonates and is evoked in it as well.

The third and final part of the Didache (11–15) offers insight into the ministries that developed in the earliest Christian communities: the ministries of apostle, prophet, teacher (11–13), bishop, and deacon (15).[29] It is notable that the didachist considers members of a community incompetent to judge the teaching of the prophet accurately. But when the prophet's integrity and authenticity are to be estimated, he does consider them competent. As in the Gospel of Matthew and the Shepherd of Hermas, the Didache shows that in the earliest church the community itself was allowed to see to it that ministers carefully observed the Christian "codes of conduct" (cf. Did. 11; Matt 7:5; Herm. Mand. 11.7). The more important the ministry was considered, the more critically the community was allowed to question the minister about the sincerity of his motives and attitude to life. To prevent claptrap among itinerant (false) prophets, for example, the didachist argues that the community may and can limit hospitality.

[28] Rordorf and Tuilier, "Introduction," 43.

[29] For the ministries of teacher, emissary (apostle), and prophet, see Ulrich Neymeyr, *Die christlichen Lehrer im* zweiten *Jahrhundert: Ihre Lehrtätigkeit, ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Geschichte*, Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 9–200. The *Didache alludes to* an already well-established system in Jewish and non-Jewish Messianic communities of overseers and administrators.

Apostles and prophets may stay for a maximum of three days; the prophet may stay longer when he is capable of providing his own livelihood (Did. 13). Prophets may not ask for food or money in return for services rendered; services must be performed *pro bono*/*Deo* (11; 12). Failure to do so should be a reason for the community to doubt the integrity and authenticity of the prophet (11). The didachist thus demands of the community a realism bordering on suspicion in order to adequately assess the prophet's authenticity as a Christian.

Thus, in the spirit of the Jewish Decalogue (cf. Did. 2), the didachist includes in the first and third parts only directives that concern the purity of intentions and motives underlying actions of the prophets and ordinary members of the community. Since the author states that one who is not holy must do penance (Did. 10), it is obvious that the author's conception of holiness is not a cultic but an existential one. Holiness is acquired by doing good and refraining from evil. The passage stating that the offerings of bread and wine referring to God, the almighty Creator, are pure only when they are made by people who have confessed their sins and settled disputes, also provides evidence of the didachist's striving for a community in which members live according to the guidelines of the first way, the way of life (Did. 14). Worthy participation in the eucharist requires existential reconciliation and mutual forgiveness (cf. Mark 11:25; 1 Cor 11:27–33).

The concluding section, which is very short compared to the other parts, includes a warning to remain vigilant because the hour of the Lord's return is unknown. To this end, the didachist urges to meet regularly and, in sparse but penetrating lines, outlines an ominous scenario that will unfold just before the coming of the Lord and his saints on the last day (Did. 16). In this exhortation the exhortations to vigilance of the first to third parts of the Didache culminate. Despite the intrusiveness of the language, however, the textual relation between the first three parts and the short fourth part indicates that the author's deepest intention seems to be to exhort the community above all to vigilance with regard to individual and communal life here and now; to vigilance in judging their leaders; to vigilance with regard to their own attitude to life and inner motives.

Particularly since in the first three parts the Didache does not in any way refer to Jesus as Messiah, nor to his death or resurrection, the eschatological perspective outlined in the final part seems somewhat detached from the other parts. But this does not take away from the fact that the code of conduct (part 1), the liturgical instructions and prayers (part 2), and the organisational recommendations (part 3) are placed in the perspective of

the extremes in which the chaos – created by the change from love to hatred – precedes the separation of the good from the bad, the Lord's return, his Judgement, the opening of heaven, and the resurrection of the dead. Vigilance in the here and now is thereby additionally motivated. Even though μαραναθα was uttered in a liturgical context in which the presence of the Lord here and now was evoked, and even though therefore the expression in the Didache is concerned with life here and now, the apocalyptic conclusion does not exclude the possibility that, almost retroactively, in the Didache and perhaps more often in the earliest church, in praying μαραναθα during the liturgy the memory of the Lord's return was kept alive as well.

4. The Concentration of the Main Lines of the Didache in the Immediate Context of μαραναθα

The expression μαραναθα in Didache 10.6 forms an initial endorsement of two exclamations that precede it. The "amen" that follows seems to reaffirm both exclamations together with the statement expressed in μαραναθα:

> If anyone is holy, let him come forth.
> If anyone is not holy, let him repent.
> Maranatha.
> Amen.[30]

The first exclamation thus contains an invitation formulated as an exhortation to the "saints" to participate in the eucharistic meal. The second is an exhortation for the "non-saints" to develop repentance and do penance. The latter seems to imply that a repentant heart and willingness to do penance for committed sins is a precondition for participation in the eucharistic meal. It thus also implies a further definition of the didachist's understanding of holiness. Not too much explanation of the criteria that apply to participation in the eucharist is given by the didachist: it would only undermine the confrontational nature of his presentation of the two mutually exclusive dispositions of holiness and non-holiness. Just as right at the beginning of the Didache, the author now also intends to confront the reader with "only" two possibilities. The life in which the dignity required to participate in the eucharistic meal is attained is an extension

[30] Did. 10.6: Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· Εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· Μαραναθά· Ἀμήν. (SC 248bis, 180/182). The English translation is as in both Holmes and Ehrman, who translate these lines identically.

of the path of life outlined in Didache 1.1. The life in which a person proves himself unworthy of participation is an extension of the path of death.

5. A New Accent?

The invitation and warning that immediately precede μαραναθα in the context of participation in the eucharistic meal thus encapsulate the two fundamental life options with which the didachist, contrasting things in semitic and Paulinian manner, as in a fugal overture, opens his treatise. Just before the description of the liturgy of the eucharistic meal, the two options are once again summarised in a penetrating way. It seems to me that this confluence is decisive for the interpretation of μαραναθα in Didache 10.5–6.

It can be read grammatically, as mentioned, as a wish for the future. And, as mentioned as well, even if μαραναθα was uttered in a liturgical context, evoking the presence of the Lord in this world, the possibility cannot be ruled out, due to the apocalyptic conclusion of the Didache, that in praying μαραναθα the memory of the Lord's return was kept alive as well. In that case the expression would form a prelude to the fourth, eschatological part and be in line with other allusions to the parousia in 1 Corinthians (4:5; 5:5; 11:26; 15:23).

On the other hand, it can also be read as perfectum. Without diminishing the value or power of the eschatological interpretation – even though paradoxically this eschatological interpretation is not the focus of the didachist – the emphasis is then the reality of the incarnation.

In the light of the basic structure of the Didache and the immediate context of μαραναθα, in which this basic structure is briefly and intensely recalled, I argue for a reading of μαραναθα as a simple past tense for four reasons – a reading that is in line with the reading as a perfectum (*ăt ā*), which expresses that the Lord "has come".

First, in Aramaic it is possible for a perfectum with a clear reference to a past event to "invade" and determine the present.[31] Thus, the perfectum has repercussions in the present. Assuming that the didachist was aware of the possibilities contained in the Aramaic formula, given the liturgical setting in which μαραναθα was used in the Didache, it is more obvious that the author had such a perfectum in mind rather than an imperative.

[31] Holger Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt, Modalität im Reichsaramäischen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 163–4.

This all the more so, secondly, because just before μαραναθα the basic structure of the first part is condensed: the code of conduct for good living in the here and now. Beyond the grammatical possibility, the broad and immediate context in which μαραναθα is used suggests that the didachist had in mind a moment of evaluation *coram Deo* in the here and now, rather than a self-evaluation in the light of the last days.

Indeed, before the concluding section, thirdly and as mentioned above, the didachist did not in any way recall Jesus as Messiah or his death, resurrection, or second coming. The directives in the first to third sections all relate to a good lifestyle, a good prayer life, and good leaders in the present. The *caesura* between the first to third sections on the one hand and the fourth section on the other is therefore significant, so significant that it is less likely that μαραναθα can be understood as a prelude to the final section.

Fourth. Augustine once made the distinction between the *timor servilis* and the *timor castus* (*amor castus*). The first form of fear is that of a servant who fears punishment from his master or, knowing he has fallen short, the impending judgement. His own fate is thus central here. The one who is possessed by the *timor castus*, on the other hand, guards against committing sins out of love for the one he would otherwise distress. Of course, there is no telling what form of fear would be implied in μαραναθα, although the directives in favour of the way of life and the criteria by which church leaders are to be judged imply sober realism rather than fear of punishment imputed by a severely judging God. Also from this perspective, μαραναθα seems to consolidate a relationship with Christ in the present, especially in the eucharistic meal celebration where the community is mindful of him, rather than to refer to the future.

Thus, that the choice of reading μαραναθα as perfectum due to its immediate context in the Didache has good grounds is evident. In μαραναθα as used in the Didache, the engagement with life here and now and the presence of the Lord in the eucharistic meal resonates strongly. But choosing this reading alone does injustice to the layeredness in this prayer, which may be assumed for grammatical reasons. Given the concluding fourth section and in light of the way Paul connects the short prayer with the utterance of *anathema*, it is certainly not out of the question that faith in Christ as Judge and in the resurrection also resonates and is evoked. Even if μαραναθα is not used in the reference to the last judgement and resurrection at the conclusion of the Didache: the options in life are, after all, ultimately placed in the perspective of the extremes. That sheds light on μαραναθα as well, both in the Didache and, perhaps more often, in the early church.

Vild's suggestion to transliterate μαραναθα as a single word is therefore very valuable. After all, the word, the prayer, may have had different functions in many kinds of contexts. Thus no break occurs between the eschatological perspective and the perspective of the Lord's presence in history.[32] Given the function that the perfectum may have in Aramaic, the ground structure of the first part of the Didache, and its condensation in the contrasting expressions preceding μαραναθα, and also given the absence of words on the parousia in the first three parts, the liturgical context, and the down-to-earth realism in the guidelines for a Christ-worthy life, μαραναθα seems above all a reference to an event in the past that 'invades' the present.

But this does not detract from the fact that the eschatological "reportage journalism" contributes to the intensification of a vigilance in order not to lose, in personal life, the dignity required to participate in the eucharistic meal here and now and to consolidate in this meal the relationship with Christ. That the *ductus* of the Didache colours also μαραναθα eschatologically – even if not predominantly but slightly – is then not too much to assume.

[32] Vild, "Aramaic maranatha," 107.

AMBROSE'S *DE EXCESSU FRATRIS*: CREATING COMMUNITY AND INCLUDING NON-CHRISTIANS INTO THE CORE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION BY THE USE OF 4 EZRA, CICERO, AND ATHENAGORAS

Metha Hokke

While the emperor had died on the battlefield and the empire was in turmoil, a man lost his brother. This would have been an unremarkable fact, were it not that this man was Ambrose, the bishop of the imperial residence Milan. The year is 378 and it was emperor Valens who had fallen defending the empire against invading Goths at the battle of Adrianople. Ambrose had been bishop since 374 and he was still establishing his authority and strengthening the unity within his ecclesiastical community. Whereas Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine claim their mothers played a major part in their decision to become a priest, Ambrose bases his episcopal authority on his affiliation with his elder siblings Marcellina and Satyrus.[1] His sister Marcellina, consecrated some fifteen year earlier in Rome, exemplified the virtue of virginity in his first treatise *De Virginibus* (*Virg*.).[2] A year later (378), his brother Satyrus died. The public

[1] Ambrose does not make any mention of his parents in his oeuvre. Ambrose's father, prefect of the Gauls, died disgracefully a year after Ambrose's birth (Trier, 339), having taken sides against the winning emperor Constans I. Luigi Franco Pizzolato, "L'enigma del padre di sant' Ambrogio," *Aev* 88.1 (2014): 137–66. Ambrose's mother might have provided the family properties, after those of Ambrose's father had been confiscated. She might be the link to the Roman Symmachus family. But, a possible remarriage after Marcellina's veiling would have diminished Ambrose's ascetical prestige. Ariane Bodin, "A new approach to Ambrose of Milan's kinship," in *Episcopal Networks in Late Antiquity: Connection and Communication Across Boundaries*, ed. Carmen Angela Cvetkovic and Peter Gemeinhardt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 43–62. The patronage of the Christian prefect Petronius Probus for the career of Satyrus and Ambrose within the imperial bureaucracy was influenced by the esteem for Marcellina's consecrated virginity his wife had. Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), 38–39.

[2] In *Virg*. 1.5.20 Ambrose refers to the fatherland and parents as the traditional topics of a laudation, but the one lauded is not Marcellina, but the virtue virginity.

speeches[3] Ambrose gave during Satyrus's burial and a week later at the memorial celebration near the grave, he reworked to the treatise in two parts *De Excessu Fratris* (*Exc*.) (378).[4] Ambrose's *Exc*. is the first Christian consolation oration known from Latin Late Antiquity.[5] It is rooted in the classical tradition, such as has been passed on and structured by the Greek rhetor Menander (second half third century CE, Athens).[6] Ambrose and his brother were public figures in the still predominantly pagan city of Milan. Until Ambrose became bishop in his mid-thirties, he had pursued a worldly career and became, simultaneously with Satyrus, provincial governor.[7] *Exc*. 1 testifies of Ambrose's thorough classical education. Influences of philosophical treatises by Cicero, Seneca, and Apuleius, but also poetic epicedia by Vergil, Ovid, and Statius have been traced.[8] Both Ambrose and his audience, Christian and pagan alike, had had a classical

[3] Ambrose refers to his speech as an "oratio" (*Exc*. 1.78), but when he expands on the divine and human nature of Christ, he calls his speech a "sermo" (1.14). Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, "Ultimum coram populo vale dico. Fragen an die erste Leichenrede des Bischof Ambrosius von Mailand," in *Grabrituale – Tod und Jenseits in Frühgeschichte und Altertum*, ed. Gerhard Thür (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 2014), 173–90, 186–87.

[4] I used the Latin text of Otto Faller, ed., *Sancti Ambrosii Opera, Ps. XII, Explanatio Symboli, De Sacramentis, De Mysteriis, De Paenitentia, De Excessu Fratris*, *De Obitu Valentiniani, De Obitu Theodosii*, CSEL 73.7 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1955), 207–325. During my research appeared Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, ed., *Ambrosius Mediolanensis Orationes Funebres II De Excessu Fratris Libri II*, CSEL 107 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), which I did not use. The English translation of *Exc*. used: Leo P. McCauley et al., trans., *Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose*, FC 22 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1968), 159–259.

[5] Zimmerl-Panagl, "Ultimum," 174.

[6] Joachim Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede in ihrer Tradition dargestellt, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 57 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1974), 128–53.

[7] McLynn, *Ambrose*, 39 (Satyrus, n. 144: simultaneous provincial governor with Ambrose, based on *Exc*. 1.25), 42–43 (Ambrose).

[8] Savon represents the perspective of the secularly educated Ambrose, quoting poetic epicedia. Hervé Savon, "La première oraison funèbre de Saint Ambroise (*De Excessu Fratris* I) et les deux sources de la consolation chrétienne," *Revue des Études Latines* 58 (1980): 370–402. Pierre Courcelle, "De Platon à St. Ambroise par Apulée. Parallèles textuels entre le *Exc.Frat*. et le *De Platone*," *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes* 35 (1961): 15–28. Goulven Madec, *St. Ambroise et la Philosophie* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1974). Jean Doignon, "Lactance intermédiaire entre Ambroise de Milan et la consolation de Cicéron?," *Revue des Études Latines* 51 (1973): 208–219. Yves-Marie Duval, "Formes profanes et formes bibliques dans les oraisons funèbres de saint Ambroise," in *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'antiquité tardive en occident*, ed. Alan Cameron (Genève: Hardt, 1977), 235–301. Marie-Pierre Labrique, "Ambroise de Milan et Sénèque: à propos du *De Excessu Fratris II*," *Latomus* 50.2 (1991): 409–18. Michaela Zelzer, "Ambrosius von Milan und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition," *Wiener Studien* 100 (1987): 201–26.

education. Ambrose constructs a rational and moral argument about the perceptions of death Christians and pagans share or disagree on. He develops his argument towards the Christian resolution of faith in resurrection. But, I shall demonstrate that conversion, as mentioned by Durner, is not the sole aim Ambrose had in mind.[9]

Satyrus is portrayed as exemplary in many senses: a virtuous Roman aristocratic gentleman, a family man, and a Christian martyr. Although especially the first oration seems to be a personal expression of a brother's grief, it is clear from the very beginning that Ambrose speaks as a bishop.[10] Ambrose universalizes the mourning for his brother, so that in Satyrus' death his audience could mourn its own dead and the mortal human condition. In this process, he gradually coaxes the non-Christian part of his audience to understand or accept his ecclesiastical view on life after death. While Christian and non-Christian conceptions of human mortality are depicted as not that far apart, halfway in the second oration, Ambrose explicitly offers the Christian undoing of the pagan views in the reward of individual resurrection, if one belongs to the Church. Ambrose builds up his ecclesiastical community by formulating the faith in resurrection as its core doctrine and demarcating criterion.

In this article I want to discuss how Ambrose's argument in *Exc*. works both ways, to make the Christian doctrine of resurrection palatable for his non-Christian audience and to constitute this doctrine as fundamental for the Church, by discussing a selection of three sources which I consider stepping stones for his argument. These sources structure this article and follow the chronology of Ambrose's discourse: firstly 4 Ezra 10, followed by Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, book one (*Tusc*. 1), and finally Athenagoras, *De resurrectione* (*Res*.). With regard to 4 Ezra[11] I

[9] Florian Durner, *Die Trostschriften des Ambrosius von Mailand. Consolatio Mortis im Denken der Spätantike*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 126 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 17, 24–25, 27, 125, 136, 147, 164, 168, 172–73, 180–82. Durner does not treat the three texts I studied here.

[10] Two observations by McLynn, *Ambrose*, 73–74 are relevant. Ambrose visualizes Satyrus not only as a brother in his own right, but more so in relation to Ambrose's episcopate. In *Exc*. 1.1–2 Ambrose presents himself as bearing "personally the sufferings of his whole people" in Satyrus's death.

[11] Michael Edward Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, in *Hermeneia – A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990). Albertus Frederik Johannes Klijn, *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Ezra* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983); idem, *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra) Nach dem lateinischen Text unter Benutzung der anderen Versionen übersetzt und herausgegeben* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1992). Ambrose regards 4 Ezra as part of the biblical canon (*Exc*. 1.65–66; 68–69). Karina Martin Hogan, "The Preservation of 4 Ezra in the Vulgate: Thanks to Ambrose, Not Jerome," in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch, Reconstruction after the*

shall argue that Ambrose chose 4 Ezra 10 about the resurrection of the community (quoted in *Exc*. 1.64–71), instead of 4 Ezra 7 with its description of personal post-mortal destiny and eschatological events, to bring about the transformation of private to communal grief, to instil his message of the faith in resurrection in his audience and to create a sense of community.

Cicero's *Tusc*. 1[12] (45 BCE) is a repository of views on death held by his predecessors and so is a good start to study the classical influence in *Exc*. It is considered to be close to another of Cicero's treatises, now lost, in which he tries to comfort himself with the death of his daughter Tullia.[13]

Finally, Ambrose refutes the pagan idea of metempsychosis and argues the rationality of physical resurrection as a first step to faith. Ambrose's defence of the reconstruction of the human being as to soul and body at the resurrection based on the principal virtue of justice and as in accordance to God's will at creation, has been traced back to Athenagoras's *Res*.[14]

1. 4 Ezra 10 (*Exc.* 1.64–71): The Bishop's Personal Sorrow Transferred to the Community

Ambrose finishes a long, personal laudation of his brother with a citation from 4 Ezra 10:11: "private grief should cease in time of public mourning,"[15] the beginning of an interpretation of the imagery of the resurrection of the community in 4 Ezra 10. Originally, 4 Ezra, a pseudepigraphical book, was written in Hebrew at the end of the first century CE, in reaction to the destruction of the Second Temple.[16] Ezra laments the fate of the

Fall, ed. Matthias Henze, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M. Zurawski (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 381–402.

[12] Alan E. Douglas, *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations 1* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1985).

[13] Zelzer, "Erbe," 210–13. Since Karl Schenkl, "Zu Ciceros Consolatio," *Wiener Studien* 16 (1894): 38–46, Cicero's *Consolatio* has been regarded as an important source for Ambrose's *Exc*.

[14] William R. Schoedel, *Athenagoras Legatio and De Resurrectione*, OECT (Oxford: University Press, 1972). Nikolai Kiel, *Ps-Athenagoras De Resurrectione Datierung und Kontextualisierung der dem Apologeten Athenagoras zugeschriebenen Auferstehungsschrift* (Leiden: Brill, 2016) recently dated Athenagoras's *Res*. to the first part of the third century. Anders-Christian Jacobsen's review in *TLZ* 143.3 (2018): 227–30. Anne-Lene Fenger, "Tod und Auferstehung des Menschen nach Ambrosius De Excessu Fratris II," in *Jenseitsvorstellungen Antike und Christentum Gedenkschrift Alfred Stuiber*, ed. Theodor Klauser and Alfred Stuiber, *JAC* IX (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), 127–39, 129–30: She states that in *Exc*., Ambrose "wegen der starken Anlehnung an Athenagoras auf eine Auseinandersetzung mit 1 Cor. 15.50 verzichtet."

[15] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.64: "in communi dolore proprium vacare debere."

[16] Alan F. Segal, *Life after Death. A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 491–94. Hermann Lichtenberger, "Zion and the Destruction of the Temple in 4 Ezra 9–10," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel, Community without Temple*,

majority of Israel (8:14–16) or humankind (8:34–36; 10:10) which will not be saved after God's judgement (7:47–48, 60; 9:21–22). He has trouble reconciling their destiny with God's mercy (8:36). The text Ambrose discusses (4 Ezra 10:6–24) is part of Ezra's fourth vision (4 Ezra 9:26–10:59). In this vision Ezra is confronted with a woman mourning the loss of her son, which causes him to change perspective (4 Ezra 9:39; 10:5a). Whereas previously he discussed his lament with the angel Uriel, God's spokesperson, now Ezra has to transcend his own distress to take Uriel's position as advisor and comforter to the mother.

In his discussion of the passage, the bishop immediately gives away the identity of the mourning mother as the Church, whereas Ezra suspends the revelation of the mother as Zion.[17] In 4 Ezra 10:25–27 Ezra witnesses the transformation of the mourning mother into heavenly Jerusalem in a vision. Uriel interprets this vision as God's reward for Ezra's struggle with Jerusalem's destruction (10:39, 49–50), roughly speaking with the fate of the sinners in relation to God's justice. However, Ambrose does not mention the transformation of the mourning woman, but finishes the 4 Ezra 10 passage he cites with a demarcation of the members of his Church from pagans by the shibboleth of faith in resurrection (*Exc*. 1.70).

Now I shall discuss Ambrose's argument in *Exc*. 1.64–71 with the 4 Ezra 10 citation.

Prior to discussing this passage, Ambrose had extensively praised Satyrus's virtues (especially as reflected in his relationship to his siblings) and behaviour. Whereas Menander advises laudation as ground for personal grief[18], Ambrose surpasses Menander by connecting virtues with his view on resurrection: "For the beauty of virtue does not die with the body, and natural life and supernatural merit do not have the same end, although natural life itself does not perish forever, but is at rest for a time by a kind of release from its activities."[19] Considering Satyrus's virtuousness

ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, and Peter Pilhofer, WUNT 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 239–49. Edith McEwan Humphrey, *The Ladies and the Cities: Transformation and Apocalyptic Identity in Joseph and Asenath, 4 Ezra, the Apocalypse, and the Shepherd of Hermas* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995), 57–83.

[17] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.64: "neque enim prophetico sermone uni illi mulieri, quae figuratur, sed singulis dicitur, cum ecclesiae dictum videtur." 4 Ezra 10:44: "This woman whom you saw, whom you now behold as an established city, is Zion" (translation: Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 332). In Ambrose's later discussion of resurrection however, he provides a parallel to the transformation of the mourning woman, i.e. mother in Ezra 4 in the eschatological marriage between the Church and Christ (*Exc*. 2.116–21; 2.132).

[18] Menander, *Monodie*, 434,23 (Soffel, *Regeln Menanders*, 128).

[19] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.63b: "neque enim virtutis gratia cum corpore occidit, nec idem naturae meritorumque finis, licet ipsius naturae usus non in aeternum occidat, sed temporali quadam vacatione requiescat."

and his convenient escape from the awaited hardships, Ambrose is stating here that he should be grateful rather than sad.

The participation of the community in Ambrose's sorrow, expressed by the before mentioned citation from 4 Ezra 10:11: "private grief should cease in time of public mourning" are comforting to Ambrose.[20] The relationship between private and public is an important topic in *Exc*. 1. In the first and the last pericope of *Exc*. 1, Ambrose claims the death of Satyrus as "my sacrifice" ("hostia mea"). In the first pericope, he suggests that by taking on this personal misfortune, he averted peril from the ecclesiastical community. "My sorrow is the price paid for ransoming the people from their sorrow." However, by addressing the community as "beloved brethren," he puts them on a par with his biological brother and thus involves them into his personal sacrifice.[21] He finishes *Exc*. 1 by asking God to receive "a brother's gift, the sacrifice of Thy priest."[22] Earlier, he had involved the different groups of his community (rich–poor, old–young) into his mourning, because he deemed his grief useless if it remained private. The community's participation makes the mourning both evanescent and holy.[23] The whole city, every age, and all orders ("civitas, aetas, ordina") would have partaken in Ambrose's grief. "This is not the sorrow proper to private sympathy, but a public offering and service inspired by general good will." Ambrose feels supported by the community's "pledge of love."[24]

[20] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.64: "Scriptum est … in communi dolore proprium vacare debere." Cf. 1.2: "[P]raestant privatis publica." 1.3: "laetandum enim magis est, quod talem fratrem habuerim, quam dolendum quod fratrem amiserim!"

[21] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.1: "Deduximus, fratres dilectissimi, hostiam meam, hostiam incontaminatam, 'hostiam deo placentem', … fratrem meum Satyrum … semper optavi, ut, si quae perturbationes vel ecclesiam vel me manerent, in me potius ac meam deciderent domum … communem maerorum privato dolore transegi, et in me conversum est, quidquid timebamus omnibus. Atque utinam hic consummatum sit, ut dolor meus publici doloris redemptio sit!"

[22] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.80: "Tibi nunc, omnipotens deus, innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero: cape propitius … fraternum munus, sacrificium sacerdotis! Haec mei iam libamina praemitto, in hoc ad te pignore venio, non pecuniae, sed vitae pignore." Remarkable is that in the early 390s similar language has become standardized in the prayer spoken during the consecration of a virgin: "Quam sacerdotali munere offero, affectu patrio commendo, ut propitius … conferas ei gratiam" (Ambrose, *De Institutione Virginis* 17.107).

[23] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.5: "[C]um meae lacrimae nihil prosint, vestrae autem lacrimae fidem astruant, consolationem adferant. Fletis, divites, … Fletis, senes, … Fletis et iuvenes, … Fleterunt et pauperes … Itaque licet privatum funus, tamen fletus est publicus. Et ideo non potest fletus esse diuturnus, qui universorum est adfectibus consecratus." Cf. Ovid, *Metam*. 8.526–527: "lugent iuvenesque senesque, vulgusque proceresque gemunt" (Savon, "Première Oraison Funèbre," 386–87).

[24] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.28: "Non enim misericordiae privatae dolor, sed quoddam publicae officium et munus est gratiae … habeo vestri pignus affectus."

Ambrose speaks in his capacity as the "minister" ("minister") of the "funeral rites" ("funus").[25] The Bible corrects him that he is not setting the right example to the community he instructs. Ambrose's fault probably is that he basically wants his brother back, alive. This is not in accordance with God's justice, and would limit God's freedom of adhering to His design. If God would return Satyrus to Ambrose, He would be a "respecter of persons." If God would answer all the requests of the bereaved to have their dead back, death would be abolished, but more so God's freedom would be limited by human constraint.[26] The words by which Ezra had put the woman's mourning into a larger perspective, Ambrose quotes and applies to himself. In 4 Ezra 10:6–11 the mourning of the hitherto unknown woman about the one son is compared to the many dead mourned by mother Sion (because of Jerusalem's destruction) or, more generally, the earth. Ambrose replaces the reference to the "one son" with that to the "one brother," thus identifying himself with the mourning woman. Earlier, Ambrose had interpreted the woman as the Church (*Exc*. 1.64). So, Ambrose and his ecclesiastical community are both identified with Ezra's woman's mourning. Ambrose's private grief is covered in a public funeral and becomes less bitter by the feeling of a kind of familial love ("domesticae species pietatis"). The atmosphere of present doom is evoked, when Ambrose ascribes the death of many consecrated widows to God's administration of justice. God wanted to spare the widows from being violated by the invading barbarians.[27] Again, Ambrose refers to the Bible as guideline for right behaviour and attitude in his citation of 4 Ezra 10:15–16. Here, Ezra tells the woman that if she courageously bears what has befallen to her and acknowledges that God's determination ("terminus") is just, she will receive her son back in due time ("in tempore").[28] At first sight, the return of the son to the mother calls to mind the end-time resurrection.[29] But, when Ezra finally interprets the mother as Zion, he interprets

[25] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.36.

[26] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.65: "quia non est personarum acceptor deus" (Acts 10.34). "Nam etsi misericors deus, tamen, si semper exaudiret omnes, non iam ex voluntate libera, sed ex quadam velut necessitate facere videretur … Numquid constitutio dei contemplatione solvenda est tui?"

[27] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.67.

[28] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.68: "Nunc … retine apud temet ipsum dolorem tuum et fortiter fer, qui tibi contigerunt casus! Si enim iustificaveris terminum dei, et filium tuum recipies in tempore." "Ipsum" is an alteration of the original text by which Ambrose applies the citation to himself. According to Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 323: "in tempore" in 4 Ezra "implies the idea of predestination." Cf. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.66: death as temporary rest like sleep till the appointed time of resurrection.

[29] Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 323.

the son's death as the destruction of the city, his resurrection as its restoration.[30] While Ambrose identifies himself primarily with the mourning woman in an *a fortiori* way[31], I think Stone's conclusion with regard to Ezra's pain for Zion is also relevant for Ambrose's pain for his brother: "[B]ecause he has come to accept the ideas of predeterminism, of the justice of God's action, and of the coming reward, his mourning now contains the dynamic of comfort."[32]

Ambrose uses Ezra's vivid description of the large-scale suffering of Jerusalem's inhabitants during its destruction as a comfort for the mourning individual. But, bereavement is also visualized as an active process. The hearer (and orator) needs to persuade himself of God's administration of justice. The bereaved has to shake off his sadness in order that God might grant him rest from his sorrow.[33] Ambrose observes that these advices from 4 Ezra, "the saving remedies," only apply to Christians, because of their hope of the resurrection. The unbelievers continue to mourn their dead, because they are convinced that "they have perished forever." For Christians, death is the end of this life, not of our nature. Nature itself will be renewed for the better. Ambrose ascribes a positive role to death here: "Let the coming of death wipe away all tears."[34] This vaguely reminds us of Rev 21:4, but in that verse God wipes away the tears of the inhabitants of the new Jerusalem, where death has disappeared.

Then, Ambrose specifies the pagan view of death as a liberation from the suffering in this life by an "end of consciousness and cessation of our nature."[35] We will return to this view in the next section: Cicero, *Tusc.* 1 considers annihilation of both body and soul in death as an option of

[30] 4 Ezra 10:44 (Zion); 10:48 (destruction); 10:54 (heavenly Jerusalem or Zion). These passages are not used by Ambrose.

[31] Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.68: "Si hoc ad mulierem, quanto magis ad sacerdotem!" "If such advice is given to a woman, how much more so to a bishop?"

[32] Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 320.

[33] Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.69; 4 Ezra 10:20–24.

[34] Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.70: "Cessabunt igitur lacrimae; parendum est enim remediis salutaribus, quia debet aliquid inter fidos et perfidos interesse … illi fleant suos, quos in perpetuum existimant interisse, … nobis vero, quibus mors non naturae, sed vitae istius finis est, quoniam in melius ipsa natura reparatur, fletus omnes casus mortis abstergeat." I disagree with the translation of the first lines by McCauley, *Funeral orations*, 190: "My tears shall cease, I must accept ..." I think the passive construction is aimed at the audience, and Ambrose applies it to himself in *Exc.* 1.72: "Cessabunt ergo lacrimae, aut, si cessare non poterunt, in communibus lamentis flebo te, frater, et sub dolore publico domesticos gemitus tegam."

[35] Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.71: "Certe si illi sibi aliqua solacia reppererunt, qui finem sensus defectumque naturae mortem arbitrari sunt, … caruisse se putant omni sensus et dolore poenarum, quas in hac vita graves et adsiduas sustinemus."

positively visualizing post-mortal fate. A favourable evaluation of death is the "greatest consolation in longing and grief."[36] Ambrose concedes that some people experience this view as a consolation, but the Christian view has more to offer: not only a continued existence, but more so a reward for virtuous Christian behaviour. Sacrificing oneself on behalf of others or a cause is an important part of the behaviour Ambrose had in mind and will be one of the topics of the next section.

4 Ezra 10 is a turning point in Ezra's struggle with the incompatibility of God's mercy and love, and the perdition of the majority of humanity, with a special concern for those within Israel. As a reward for his acceptance of the righteousness of God's predestination, Ezra receives a vision of the new Jerusalem. Ambrose identifies as mourning brother with the grief of the mourning mother and the comfort in the acceptance of God's righteous determination in his brother's death. As Church leader he identifies with Ezra's mediation between God and suffering humanity and the building-up of the new Jerusalem in his Church. To achieve this, he creates a separation between Christians and non-Christians on the one hand, but also tries to persuade non-Christians to enter the domain of the Church. Cicero is a heritage shared by Ambrose with his non-Christian audience.

2. Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.3–49 and Cicero, *Tusc.* 1: A Set-up to Physical Resurrection

Ambrose's description of the destruction of Jerusalem in terms of 4 Ezra 10 must have evoked in the mind of his Roman audience both their foundational myth starting with the sack of Troy (Virgil's Aeneas) and the fate threatening them by the barbaric invasion.[37] Cicero was (and is) one of the pillars of classical education. A comparison between Cicero's *Tusc*. 1 and Ambrose's *Exc*. will demonstrate that Ambrose's audience could recognize leads from their classical education in Ambrose's discourse. We shall start with our comparison from Cicero's perspective and continue with Ambrose's *Exc*. 2.3–2.49.

Cicero's main goal in *Tusc*. 1 is to remove the fear that death is an evil.[38] It is a fact of nature that being born implies having to die. The bereaved

[36] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.46.111.

[37] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.69 (4 Ezra 10:20–24); 1.32: description of the impending barbaric invasion.

[38] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.49.117: "ita velut superiore e loco contionandum, ut homines mortem vel optare incipiant vel certe timere desistant." "We must … address the people as if from a platform, so that mankind either begins to desire death or at least ceases to fear it."

misconceive death as a departure from the good things of life instead of a release from life's evil.[39] For Ambrose, the awareness of the surviving relative that the deceased is bereft of life's pleasure is painful.[40] Cicero bases his argument of death as a good on the two alternative post-mortal scenarios Socrates sketches in his final oration in Plato's *Apologia*: either death is like a kind of restful sleep without sensation or, the option Cicero prefers, death removes the soul to a better place.[41] In Socrates's view the outcome of the soul's leaving of the body could take an unhappy turn "away from the society of the gods," because of defilement by vices.[42] On the contrary, Cicero rejects the vulgar and ignorant perception of the terrors of the underworld.[43] Cicero thinks that the moment of one's death has been predetermined, but not every time of death is opportune.[44] Ambrose is consoled by the timeliness of his brother's death, because of the impending barbarian danger.[45] Cicero himself would have preferred to have died earlier. "The duties of life had been performed in full measure, the fight against fortune remained." Once one had perfected his virtues, death is welcomed.[46]

Let us consider Ambrose's line of argumentation. Ambrose argues firstly that death is part of the human condition or nature (*Exc*. 2.4–2.17), secondly death liberates from life's evil (2.18–2.42), and thirdly, death is not an evil that must be feared (2.43–49).[47] In the first part of his argument, mortality as the common human fate, Ambrose regards mourning the death of a beloved as a hubris. The bereaved do not accept the order of nature.[48]

[39] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.38.91 (being born); 1.34.83; 1.19.44.

[40] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.14: (about the dead) "eos vitae suavitate privatos."

[41] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.41.97–98; 1.49.117–118. Plato, *Apol*. 40c-41d. Cf. Madec, *Ambroise*, 119, n. 149. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.21.48; 1.34.82: Cicero prefers Plato's view of soul's immortality over Epicurean annihilation of soul with body.

[42] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.30.72: "seclusum a concilio deorum." Plato, *Phaed*. 81b-82a: metempsychosis.

[43] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.16.36; 1.46.111.

[44] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.49.118: "ut a deo denuntiatum videatur ut exeamus e vita, … a dis immortalibus vel a natura parente omnium constitutum." Cf. 1.39.93: nature has made a loan of life and could take it back whenever she wants. 1.35.85–86: Priam and Pompey would have benefitted from an earlier death.

[45] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.30–32 ("mortis commoditas"); 1.64 ("opportunitas mortis").

[46] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.34.84; 1.45.109: "cumulata erant officia vitae, cum fortuna bella restabant."

[47] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.3: three themes. Duval, "Formes profanes," 255–56.

[48] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.4: "supra condicionem extollere, legem non recipere communem … naturae consortium recusare." 2.6: arrogance of considering oneself above common nature. "[M]ors aequalis est omnibus." 2.17: "[U]nbecoming ("indignum") to want the whole order of nature upset ("rerum ordinem converti") so that you may attain what you desire" (i.e. the return of a beloved dead to life). 2.46: "Non resolvendus ordo naturae;

Ambrose places birth and death in the natural movement of seasons and stars.[49] Yet, it would be better to mourn at birth than at death.[50] Grief should be restrained by reason (*ratio, prudentia*). If not, it would be a denial of the good deeds of the dead which are to be rewarded with immortality.[51] David is presented as an example of rightfully mourning about his apostate sons from whom he is cut off forever in death. His baby son who died however, is not mourned for, as he will see him again at resurrection.[52] Immoderate mourning is considered effeminate.[53] It demonstrates that one is unfit for the most prestigious duty: the sacrifice of one's life on behalf of "faith, religion, country, justice, and the pursuit of virtue."[54] Cicero provides many examples of great men who died on behalf of the country.[55] Satyrus on the contrary is lauded for putting Ambrose's interests over those of the country.[56] Ambrose characterizes Satyrus as exemplary virtuous because of his willingness "to be slain for others rather than to live for himself." He links his brother's attitude with Christ's death according to the flesh "on behalf of all" ("pro omnibus"), which taught us not to live for ourselves alone (2 Cor 5:15).[57] Satyrus's virtuousness is also in accordance with Cicero's highest regard for those who are "born to help, protect, and preserve other human beings."[58] He effaced himself to be of service in the first place to his siblings, thus contributing to the larger cause of the building up of the Church.[59]

There is a remarkable similarity in the perception that the life the deceased led was a loan, which could be reclaimed by the lender at any time. The

quod enim commune est omnibus, exceptum in singulis esse non potest." 2.49: this attitude is called presumptuous ("insolens").

[49] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.9–10.

[50] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.5. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.48.115.

[51] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.8 ; 2.11: "Non enim mediocre malum est immoderatio doloris aut metus mortis." Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.46.111 on moderation in mourning, because death is not an evil.

[52] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.25; 2.28.

[53] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.7 ; 2.12.

[54] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.7: "[E]os, qui pro fide, pro religione, pro patria, pro aequitate iudicii atque intentione virtutis obvium morti debeant pectus offerre." 2.118: (about the Church) "pericula pro religione contemneres."

[55] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.48.116.

[56] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.6: "nec ipse mihi umquam patriam praetulisti." 1.27: (in Satyrus) "non nostrae solum familiae, sed totius patriae decus occidit." Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.38.91: wise man is always concerned about his country and family ("rei publicae suisque consulat").

[57] Ambrose, *Exc*. 1.2: "mallet occidere pro aliis quam sibi vivere."

[58] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.14.32: "Quae est melior igitur in hominum genere natura quam eorum, qui se natos ad homines iuvandos, tutandos, conservandos arbitrantur?"

[59] To assist Ambrose after he became bishop, Satyrus gave up his career (*Exc*. 1.20), he renounced marriage to be of service to his siblings (1.53, 59), etc.

lender however differs: nature (Cicero) or God (Ambrose).[60] Elsewhere, Cicero easily switches between god(s) and nature as the powers determining human death: "(W)e hold as evil nothing which is appointed either by the immortal gods or by nature the universal mother."[61] And, when Ambrose summarizes his argument that death is not to be feared or grieved over, nature is a determining power: "Let the life which was received be returned to nature when she requests it, or let it be sacrificed to the call of duty which is concerned with the practice of religion or virtue."[62]

Different from Cicero, Ambrose embeds his explanation of the human sinfulness and debt paid in death, in the Christian aetiological narrative of Adam's fall and its restauration. Just as the sin of our one ancestor and the consequent death was passed on to us, "so also through One we have the resurrection."[63] But, it is not death which is the punishment for Adam's transgression, but present-day life. God gave death as remedy, so that there would be an end to our life of sorrow and hard work (Gen 3:17–19).[64] Death originally was not necessary for God's design, but "it became part of nature."[65] Death however does not mean the end of our nature – which remains – but of the evil attached to it.[66]

Both Cicero and Ambrose want to correct the perception that death is a deprivation of life's happiness.[67] How do they describe life's misery?

Ambrose explains it thus: "No true enjoyment is possible in the bitter experiences and sorrows of this life which are caused either by infirmities

[60] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.39.93 ("usura vitae"); Ambrose, *Exc*. 1,3 ("usura sortis"). Satyrus's life is interpreted as a gift to Ambrose. Also: *Exc*. 2.16: God has the right to transfer the human being to death.

[61] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.49.118: (our death) "a deo denuntiatum videatur … nobis faustum putemus nihilque in malis ducamus quod sit vel a dis immortalibus vel a natura parente omnium constitutum."

[62] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.49: "[S]i aut naturae repetenti vita, quae accepta est, rependatur, aut petenti inpendatur officio, in quo religionis cultus aut virtutis usus est." Cf. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.38.91: "[I]t is possible even for one who thinks the soul mortal to struggle for lasting achievements, out of a desire … for virtue."

[63] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.6: "[L]icet per unius peccatum, in omnes tamen pertransivit, ut, quem generis non refugimus auctorem, non refugiamus et mortis et sit nobis sicut per unum mors, ita per unum etiam resurrectio" (1 Cor 15:21; Rom 5:18).

[64] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.37: "non … pro poena dominus, sed pro remedio dedit mortem." 2.38: "mors pro remedio data est quasi finis malorum." 2.124: the advantage of a limit being set to our life ("finis praestitutus").

[65] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.47: "[M]ors … in natura non fuit, sed conversa in naturam est; non enim a principio deus mortem instituit, sed pro remedio dedit … mors divino operi necessaria non fuit, … sed praevaricatione damnata."

[66] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.48: "[N]on naturae mors ista est, sed malitiae; manet enim natura, malitia moritur."

[67] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.34.83. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.18.

of the body itself or by the unpleasant things which happen outside of it." One of those "unpleasant things" is that life is not predictable.[68] For Cicero, one of the "uncertainties of chance" is the daily threat of death.[69] Ambrose describes death as preferable over the fear of death.[70] The crucial importance of this fear of death comes to the fore in the last phrase of the treatise. Our mortal, bodily fragility will be replaced by an incorruptible, immortal condition (1 Cor 15:53) so that we in our supranatural state are without the fear of death.[71]

According to Ambrose, the human being has an innate desire for change, which urges us on through the phases of life. When a boy becomes the young man he longed to be, he is not satisfied, but wants to be a mature man.[72] Attainment of pleasures brings concern about losing them, not satisfaction.[73] This resembles Cicero's view that the feeling of missing out causes a lot of misery. Longing for and "jealousy of those who have what we long for" are the "firebrands in our bodies," from which we are freed when we leave the body.[74] Cicero quotes a maxim he ascribes to Silenus that "for a man not to be born is far the best, the second best is to die as soon as possible."[75] Ambrose elaborates this saying, and attributes it to Solomon (Eccl 4:3), who would have borrowed it from Job.[76] Influenced by Platonism, Cicero and Ambrose connect life's evil to embodiment. Cato is only allowed to leave his bodily imprisonment if summoned by God. Socrates had kept himself "chaste and pure," that is "had had the least contact with the body, had always held aloof from it."[77] Ambrose

[68] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.18: "Nulla potest esse iucunditas inter has vitae nostrae amaritudines aut dolores, quae vel ex corporis ipsius infirmitate vel extrinsecus accidentium incommoditate generantur." Cf. 2.29: "What is more miserable than we human beings who are cast into this life, as it were, stripped and naked, with fragile bodies, deceitful hearts, and weak minds, anxious with respect to cares, indolent towards work, and prone to pleasure?"

[69] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.38.91: "mors quae propter incertos casus cotidie imminet, propter brevitatem vitae numquam potest longe abesse."

[70] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.125.

[71] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.135: "ut … supra naturam siti mortem iam timere nequeamus"; the very last words of the treatise.

[72] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.124.

[73] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.19.

[74] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.34.83–88 (to lack is "carere"). 1.19.44: "Cumque corporis facibus inflammari soleamus ad omnes fere cupiditates eoque magis incendi, quod is aemulemur, qui ea habeant, quae nos habere cupiamus, profecto beati erimus, cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et aemulationum erimus expertes."

[75] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.48.114: "[N]on nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori."

[76] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.30–2.32 (better dead: Job 3:11); 2.33 (shortening of life). Cf. n. 50 (*Exc*. 2.5; *Tusc*. 1.48.115).

[77] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.30.74 (Cato). 1.30.72: "qui autem se integros castosque servavissent quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio seseque ab iis semper revocavissent."

states that even amidst the best of life's circumstances, the soul longs for an escape from its bodily prison in a free airy movement ("motus aerius") up high.[78] The soul outlives the body and its liberation from the shackles of the senses initiates a heavenly view and an end to suffering.[79] Ambrose argues that Paul's daily dying is superior to the philosophers' contemplation on death as true philosophy. But, Cicero interprets "commentatio mortis" as "abstracting the soul from pleasure, i.e. the body, worldly goods," public and business affairs of state. In short, the practising of death, not its contemplation.[80]

Ambrose depicts this embodied life and our post-mortal destination in terms familiar to his classically educated hearer. In *Exc*. 2.33, Ambrose states that we are strangers and foreigners on this earth (Eph 2:19), and "must return to the place from which we descended." This is "our true country and natural home."[81] Death is "a refuge from all miseries and evils, a safe and secure anchorage, and a haven of rest."[82]

Cicero describes the soul's stay in the body "as in a house in which it does not belong." When this "divine soul" is released from the body, it reaches "the free heaven, a kind of real homecoming."[83] Referring to Socrates, the "return to those from whom they had come" is a reward for living a godly life on earth, pure and chaste, away from the body. The reward of living in the council of the gods ("concilium deorum") is not that different from Ambrose's quotation of Ps 27:4: living in God's house forever and beholding His beauty.[84] Later, Cicero again mentions the two positive

[78] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.20. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.49.118: "[T]he god has decreed that we shall depart from life … we are discharged from prison and relieved of our chains."

[79] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.21.

[80] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.35 ("meditatio mortis philosophiam esse", i.e. "corporis et animae segregatio"). Paul's daily dying: 1 Cor 15:31. Ambrose's point of difference, Paul's death "not for his own weakness, but for ours" is more justified. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.30.74: "tota … philosophorum vita … commentatio mortis est." 1.31.75: "Nam quid aliud agimus, cum a voluptate, id est, a corpore, cum a republica, cum a negotio omni sevocamus animum … secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus?" Plato, *Phaed*. 67e; 81a (practising death in a separation of the soul from the body).

[81] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.33: "[A]d illam redire patriam et naturalem domum. In hac enim terra advenae sumus atque peregrini; remigrandum eo, unde descendimus." 2.111: "legitimum illud aeternumque domicilium in suae posteritatis serie promereri."

[82] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.22: "aerumnarum omnium malorumque perfugium, fida statio securitatis, portus quietis."

[83] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.22.51: "[Q]ualis animus in corpore sit tamquam alienae domui, quam qualis, cum exierit et in liberum caelum quasi domum suam venerit."

[84] Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.30.72: "qui … se integros castosque servavissent … essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, iis ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere." Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.133 (Ps 27:4); 2.122 (Rev 21:3).

post-mortal options: a loss of all sensations and trouble or a remigration to our eternal house, a haven and refuge prepared for us.[85]

Then Ambrose leaves behind his classical heritage of pagan consolation – "death is a common calamity, … recognition of the rights of nature, … belief in immortality of the soul" – and focusses on the Christian faith of resurrection as reward for those within the Church.[86]

Until now, Ambrose's audience has recognized references from the classical consolation: death in accordance with nature, life reclaimed by its lender, the self-sacrifice on behalf of a cause, the unpredictability of life especially with regard to the moment of death, life's lack of satisfaction. Typically Christian additions such as the miserable human condition originating in the fall and resurrection as reward for practising virtues were counterbalanced by a Platonic view of death as a return to the place we descended from. Now Ambrose parts ways with Cicero and classical culture. Whereas Cicero locates the true self in the soul[87], Ambrose defends a resurrected human being composed of both body and soul. Here, he leans on Athenagoras's argumentation of the physicality of resurrection, based on nature, justice, and rationality. This will be addressed in this last section.

3. Resurrection of Soul and Body: Ambrose and Athenagoras's *Res.*

Ambrose's discussion on resurrection in the first part of the last quarter of his *Exc.* will be treated with Athenagoras's *Res.* in mind. Like Athenagoras, Ambrose aims to convince those who doubt that the body will be resurrected together with its immortal soul.[88] Athenagoras adduces two arguments in favour of the nature of the resurrected human being's composition of soul and body. God wanted the human being to be thus at creation and so at the resurrection. And, it would go against God's justice if only

[85] Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.49.118: "aut in aeternam et plane nostram domum remigremus … portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus." Cf. Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.33: "remigrandum"; 2.22: "perfugium", "portus."

[86] Ambrose, *Exc.* 2.50: "de communitate aerumnae vel de iure naturae vel de inmortalitate animae." 2.116: "Omnes enim, qui sacrosanctae ecclesiae copulati divini nominis adpellatione censentur, praerogativam resurrectionis … consequentur."

[87] Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.22.52: "The body is … a kind of vessel ("vas") or container ("receptaculum") for the soul. Whatever is done by your soul is done by you." Cf. Ambrose, *Exhortatio Virginitatis* 10.68: "In quo enim sumus? In animae substantia et mentis vigore…. Non ergo caro sumus, sed spiritus."

[88] Athenagoras, *Res.* 2.2. Note the frequent appearance of "dubitare" in the final section on resurrection starting with 2.52: Ambrose, *Exc.* 1.56; 2.25; 2.54; 2.56; 2.57; 2.58(2); 2.66 (2); 2.87; 2.121.

the soul would be punished at the final judgement for the sins committed because of its being related to the body.[89] Ambrose starts with this last argument, initially qualifying it under the heading of reason, later as justice[90]:

> For, since our life as such functions through a union of body and soul, and since the resurrection entails the reward of good conduct and the punishment of evil, it is necessary that the body rise again, since its conduct is to be weighed. For how shall the soul be called to judgment without the body, since it must render an account of its companionship with the body?[91]

Ambrose touches on the rational objection of how to envision the decayed and dispersed human remains to be brought together in the resurrection body, a topic Athenagoras expands on.[92] Athenagoras characterizes the seed as a power which is able to give "shape to substance" or "to change the corruptible into incorruption."[93] Later, Athenagoras discusses the discontinuous permanence of the body: life's stages, sleep, and death.[94] Here, he describes that we know from experience that the "undifferentiated and formless seed" has the potential to develop itself into the different bodily parts, but also already contains in itself the "transformations which affect man's nature." The rational conclusion of resurrection based on this natural sequence (φυσικὴ ἀκολουθία) would be more truthful than its evidence based ground.[95]

Ambrose puts reason and experience on a par with exemplarity to argue the truth of the faith in resurrection.[96] Elsewhere, he adds testimony or examples of deeds and prophecies as qualifications on which he bases his argument in favour of resurrection.[97] These qualifications refer to biblical texts and exemplars in relation to resurrection. Unlike Athenagoras, the Milanese bishop draws his audience into the ecclesiastical heritage in

[89] Athenagoras, *Res*. 13.2 (creation and resurrection of human being in accordance with God's will); 15.2 (God wants human being as entity of the body and soul now and at the resurrection); 18.5 and 21.1–4 (justice of judgement of body and soul).

[90] Cf. Athenagoras, *Res*. 18.4: "Since man … is rational, he requires justice."

[91] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.52: "cum omnis vitae nostrae usus in corporis animaeque consortio sit, resurrectio autem aut boni actus praemium habeat aut poenam inprobi, necesse sit corpus resurgere, cuius actus expenditur. Quomodo enim in iudicium vocabitur anima sine corpore, cum de suo et corporis contubernio ratio praestanda sit?" *Exc*. 2.88: justice of judging the coordinated actions of body and soul. Athenagoras, *Res*. 21.

[92] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.55; 2.58. Athenagoras, *Res*. 3.3–8.4 (especially the problem of human beings eating each other).

[93] Athenagoras, *Res*. 3.2.

[94] Athenagoras, *Res*. 17.1. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.53: the constantly changing state of the things in the world.

[95] Athenagoras, *Res*. 17.2–4.

[96] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.51: "usus", "ratio", "exemplum." The fourth contributing factor is "decorum," defined as the practice of virtue independent of its reward, like Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.38.91.

[97] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.52; 2.130.

Exc. 2. An important testimony is 1 Cor 15. In 1 Cor 15:36, the dying of a seed is a precondition for its coming to life.[98] The product arising from the seed will be of the same variety and kind ("genus, species").[99] Akin to the seeds' need of moisture ("sucus") enabling them to sprout, the human body has blood and moisture ("umor"). The muddiness of Ambrose's description of the human body: "clay comes from moisture and moisture is from the earth," in the context of the surrounding nature, reminds us of the creation according to Gen 2:5–9.[100] Resurrection is according to nature ("secundum naturam").[101] Like the other seeds within creation, our body arises as a more glorious body after death: immortal (1 Cor 15:53) and spiritual (1 Cor 15:42–44).[102] The role of the earth bringing forth to its creator those sown in its soil and receiving the dead bodies in 4 Ezra 10 (*Exc*. 1.66), Ambrose develops into the dead being sown into the earth and arising from it.[103] He directly involves his public in this universal event: "You too were once a seed and your body is the seed of that which shall rise again."[104] Ambrose hints at 1 Cor 15:42, when he sees the human body as a seed, a substance for resurrection. But, even without such a substance, God is able to make the human being anew ("homines regenerare"), when we take into account His creatio ex nihilo.[105] Athenagoras's discussion on God's ability to resurrect a human being from whom the bodily remains have been dispersed starts with the parallel of creatio ex nihilo (Ps 148:5) and ends with "What is impossible with men is possible with God."[106] Ambrose bases God's creatio ex nihilo on the creative power of His word, citing Ps 148:5.[107]

[98] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.57. *Exc*. 2.90: (about Christ: 1 Cor 15:21) "resurgere … non poterat, quod mortuum non erat."

[99] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.53: "natura nostrae speciem resurrectionis imitata est." *Exc*. 2.70: "[Q]uaecumque seminata sint, in suam naturam resurgere nec a satione sua segetes discrepere." Cf. *Exc*. 2.91: Christ as first fruits of those who have fallen asleep (1 Cor 15:20) is of the same "genus" and "natura".

[100] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.57: "caro omnis e limo sit, limus in umore, umor e terris."

[101] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.57. Athenagoras uses κατὰ φύσιν to argue the resurrection of body and soul (*Res*. 15.4; 25.3). He states that the τέλος κατὰ φύσιν of the human being differs from the goal for other creatures (24.4).

[102] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.54 (immortal); 2.60 (spiritual). Athenagoras's resurrection body is close to our present body. This might explain why he refers to 1 Cor 15:53 (*Res*. 3.2; 18.5), but not to 1 Cor 15:42–44.

[103] 4 Ezra 10:9–11, 14. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.56–2.58: "terra restituat" (56, 58).

[104] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.60: "Et tu semen fuisti et tuum corpus semen est resurrecturi"; 2.69: "novis … pullulare seminibus," about newly resurrected human beings.

[105] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.64.

[106] Athenagoras, *Res*. 3.1: *creatio ex nihilo* of human body and resurrection; 9.2: possible with God (Luke 18:27).

[107] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.64. 2.85: creation by God's word, why not resurrection likewise? 2.74; 2.77–78; 2.81: order of nature transcended by God's command.

Both Ambrose and Athenagoras regard the human being as created in God's image and likeness (Gen 1:26). Ambrose reasons that if God provides for creation, which has been created to benefit the human being, how much the more will He not allow the destruction of his image and likeness?[108] Athenagoras clearly distinguishes three forms of being: the inferior, irrational creatures – the human being – the immortals.[109] Whereas the life of the irrational creatures is temporary, God has decreed "an unending existence to those who bear his image in themselves," gifted with intelligence and rational discernment. He has destined them to eventually live with the immortal, if they have lived righteously and acknowledged God's power.[110] The human being has to live up to his immortal soul and rational discernment in order not to cross the line to the irrational beasts.[111] Keeping this in mind, it is less of a surprise that Ambrose at the end of his treatise declares that the image of God is not the body, but the human reason ("ratio").[112] The context is his refutation of the pagan view of metempsychosis. It is unimaginable that the human reason would reincarnate into the body of an irrational beast instead of consorting with the angels.[113]

More often, both writers perceive of the human being as composed of body and soul. Athenagoras mentions that it is the soul's task to direct the body. The soul is in itself sinless, but in its association with the body, by which it is linked to life, vices and tribulation enter the human being.[114] Ambrose expresses the relationship between body and soul in Platonic terms as the soul held prisoner within the body, while the soul should govern the flesh and the flesh should serve the soul.[115] The bishop transforms Plato, *Phaed*. 82e into Pauline vocabulary: the law of the flesh (earthly desires) fights against the law of the mind.[116] Based on the battle of the law of the flesh versus the law of the soul, in combination with the indwelling sin of the flesh, Ambrose arrives at a qualification of the body

[108] Athenagoras, *Res*. 12.6. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.56.
[109] Athenagoras, *Res*. 16.2–4.
[110] Athenagoras, *Res*. 12.6. 15.7: resurrection as precondition for the permanence of the human being.
[111] Athenagoras, *Res*. 24.4–5.
[112] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.130.
[113] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.65; 2.127–131; 2.134: "angelis me post mortem sociari malo quam bestiis."
[114] Athenagoras, *Res*. 15.7 (directing soul). *Res*. 18.5; 20.3; 21–23 (sinless soul).
[115] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.20; 2.88: "animus cogitavit, corpus effecit"; 2.127: "gubernatricem hominis animam"; 2.108 ("subservient"); 2.128: "anima … se humani doleat corporis gravitate pigrescere."
[116] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.40: "Repugnat … lex carnis legi mentis" (Rom 7:23).

as the author of evil and the soul as guilty through another's fault. This view resembles Athenagoras's.[117]

Athenagoras and Ambrosius agree on a universal resurrection of body and soul to judgement at the end of times.[118] For Athenagoras, the body has been created according to God's will and the resurrection body is reconstructed from the bodily remains.[119] At the resurrection the body will be transformed to incorruptibility, while the immortal soul remains unchanged.[120] At the end of his treatise, Athenagoras emphasizes the individual character of the resurrection: it is only possible to reconstruct that same human being as before if that person's soul and body are reunited in resurrection. This is what is fitting for the nature of all human beings.[121] Resurrection life is to live in harmony with natural reason (φυσικὸς λόγος) and to joyfully contemplate God.[122]

Ambrose also visualizes a bodily resurrection as a joining of scattered bodily remains and emphasizes the transformation brought about by resurrection: our nature will be restored in a better way.[123] He writes a lot about the fate of the dead bodies. Somewhat like 4 Ezra, Ambrose describes the graves of the dead as chambers ("recessus"), in which they are prepared for the last judgement and remain until "health will be restored to their dissolved bodies by divine dew." The disintegrated bodies will be connected again and assume their former appearance.[124] Ambrose uses Ezekiel's vision of the deliverance of the people as testimony for the resurrection, the communal rising from the graves to the final judgement.[125]

[117] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.88: "animus …, alienae reus culpae, caro …, auctor aerumnae." Athenagoras, *Res*. 21.

[118] Athenagoras, *Res*. 18.5; 19.5; 25.2, 5. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.59; 2.62 ("consummatio mundi"); 2.92 ("commune consortium resurgendi"); 2.93 ("omnes nascimur, omnes resurgimus"); 2.115: "[N]on solum singulorum, verum etiam universitatis ista mysteria (i.e. resurrection) sunt"; 2.121 (Rev 21:12–13: final judgement according to works).

[119] Athenagoras, *Res*. 2.5; 7.1.

[120] Athenagoras, *Res*. 12.9; 16.2.

[121] Athenagoras, *Res*. 25.3.

[122] Athenagoras, *Res*. 25.4.

[123] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.55; 2.58 (joining); 1.70; 2.91 ("reparata natura"); 2.80; 2.85 ("reformare naturam"); 2.48: nature remains, but sin dies.

[124] 4 Ezra 7:32: "And the earth shall give back those who are asleep in it, and the dust those who rest in it; and the treasuries shall give up the souls which have been committed to them." Then, the last judgement follows (7:33–43). Note that in 4 Ezra the souls rest in the chambers, whereas *Exc*. refers to the bodies. Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.67: Dan 12:1–3 LXX ("recessus" of God's people); 2.68: "sanitatemque corporum solutorum divino rore reparabilem … et accepto umore vitali in conpagem suam membrorum nostrorum habitus reformantur?" Cf. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.44.107: Cicero rejects the idea of bodies resting in a grave as erroneous.

[125] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.73: "futurae resurrectionis propheta testis adhibetur."

Whereas in Gen 2:7 God created the human being from the clay of the earth and breathed the breath of life into him, in Ezek 37:1–14 God recreates the dead starting with joining their dry bones, dressing them with sinews, veins and blood (an Ambrosian addition to Ezekiel), flesh and skin, and finally brings them alive with His Spirit. This is a new bonding between God and the people resurrected with a transformed ("reformatio") nature.[126] It is noteworthy that neither Ezekiel nor Ambrose is concerned about individual resurrection here. Ambrose speaks about the crop of human bodies which will rise up again, a large community brought alive.[127] After Ambrose has drawn his hearers into the end-time scenarios from 1 Cor 15:52 and 1 Thess 4:16, he demarcates the borders of the Church. Faith in the resurrection is a shibboleth for salvation or condemnation.[128]

Different from Athenagoras, Ambrose draws his audience to the heart of the ecclesiastical message. In the end, Ambrose declares reason valuable, but inferior to faith in Christ.[129] Disbelief in the resurrection of the dead is a grave sacrilege and speculations about the ontology of the resurrection body are groundless: "We must not measure the greatness of divine power by standards of human strength nor inquire how or with what kind of a body anyone will rise again, or how separated parts will be united and lost elements restored. For all these things are accomplished by the divine will the moment they are decided upon."[130]

Now, Ambrose depicts resurrection in abstract theological language: after our sins have been taken away, "we attain the fullness of the spiritual mystery, and renewed flesh receives grace from the Spirit, and the soul obtains from Christ the brightness of eternal light."[131]

Ambrose visualizes the future heavenly bliss as the wedding between the Church, gathered by the bishop ("sacerdos"), and Christ. This goes

[126] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.69–76.

[127] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.69: "humanorum … seges corporum rediviva (re-used) consurgere"; 2.75: "et intravit in eos spiritus vitae et vixerunt et steterunt in pedibus suis congregatio (Ezek 37:10 LXX: συναγωγή; Vulg.: "exercitus"!) nimis multa". Cf. *Exc*. 1.66 (4 Ezra 10:10): "[T]hey walk almost all into destruction. And a multitude of them is utterly rooted out."

[128] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.67; 1.70.

[129] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.89: "Plena, ni fallor, et iusta ratio. Sed ego rationem a Christo non exigo. Si ratione convincor, fidem abnuo." Athenagoras, *Res*. 25.4: rationality is aligned to the heavenly bliss of eternal contemplation of God.

[130] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.102 ("grave sacrilegium"); 2.114 : "[N]ec divinae magnitudinem potestatis humanis viribus metiamur, ut quaeramus, quomodo quis resurgat aut quali corpore veniat aut quemadmodum soluta coeant, lapsa reparentur; haec enim arbitrio dei simul ut statuuntur, inplentur."

[131] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.114: "[S]i exinaniti vitiis plenitudinem spiritalis mysterii consequamur gratiamque renovatam caro sumat a spiritu et fulgorem lucis aeternae anima mutuetur a Christo."

back to Origen and is beyond the scope of this article. But Ambrose involves his pagan hearers into this last part of his discourse by emphasizing the invitation of the Church to all and refuting topics like metempsychosis.[132] It is gratifying that Ambrose finishes this treatise in a Ciceronian mode with a personal note.[133] As a brother, Ambrose hopes soon to be reunited with Satyrus. Like Cicero, Ambrose has found a cause he wants to risk everything for, even if it might turn out not to be true. And, like Cicero, he wants to take away the fear of death. The difference, of course, is that while Cicero sticks to Plato, Ambrose cleaves to Christ.

Ambrose and Athenagoras agree on what Ambrose calls *ratio* and *tempus* of the resurrection.[134] Ambrose takes over Athenagoras's arguments in favour of the physicality of the resurrection. God willed the human being's composition of body and soul at creation and so at resurrection. And, God's justice demands that this entire human being must be held accountable for his or her actions at the last judgement after the universal resurrection. The discontinuous permanence of the seed, with its potential to development, is an important analogy for the human body, which also explains its transformation within the limits of identity in resurrection. Ambrose frames this thinking within the ecclesiastical heritage of biblical exempla and texts, especially 1 Cor 15:36: the dying of the seed as precondition for its coming to life and the body's transformation (1 Cor 15:42–44, 53). Ambrose translates Athenagoras's Platonic view of evil caused by the soul's embodiment into Pauline language. He turns Athenagoras's view of the resurrection body as a reunion of an individual's bodily remains into the collective resurrection of Israel in Ezek 37. Finally, faith in the resurrection supplants reasoning and becomes the shibboleth for salvation within the Church.

4. Conclusion

Satyrus's funeral provided Ambrose with an opportunity to build up his ecclesiastical community in collective grief, but also gave him a public forum to spread his message of the "saving remedy" of the faith in resurrection amongst the non-Christian elite. This demarcation of the Church and attempt to include his non-Christian audience is discussed by a comparison of Ambrose's text with three sources: 4 Ezra (resurrection of the community), Cicero's *Tusc*. 1 (pagan speculations on the after-life), and Athenagoras' *Res*. (resurrection of the human being as body and soul).

[132] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.217–218 (invitation); 2.126–131 (philosophical post-mortem views).
[133] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.134–135.
[134] Ambrose, *Exc*. 2.63.

In *Exc*. 1, Ambrose is both the grieving brother and the bishop who interprets his brother's death as his own sacrifice on behalf of the community. His involvement of the community in his grief is a personal comfort, but more so unifies the community. Ambrose's two roles complicate identification with the personae from 4 Ezra 10. As a brother Ambrose identifies with the grief of the mourning mother, but also with Ezra's acceptance of God's righteousness in determining matters of life and death. As a bishop, this attitude is exemplary. From the start Ambrose has explained the mourning woman as the Church. Bishop and Church belong together in a shared identification with the mourning woman. In *Exc*. 1, Ambrose does not reveal 4 Ezra's transformation of the mourning woman into the New Jerusalem. His episcopal duty is to contribute to the transformation of the Church by extending an invitation to his non-Christian audience and by drawing a line of demarcation between those inside and outside the Church based on the faith in resurrection. Whereas *Exc*. 1 focusses on mourning, *Exc*. 2 leads to resurrection of individuals, but more so to the Church as heavenly Jerusalem.

Cicero's *Tusc*. 1 has been studied to demonstrate that his classically educated audience could recognize many familiar conceptions of death in Ambrose's discourse. Ambrose takes over Cicero's main argument in *Tusc*. 1 that death is not an evil and should not be feared. The inconsistency of a positive evaluation of death with the Christian narrative of the fall, Ambrose solves by a gloomy view on present-day life. Not death, but this life is the punishment for the fall, death remedies the continuance of this miserable life. Cicero has a similar evaluation of life and death, so that both declare that not to be born is preferable. While life's suffering is caused by the soul's embodiment, mental affliction is more important: the fear of the unpredictable death and the unsatisfiable desires. Cicero and Ambrose agree that death belongs to human nature, although Ambrose concedes that this was not God's original intention. Further, life is regarded as a loan which could be reclaimed whenever the lender wants. This lender is identified as the divinity respectively God, or nature. Self-sacrifice on behalf of a cause is considered highly regarded virtuous behaviour. Ambrose believes that virtuous behaviour will be rewarded in resurrection, whereas Cicero thinks it should be pursued for its own sake. Both Ambrose and Cicero use Platonic imagery for the post-mortal existence of the soul, such as a return to the place it descended from. Whereas Cicero presents the post-mortal existence of the soul as an option he prefers to total extinction of body and soul. Ambrose however continues to argue a resurrection of soul and body. Ambrose has created a sense of community amongst his

varied audience by his use of 4 Ezra 10 and Cicero, in order to open it up to the newness of the physicality of resurrection.

Athenagoras's *Res*. offers a rational argumentation for the physicality of the resurrection. Ambrose uses this approach, because rationality is the common ground between the pagan part of his audience and himself. For that reason, the biblical testimonies on the empty grave, which would have been meaningful within the Church, might have been absent in *Exc*. With Athenagoras, Ambrose argues firstly that the human being was created as composed of body and soul, according to God's will and that God would raise the human being likewise. Secondly, the actions of the entire human being must be judged. Justice would not prevail if the soul alone were to be punished for the sins committed because of its existence within the body. Ambrose translates the Platonic view of the relationship between soul and body he shares with Athenagoras (and Cicero) into Pauline terms of a battle of the flesh against the soul. He follows Athenagoras in locating the human being as God's image (Gen 1:27) in the human reason (*ratio*). Both use the analogy of the potentiality of a seed to develop, yet to maintain a certain identity. Ambrose elaborates the resurrection according to nature in terms of 1 Cor 15: a seed needs to die in order to come to life as glorious and immortal (15:36, 42–44, 53). While both writers believe in a universal end-time resurrection to the final judgement, Athenagoras's perception of the risen human being seems to be close to our present being. The resurrection body is reconstructed from the bodily remains and transformed into the immortality (1 Cor 15:53) and sinlessness of its soul with which it is reunited. The resurrected human being contemplates God in harmony with natural reason. Ambrose's view on individual resurrection might be even more earthly, but he is more interested in the collective resurrection of Ezek 37:1–4, in which a people with a transformed nature arises. This he links to the eschatological scenarios sketched in 1 Cor 15:52 and 1 Thess 4:16. Whereas he never gives up to invite the non-believers and to rationally refute philosophical after-life conceptions, faith in the resurrection demarcates the Church. By then, faith has replaced reason, and speculations about the resurrection body are considered groundless. Ambrose envisions himself as a bishop gathering the Church for her heavenly wedding to Christ.

LA RÉSURRECTION COMME COMPOSANTE D'UNE THÉOLOGIE TRINITAIRE NÉOPLATONICIENNE CHEZ AUGUSTIN

Matthias SMALBRUGGE

1. Introduction

Pendant toute sa vie, saint Augustin a été fasciné par la notion de la similitude. On le voit d'abord dans les *Soliloques*, puis dans le *De Trinitate*, les deux livres dont nous parlerons dans cet article. Car ces deux livres ont, bien que très différents, eux aussi une certaine ressemblance[1], ce qui permet de voir dans quelle mesure la position d'Augustin sur la similitude et la résurrection change dans une trentaine d'années. La résurrection, cette notion qui parle d'une nouvelle vie après la mort, la similitude qui représente une ressemblance entre x et y, sans que les deux termes ne puissent être identifiés l'un avec l'autre. Or, en ce qui concerne cette dernière, il est loin d'être clair à partir de quel moment on peut parler d'une ressemblance, voire d'une similitude. La similitude peut varier et ce qui, à un moment donné, fut une ressemblance ne le sera peut-être plus à un autre moment. En effet, une similitude peut croître, mais elle peut également diminuer. Augustin lui-même en donne un exemple en parlant du portrait d'un homme. Le tableau ressemble à l'homme qu'il représente, sans que, évidemment, les deux puissent être identifiés. La ressemblance entre le portrait et l'homme se fait alors sur la base d'une certaine reconnaissance. On voit le tableau, et l'on reconnaît tout de suite l'homme : ah, c'est bien lui ! Là aussi cependant, la ressemblance peut diminuer, voire disparaître. Si le portrait a été fait d'un homme à l'âge de 40 ans, il lui ressemblera tant que cet homme n'est pas beaucoup plus âgé que 40 ans. En revanche, une fois que cet homme aura atteint l'âge de 80 ans, le tableau lui ressemblera de moins en moins, soulignant le caractère fugitif et instable de l'être. La similitude représente donc à un rapport à l'être sans que ce rapport puisse vraiment être saisi. La question de la similitude est alors loin d'être

[1] Cp. Sabine MacCormack, « Augustine on Scripture and the Trinity », dans *A Companion to Augustine*, dir. Mark Vessey (Chichester : Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 398–415, qui insiste amplement sur la connexion entre les *Soliloquia* et le *De Trinitate*.

simple et elle revient dans plusieurs domaines de la philosophie et de la théologie. Songez à l'épistémologie, à l'ontologie, mais aussi à l'anthropologie théologique. Car c'est notamment dans ce domaine qu'Augustin s'est posé la question de savoir comment il fallait interpréter la notion de la similitude ? Dieu avait créé l'homme 'à son image et à sa ressemblance', disait la Bible. Donc il y avait une similitude entre Dieu et sa créature. Mais, de nouveau, comment la définir alors ? La question a occupé Augustin sa vie durant et elle revient en fait sans cesse sous sa plume. Que ce soit dans ses commentaires sur le livre de Genèse, dans ses sermons ou dans son chef d'œuvre sur la Trinité. Cette notion de la similitude, qui est à la fois philosophique et biblique, mérite donc un bref examen.

En même temps, il y a la notion biblique de la résurrection. La résurrection qui représente une nouvelle vie après la mort. Mais de nouveau, cette nouvelle est difficile à définir.[2] En revanche, ce qui est clair c'est que le témoignage biblique, notamment chez Paul dans I Corinthiens 15, représente aussi une sorte de similitude. Il suffit de penser au fait que, selon St. Paul, on vit avec un corps terrestre et qu'on sera ressuscité avec un corps céleste. Il y a une ressemblance entre ces deux corps, sans qu'on sache en quoi elle consiste. La notion du corps reste donc préservée et apparemment c'est bien cette notion qui crée une similitude entre ces deux réalités. De nouveau donc, une similitude, bien qu'elle n'ait pas une origine philosophique. Il y a une ressemblance entre le corps terrestre et le corps céleste, mais encore une fois on ne saura clairement décrire cette similitude. Peu importe, quoiqu'il en soit, la similitude philosophique et la résurrection biblique ont donc quelque chose en commun, c'est vrai, mais ces deux notions ressortent de différents champs de langage (biblique et philosophique ; narratif et discursif).

[2] La Littérature sur la notion de la résurrection est vaste et nous contenterons d'en citer uniquement quelques livres qui nous ont aidé à approfondir la question soulevée dans cet article. Voir donc, Richard Swinburne, *The Resurrection of the God Incarnate* (Oxford : Oxford University Press 2003) ; Lidija Novakovic, *Resurrection : A Guide for the Complexed* (London : T&T Clark 2016); Andrew Ter Ern Loke, *Investigating the Resurrection of Jesus Christ : A New Transdisciplinary Approach* (New York : Routledge, 2020). Ce qui frappe d'ailleurs, c'est que d'une part il y a des chercheurs qui insistent sur le fait qu'on ne peut rien dire sur la réalité et la vérité d'une résurrection (fille de Jaïre, Lazare, Jésus), tel Arie W. Zwiep dans son *Jairus's Daughter and the Haemorrhaging Woman : Tradition and Interpretation of an Early Christian Miracle Story*, WUNT 421 (Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2019), en particulier 283. De l'autre côté il y des auteurs qui soutiennent que l'historicité est un élément essentiel dans l'interprétation de cette notion. Voir, Alan G. Padgett, « Advice for Religious Historians : On the Myth of a Purely Historical Jesus », dans *The Resurrection : An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Resurrection of Jesus*, dir. Stephen T. Davis, Daniel Kendall, et Gerald O'Collins (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1998), 287–307, qui soutient que dans l'ère du postmodernisme la séparation entre le regard soi-disant objectif de l'historien et le regard du croyant n'est plus de mise.

Le but de cet article sera alors d'examiner la ressemblance et la dissemblance entre ces deux notions. Tout cela en tenant compte du fait que le professeur Riemer Roukema a amplement publié sur I Corinthiens 15.[3] En plus, le professeur Roukema a fortement soutenu la thèse d'un christianisme qui, dès les premiers temps, serait beaucoup plus que l'issue fortuite d'une histoire fort brouillée. Disons que, dès le début, il y avait une (proto-)orthodoxie qui faisait la trame de l'histoire chrétienne.[4] Au moins, c'est ce que soutient le professeur Roukema. C'est dans cette même veine qu'Augustin paraît aborder l'histoire[5] et pourtant, les apparences peuvent être trompeuses. Je propose donc d'examiner de plus près, dans le *De Trinitate* d'Augustin, les notions de similitude et de résurrection, ensuite de les comparer et finalement d'en tirer quelques modestes conclusions. Pourquoi le *De Trinitate* ? Parce que ce livre parle en détail de la similitude et nous montre aussi le tragique qui en fait partie. Je commence par la similitude, puis la résurrection et finalement la comparaison, suivie de quelques conclusions.

2. La similitude

Dès ses premières œuvres, la notion de la similitude a mené Augustin à la relier au binôme vrai-faux. Il écrit que l'homme que tu vois dans tes rêves n'est qu'un faux, mais il est un faux, justement en vertu de la similitude avec un vrai homme.[6] Il n'explique pas en quoi consiste en fait la similitude, mais il continue de donner des exemples qui prouvent que le faux est faux justement parce qu'il ressemble tant au vrai. Tel est le cas de l'image que l'on voit dans un miroir, un arbre peint, une rame qui paraît brisée dès qu'elle touche l'eau.[7] Toutes ces images sont fausses, mais elles le sont en vertu de leur ressemblance au vrai. La dissimilitude en revanche

[3] Riemer Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen : Kok, 1996). Riemer disserte, en parlant du chapitre 15, surtout des disputes sur la corporalité de la résurrection. La question de la similitude n'est pas abordée. Voir également, Michael Bachmann, « Zum Argumentum Resurrectionis von I Kor. 15, 12 ff. nach Christopher Zimmer, Augustin und Paulus », *LB* 67 (1992) : 29–39 ; Marcel Neusch, « La Résurrection. La mort est morte », *Itinéraires augustiniens* 37 (2007) : 31–38.

[4] Riemer Roukema, *Jezus, de gnosis en het dogma* (Zoetermeer : Boekencentrum, 2007).

[5] Marguerite Shuster, « The preaching of the Resurrection of Christ in Augustine, Luther, Barth, and Thielicke », dans *The Resurrection : an Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Resurrection of Jesus*, dir. Stephen T. Davis, Daniel Kendall, et Gerald O'Collins (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1997), 308–338.

[6] *Sol*. II,6,10 : *Nam certe quod oculi vident, non dicitur falsum, nisi habeat aliquam similitudinem veri. Ut verbi causa, homo quem videmus in somnis, non est utique verus homo, sed falsus, eo ipso quod habet veri similitudinem.*

[7] *Sol*. II,6,10.

est la cause du faux. C'est le moment où l'on constate la différence entre ce qui est vrai et ce qui en est uniquement une copie. Ce qui mène Augustin à la conclusion que la similitude est la mère de la vérité, la dissimilitude la mère du faux.[8] Pourtant, ce n'est pas aussi simple qu'il ne prétend au premier abord. Quand on regarde des œufs, il faut reconnaître qu'ils se ressemblent, mais il n'y a rien de faux dans deux œufs qui se ressemblent.[9] Pourtant, il n'y a pas une dissimilitude dans le sens qu'Augustin en a donné, puisque les œufs sont aussi vrais les uns que les autres. Donc la conclusion sur la différence entre similitude et dissimilitude est peut-être trop schématique. C'est pour cette raison qu'Augustin essaye encore de trouver une autre réponse. Parlant de la similitude, il suggère qu'on puisse parler d'une copie, une imitation, qui révèle en effet la vérité, sans qu'elle puisse l'être elle-même. Même plus, il faut du faux pour révéler le vrai. Il suffit de penser à un acteur, à un artiste qui crée un portrait. Ils ne peuvent être vrai peintre ou vrai comédien qu'en montrant le faux. Le tragédien qui joue Hector n'est pas vraiment Hector et pourtant il joue son rôle afin de mieux montrer la vérité.[10] C'est cette distinction qui permettra Augustin d'introduire la notion d'une réalité à plusieurs niveaux. La similitude révèle alors qu'il y a des couches inférieures et supérieures dans notre réalité et qu'une couche inférieure puisse se référer à une couche supérieure. En même temps, cela lui permet de maintenir la distinction entre vrai et faux. Car des couches inférieures de la réalité sont naturellement moins vraies que des couches supérieures. Donc les premières ébauches de sa conception de la similitude se trouvent déjà dans ses œuvres de jeunesse. Il en parle utilisant un registre ontologique, sans que cela n'entraîne des conséquences au niveau de la morale. Similitude n'implique pas qu'on est tenu à essayer de combler le fossé entre le vrai et le faux. Il s'agit plutôt d'une différence essentielle entre le créateur et la créature, car la vérité ne peut être vérité tout court qu'en Dieu lui-même.

En revanche, il sera plus prononcé dans son *De Trinitate* où il aborde la similitude d'une autre façon. Il commence par dire que l'âme possède un désir caractérisé par une nature compliquée. Ce désir est en effet le désir de devenir, ou d'être, semblable à Dieu au plus haut point. Malheureusement, l'âme échoue dans cet effort. Car ce qui arrive, c'est que l'âme est

[8] *Sol*. II,7,13 : *nonne similitudinem veritatis matrem et dissimilitudinem falsitatis esse fatendum ?*

[9] *Sol*. II,7,13 : *Sed attende utrum tibi videatur, cum ova similia videmus, aliquod eorum falsum esse recte nos posse dicere*.

[10] *Sol*. II,10,18 : *Quo pacto enim iste quem commemoravi, verus tragoedus esset, si nollet esse falsus Hector, falsa Andromache, falsus Hercules, et alia innumera ? Aut unde vera pictura esset, si falsus equus non esset ?*

éblouie par la splendeur divine, une splendeur que l'âme considère ensuite être partie intégrale de sa propre existence. Elle y voit sa propre image alors qu'il s'agit de l'image de Dieu qui nous a été donnée. Elle ne se tourne donc pas vers Dieu, elle se tourne de plus en plus vers elle-même, ce qui implique que l'écart entre elle et Dieu se creuse davantage.[11] Le problème principal est alors que l'âme s'attache à des images de ce qu'elle croit être la beauté, mais qui n'en sont que des images.[12] C'est là que l'on découvre que la similitude est aussi une fausse perspective. Une perspective qui mène à croire qu'on peut combler le fossé entre l'original et son image, alors qu'en réalité toute similitude doit préserver une certaine différence essentielle avec l'original. Autrement dit, la similitude recèle plusieurs réalités (on l'avait déjà vu) et cette pluralité nous montre qu'une similitude peut croître ou diminuer. Croître, elle s'approche de l'être divin ; diminuer, elle se perd dans un mouvement d'aversion du divin. Ces dernières tendances ne peuvent trouver leur origine que dans le péché. Il y a un retour du binôme vrai-faux dans l'opposition perfection et péché. La similitude paraît un moyen de se rapprocher de Dieu, en vérité par contre c'est un pis-aller. Elle est souvent happée par des éclats qu'elle croit faussement les siens. En vérité, ces éclats sont des reflets de la splendeur divine. Augustin ne lâchera pas cette idée, même s'il avoue que l'image peut être renouvelée et que dans ce sens l'âme peut retourner à Dieu.[13] Car bien qu'il cite amplement le verset de l'apôtre Jean 'nous lui serons semblables parce que nous le verrons tel qu'il est'[14] et bien qu'il insiste sur la perfection que notre connaissance de Dieu atteindra, il ne manquera pas de préciser que la similitude qui en résulte n'est qu'une similitude partielle. Dans le dernier livre du *De Trinitate*, il répète le verset où il est dit que nous verrons Dieu tel qu'Il est. Cette fois-ci en revanche, il rajoute clairement que cette similitude est encore accompagnée d'une grande

[11] *De Trin*. X,5,7 : *Multa enim per cupiditatem pravam, tamquam sui sit oblita, sic agit. Videt enim quaedam intrinsecus pulchra, in praestantiore natura quae deus est. Et cum stare debeat ut eis fruatur, volens ea sibi tribuere, et non ex illo similis illius, sed ex se ipsa esse quod ille est, avertitur ab eo, moveturque et labitur in minus et minus, quod putatur amplius et amplius.*

[12] *De Trin*. X,6,8 : *Errat autem mens, cum se istis imaginibus tanto amore coniungit, ut etiam se esse aliquid huiusmodi existimet. Ita enim conformatur eis quodam modo, non id exsistendo, sed putando; non quo se imaginem putet, sed omnino illud ipsum cuius imaginem se cum habet.*

[13] Cp. Johann Kreuzer, « Was heisst es sich als Bild zu verstehen? Von Augustinus zu Eckhart », dans *Denken mit dem Bild. Philosophische Einsätze des Bildbegriffs von Platon bis Hegel*, dir. Arno Schubbach et Johannes Grave, Eikones (Leiden : Brill, 2010), 75–96.

[14] *De Trin*. XIV,19,25.

dissimilitude.[15] Ce qui revient à dire que l'homme ne pourra jamais atteindre le niveau de la réalité divine. Même pas après la résurrection. Car la citation du verset 'nous le verrons tel qu'Il est' se réfère en effet à la situation post-résurrectionnelle.

3. La similitude ne peut exister qu'accompagnée de la dissimilitude

En d'autres termes, la similitude nous parle d'une ressemblance entre la réalité divine et la réalité humaine sur un plan ontologique et épistémologique. Cette ressemblance en revanche, ne mène pas forcément à un rapprochement entre l'âme et Dieu, elle peut aussi mener à un enchantement de l'âme par ses propres qualités tel qu'elle ne se tourne pas vers Dieu, mais vers elle-même. Elle se vautre dans le péché, c'est-à-dire dans le désir non seulement d'être comparable à Dieu, mais d'être divin soi-même. Donc d'effacer la différence entre l'original et son image, ce qui justement fut l'essentiel de la similitude. Voilà la première observation d'Augustin : la similitude fait l'objet d'une emprise de la part du péché. Elle reflète l'origine divine de l'image, mais elle n'est pas capable de s'en tenir à cette origine et elle se tourne vers son propre être. Le fait que la similitude se doit d'être un pont entre deux réalités qui ne peuvent être réduites l'une à l'autre, restera la trame principale des pensées augustiniennes. La réalité humaine peut ressembler à la réalité divine, mais elle ne pourra jamais être identifiée avec celle-ci. La similitude est donc la plus brève définition de l'anthropologie humaine. Elle est la fierté et le tragique de l'homme. L'homme vit dans la réalité, mais également à côté de la réalité. Il n'a pas sa source en lui-même, mais aussi long que soit le cours de sa vie, il ne pourra jamais remonter ce fleuve jusqu'à sa source. Pourtant, cette conclusion peut surprendre. Car la notion de la similitude, formant le pont entre la réalité divine et celle des êtres humains, est basée sur l'idée de la participation, une notion (néo-)platonicienne., comme le montre bien *De Trinitate* IV,6.10.[16] Une image ne peut se référer à l'original qu'à condition d'y participer. C'est l'ontologie platonicienne et néoplatonicienne qui furent le fil conducteur dans le concept de la similitude et bien que cette ontologie lui soit chère, Augustin se voit obligé de rompre un moment donné avec la structure de cette ontologie. Car dans les pensées platonicienne et néoplatonicienne la similitude mène, in fine, à une identification avec la réalité suprême. Elle représente la possibilité d'un retour

[15] *De Trin*. XV,11,21.
[16] "ut per gratiam novi testamenti et participationem resurrectionis Christi audiremus."

à son origine qui ne souffrira pas de l'obstacle insurmontable du péché. Bref, la similitude recèle aussi la possibilité de ne plus être similitude, mais identification. Certes, il y a la possibilité de la chute vers une réalité inférieure, Platon le décrit amplement dans l'Allégorie de la Caverne, mais il y a aussi la possibilité inouïe d'y échapper et de remonter vers la lumière. En fait, la similitude figure dans le cadre d'une anthropologie optimiste : il est bel et bien possible, malgré le risque des chutes er rechutes, d'arriver à une identification finale avec la réalité suprême. Augustin change donc la structure essentielle de la similitude. Il maintient sa double nature de vrai et faux, il maintient son double attachement (à l'humain et au divin), mais il n'accepte plus la possibilité d'un retour définitif. La dissimilitude prévaut finalement et elle prend le caractère du péché insurmontable. Insurmontable, c'est-à-dire à moins que la grâce divine intervienne et restaure ce qui n'est plus dans les moyens de l'homme *post lapsum*. Il y a donc une notion philosophique qui a été défaite de son contenu. Pourquoi ? Et pourquoi Augustin a-t-il quand même voulu s'en servir s'il n'était pas d'accord avec le contenu principal de cette notion ?

4. La résurrection

Et voilà qu'arrive la notion de la résurrection.[17] Car la question est naturellement de savoir si la résurrection, dans son interprétation augustinienne,

[17] Le livre le plus important sur Augustin et la résurrection a été écrit par le R.P. Gerald O'Collins, *Saint Augustine on the Resurrection of Christ* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2017). Le R.P. O'Collins insiste sur le fait que la résurrection avait une grande importance pour Augustin comme symbole de l'espoir d'une vie future, mais également comme symbole de l'identification avec le Christ, ainsi que le symbole du caractère christologique des sacrements. Voir, du même auteur, également, le R.P. Gerald O'Collins, « St Augustine as Apologist for the Resurrection of Christ », *SJT* 69 (2016) : 326–40. Voir également, Mamerto Alfeche, « The Basis of the Hope in the Resurrection of the Body according to Augustine », *Augustiniana* 36 (1986) : 240–96; Jose Rene Delariarte, « The 'Resurrection of the Flesh' according to Saint Augustine », *Recoletos Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 4 (2016) : 127–43; Seamus J. O'Neill, « Aequales angelis sunt: Angelology, Demonology, and the Resurrection of the Body in Augustine and Anselm », *The Saint Anselm Journal* 12 (2016) : 1–18; Mamerto Alfeche, « Augustine's Discussions with Philosophers on the Resurrection of the Body », Augustiniana 45 (1995) : 95–140; Michael David Barbezat, « Augustine of the Flesh of the Resurrection Body in the De Fide et Symbolo: Origen, Manichaeism, and Augustine's developing Thought Regarding Human Physical Perfection », dans *Fluid Bodies and Bodily Fluids in Premodern Europe: Bodies, Blood, and Tears in Literature, Theology and Art*, dir. Anne M. Scott et Michael D. Barbezat, Borderlines (Amsterdam : ARC Humanities, 2019), 175–92; Candida R. Moss, « Heavenly Healing: Eschatological Cleansing and the Resurrection of the Dead in the Early Church », *JAAR* 79 (2011) : 991–1017; Fellipe Do Vale, « Cappadocian or Augustinian? Adjudicating Debates on Gender in the Resurrection », *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 21 (2019) : 182–98.

jette le pont entre la réalité divine et celle des hommes ? Est-elle capable de porter l'homme à la hauteur de la divinité ? Peut-elle tendre la perche à l'être humain, même si ce n'est que dans un prochain futur ? Y-a-t-il un autre modèle que celui de la similitude dont les capacités ne suffisent pas à franchir la différence entre humain et divin ? Qu'en dit Augustin ? Il en parle dans *De Trinitate* XIV,19,25 où il commence par citer le fameux vers de Genèse 1,26 'faisons l'homme à notre image et à notre ressemblance.'[18] Sa première observation est de constater que le pluriel que l'on lit dans cette phrase montre clairement que l'homme a été fait d'après l'image de la Trinité. Certes, il y a un seul Dieu, mais le pluriel n'est pas une simple figure de rhétorique, il indique une pluralité tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de la divinité. De là, Augustin poursuit en citant de nouveau l'apôtre Jean qui dit que nous lui (càd Jésus) serons semblables parce que nous le verrons tel qu'il est : *similes ei erimus quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est*. Sous-entendu, nous verrons Jésus dans sa forme divine. La phrase frappe déjà par sa logique paradoxale : être semblable parce qu'on voit l'*être*. Dans ce cas-là, on n'est pas semblable, on fait partie d'une vision qui est identique à l'être. Certes, le verset en question sort d'un autre registre, d'un autre vocabulaire, mais Augustin le cite dans un contexte tout à fait philosophique donc on aurait pu s'attendre à une remarque de sa part sur cette contradiction, mais il la laisse passer. Ce qui nous ramène donc à la question de savoir s'il faut entendre par cette phrase que la résurrection franchisse des barrières que la similitude ne pouvait franchir sous peine de ne plus être similitude ? Autrement dit, est-ce que la résurrection introduit un nouveau cadre ontologique dans lequel la notion de la similitude perdrait ses limites ou faut-il accepter que la résurrection doive se plier aux paramètres que d'ores et déjà la similitude a fixés ? Ou encore, est-ce que la résurrection représente une forme de la déification que l'on ne rencontre pas souvent dans la pensée des pères occidentaux ?

Ce qu'il faut observer d'abord, c'est qu'Augustin voit la résurrection sous différents angles. Elle est ontologiquement liée à la mort, mais elle l'est également, au niveau anthropologique, à la différence entre la foi chrétienne et toutes les autres religions. Augustin y insiste, il n'y a que le christianisme qui connaît la notion de la résurrection, elle n'existe nulle part ailleurs.[19] Admettons d'ailleurs, il ajoute, qu'il est difficile, en effet,

[18] *De Trin*. XIV,19,25 : *At vero illa imago de qua dictum est 'faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram'*.

[19] *Sermo* 215,6: *Sola haec fides est, quae christianos ab omnibus hominibus discernit et separat. Nam quia mortuus et sepultus est, et pagani nunc credunt, et Iudaei tunc viderunt; quia vero tertia die a mortuis resurrexit, nec paganus nec Iudaeus admittit.*

de croire en la résurrection. L'on accepte la mort comme un fait. Mais la résurrection ? Ce n'est pas évident. Or, dit St. Augustin, rassurez-vous. Dieu vous a créés *ex nihilo*, ne serait-Il pas capable de vous ressusciter des morts ?[20] La résurrection a donc aussi, dans la pensée augustinienne, une valeur apologétique. Dans ce sens, la résurrection est une notion qui est indispensable et qui n'appartient nullement aux *adiaphora* dont on peut, à la rigueur, relativiser l'importance. Non, Augustin partage entièrement l'avis de St. Paul qui soulignait que sans la résurrection, la foi chrétienne est vide (I Cor. 15,13). De ce fait, Augustin s'oppose fermement à l'avis de Porphyre.[21] Deuxièmement, Augustin explique en détail tous les aspects physiques de la résurrection dans son *De Ciuitate*, expliquant que la corporalité de la résurrection de Jésus va de soi. Il y une continuité entre la vie de Jésus avant sa mort et après celle-là.[22] Troisièmement, quand il parle de la résurrection, il est clair que cette résurrection doit prendre son point de départ dans la résurrection de Jésus. C'est donc la christologie qui prime. L'importance qu'il accorde à la résurrection, notamment dans son *De Ciuitate*,[23] montre clairement la valeur apologétique de cette notion. Mais en même temps il est évident que cet aspect apologétique n'amène pas Augustin à développer une autre structure ontologique. Il n'utilise pas le contraste entre la philosophie païenne et le christianisme pour avancer de nouvelles structures. C'est une conviction, un élément très important de la foi, figurant dans le *Symbole des Apôtres*, mais la foi en la résurrection ne crée pas des structures nouvelles dans la relation entre Dieu et l'homme. Voilà en ce qui concerne l'aspect apologétique. Il

Discernit ergo a mortuis perfidis vitam fidei nostrae, resurrectio mortuorum. Je dois cette référence à l'article de M. Alfeche (voir note 17). En revanche, ce n'est pas *Sermo* 216, mais 215.

[20] *Sermo* 215,6.

[21] *De Ciu*. XXII,25 : *Verum de animi bonis, quibus post hanc vitam beatissimus perfruetur, non a nobis dissentiunt philosophi nobiles: de carnis resurrectione contendunt, hanc quantum possunt negant*. Voir, Isabelle Bochet, « Résurrection et réincarnation : la polémique d'Augustin contre les platoniciens et contre Porphyre dans les 'Sermons' 240–242 », dans *Ministerium sermonis: Philological, Historical and Theological Studies on Augustine's Sermones ad populum*, dir. Gert Partoens, Anthony Dupont et Mathijs Lamberigts (Turnhout : Brepols, 2009), 267–98 ; également, Isabelle Bochet, « Saint Augustine Lecture 2009. The Role of Scripture in Augustine's Controversy with Porphyry », *Augustinian Studies* 41 (2010) : 7–52.

[22] *De Ciu*. XXII,15 : *Sed utique Christus in ea mensura corporis, in qua mortuus est, resurrexit, nec fas est dicere*.

[23] Voir, O'Neill, « Aequales angelis sunt ». Voir également, Yossef Schwartz, « In the Name of the One and the Many: Augustine and the Shaping of Christian Identity », dans *Religious Apologetics – Philosophical Argumentation*, dir. Yossef Schwartz et Volkhard Krech, Religion in Philosophy and Theology 10 (Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 56–74.

est important, mais il n'apporte pas de nouvelles perspectives sur la structure ontologique de la résurrection.

Comment en est-il alors en regardant ce premier aspect que nous citions, celui de la mort ? La résurrection n'est pas concevable sans la connecter à la mort et pourtant, il ne s'agit pas, en parlant de la résurrection, d'une simple répétition de notre vie terrestre. Qu'est-ce alors ? De ce rapport entre la mort et la résurrection, Augustin parle dans plusieurs livres, notamment dans le *De Genesi ad Litteram*, le *De Trinitate* et le *De Ciuitate*, mais les points principaux restent toujours les mêmes. Premièrement, l'homme avant la chute était un être, selon Augustin, qui était en mesure de ne pas mourir. Attention pourtant. Il ne dit pas que l'homme ne pouvait pas mourir, il dit qu'il était possible à l'homme de ne pas mourir.[24] La différence est essentielle. Car l'homme fut créé d'après l'image et la ressemblance de Dieu, impliquant qu'il était en quelque sorte aussi l'image *de* Dieu. Malheureusement, cette image s'est ternie à cause de la chute, encore que l'image ne puisse pas entièrement se perdre.[25] En revanche, depuis cette chute la mort est devenue inévitable et elle est le sort commun des tous les êtres humains. Heureusement, la mort n'a pas le dernier mot. Il y a cette possibilité inattendue, grâce à Dieu, que les hommes soient réformés par Celui qui nous a formés. On peut revêtir l'homme nouveau,[26] un processus qui se produit définitivement dans la résurrection. Mais bien que la résurrection ouvre la voie à une sorte de renaissance, celle-ci ne peut concerner que le corps.[27]

5. La corporalité comme métaphore de l'identité

Quel que soit la définition qu'Augustin fournit, la résurrection reste une notion qui est intimement liée à la corporalité. Cette corporalité peut être celle des anges, elle peut être une corporalité spirituelle, mais la résurrection ne se conçoit pas sans cette corporalité.[28] Ce qui s'explique par le fait que c'est la spécificité du corps de Jésus qui a permis de le reconnaître après sa mort. Ce sont ses blessures qui permettent à Thomas de le reconnaître et il en va de même pour tous les apôtres quand Jésus surgit

[24] *De Gen. ad Litt*., VI,25,36 : *Aliud est enim non posse mori, aliud est posse non mori.*

[25] *De Trin*. XIV,8,11 : *Diximus enim eam etsi amissa dei participatione obsoletam atque deformem, dei tamen imaginem permanere.*

[26] *De Trin*. XIV,16,22 : *Quod ergo ibi legitur 'induite novum hominem, qui secundum deum creatus est ; hoc isto loco 'induite novum hominem qui renovatur secundum imaginem eius qui creavit eum.*

[27] Comme le montre le bel article de Isabelle Bochet, « Le corps : un poids pour l'âme ? L'exégèse augustinienne de Sagesse 9, 15 », *RSPT* 100 (2016) : 27–43.

[28] Voir, Candida Moss, « Heavenly Healing: Eschatological Cleansing and the Resurrection of the Dead in the Early Church », *JAAR* 79 (2011) : 991–1017.

dans une pièce fermée. Autrement dit, le corps, c'est quasiment l'identité. L'identité ne peut se passer de cette corporalité, ce qui oblige Augustin à bien mettre en avant celle-ci. Parlant alors de la similitude entre Dieu et l'homme, que l'homme obtiendra après la résurrection, cette similitude doit se baser entièrement sur un fonds corporel. C'est uniquement par rapport au Fils – qui a connu une existence corporelle – que l'on peut dire qu'on sera semblable à Dieu.[29] Voilà, au premier abord, la trame de pensées augustiniennes dans le *De Trinitate*. Par exemple, dans les livre II et IV, il disserte amplement sur la corporalité de la résurrection.[30] Ou encore à d'autres endroits, par exemple dans le livre XIV :

> C'est selon cette image du Fils, à laquelle par l'immortalité nous serons conformés jusque dans notre corps que nous accomplissons aussi ce que dit le même apôtre 'de même que nous avons porté l'image de l'homme terrestre, portons aussi l'image de celui qui vient du ciel.[31]

En quelque sorte, c'est compréhensible. La résurrection a toujours été comprise comme une résurrection corporelle encore que cet aspect de la corporalité ne fût pas clairement défini : corps céleste, corps terrestre, de quoi parlons-nous ? Car c'est bien vrai qu'il y ait une différence sensible entre le récit de la résurrection que l'on trouve dans les évangiles et celui que l'on lit chez St. Paul.[32] Mais même tenu compte de cette différence entre d'un côté les évangiles et de l'autre St. Paul, la corporalité est naturellement l'élément par excellence qui permet de concevoir une similitude entre l'homme et Dieu. Peu importe si l'on parle de l'homme avant ou après la chute, c'est grâce à cette corporalité qu'on peut voir une similitude. Cette similitude sera naturellement transformée dès que l'homme est renouvelé, mais ce n'est pas l'élément le plus important. Ce qui importe réellement, c'est que la résurrection implique une glorification du corps. Le corps, conçu comme un corps post-résurrectionnelle, fait partie d'un autre monde que le monde terrestre et elle change entièrement la nature de la vie corporelle.[33] La résurrection est bien une résurrection corporelle, mais elle entraîne une sorte de divinisation du corps. C'est vrai qu'on ne saura clairement décrire la nature de ce corps post-résurrectionnelle, mais il n'est pas moins certain que le corps subsiste entièrement. Il unit des

[29] *De Trin*. XIV,18,24 *: Et in hac quippe similes erimus deo, sed tantummodo filio, quia solus in trinitate corpus accepi*.
[30] Voir, par exemple, II,17,29 ; II,17,30 ; IV,3,6 ; IV,7,11 ; IV,16,21.
[31] *De Trin*. XIV,18,24. Traduction de la BA. Citation de I Cor 15,45, 49.
[32] C'est pourquoi Augustin a tenté d'harmoniser les différentes versions de la résurrection dans les quatre évangiles. Voir, Alfeche, « The Basis of Hope ».
[33] Cp. Bruce D. Marshall, « The Absolute and the Trinity », *ProEccl* 23 (2013) : 147–64.

qualités de la vie terrestre et d'une autre vie. De la vie terrestre, puisque Jésus montre les cicatrices et les blessures qu'on lui a infligées avant sa mort. Mais apparemment, ces qualités terrestres ont été retenues dans une autre sphère, celle de la résurrection. De nouveau, c'est au niveau de l'identité que l'on reconnaît la grande importance de la corporalité. L'homme ressemble à Dieu parce qu'il reconnaît un élément identitaire. Ce n'est pas la corporalité en elle-même qui importe, c'est l'élément identitaire qu'elle représente. C'est cet élément qui symbolise la voie d'accès au divin, bien qu'elle soit une voie qui ne concerne que l'économie divine : la corporalité est définitivement liée à la deuxième personne de la Trinité et elle ne peut être appliquée aux autres personnes. Et si l'on laisse l'économie divine de côté, il est clair que la corporalité n'a rien à voir avec l'immanence divine. Celle-ci ne peut être qu'incorporelle, ce qui était la grande découverte d'Augustin dans les *Confessions*.[34] Peu importe d'ailleurs, ce qui frappe c'est que la corporalité figure comme élément identitaire. Il ne faut pas la prendre au pied de la lettre, elle est un symbole, une sorte de métaphore. Dans ce sens, elle est déjà une similitude en elle-même. Cette métaphore, elle existe grâce à l'incarnation de la seconde personne de la Trinité et elle est donc intimement liée à la double nature du Christ.

6. La résurrection sous l'égide de l'Esprit

Pourtant, dans le livre XII, le ton est différent. Là Augustin se réfère à St. Paul et il distingue clairement entre Jésus, fils de David selon la chair, et le Fils de Dieu, selon l'Esprit de sanctification, *par la résurrection*.[35] Donc la résurrection représente cette transformation d'un être terrestre, voire corporel, en une existence divine. Et afin d'éviter tout malentendu, il rajoute qu'il ne faut pas croire qu'entre le Fils de Dieu et celui qui a été ressuscité d'entre les morts, il y une différence de personnes. Au contraire, il s'agit d'une seule et même personne.[36] Ce qui naturellement est tout à fait conforme à la doctrine officielle : une personne en deux natures. Il y a donc une continuité au niveau de la personnalité qui n'est pas liée à la corporalité. La résurrection prend un autre sens, à savoir celui de l'Esprit. Ce qui veut dire que sa référence principale, qui est celle de la christologie,

[34] *Conf.* VII,1,1–1,2 ; X,25,36.

[35] *De Trin.* XII,6,7 : Sed tamen ad Romanos apostolus: *de filio suo,* inquit, *qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem, qui praedestinatus est filius dei in virtute secundum spiritum sanctificationis ex resurrectione mortuorum.*

[36] *De Trin.* XII,6,7 : *non cogimur intelligere aliam personam, sed unam eandemque, scilicet filius dei domini nostri Jesu Christi.*

a été élargie et même transférée à un autre domaine. La résurrection dépasse dès lors à la fois la corporalité et la christologie, ce qui crée en effet une dimension résurrectionnelle qui est plutôt trinitaire que christologique. Cela correspond tout à fait à la conclusion que nous avions déjà formulée, qui est de constater que la corporalité est plutôt signe de l'identité et qu'elle représente dans ce sens une métaphore, une similitude. N'empêche que cet élargissement de la résurrection au domaine de l'Esprit souligne la doctrine des *opera ad extra sunt indivisa*. En effet, le rôle d'une seule personne de la Trinité restera toujours l'œuvre de toute la Trinité et on ne pourra donc réduire le Christ – ni même sa corporalité – à sa seule personne. Mais l'essentiel de cet élargissement ne s'arrête pas là. En parlant de la résurrection, on avait affaire à une notion biblique qui, en elle-même, n'avait rien à voir avec le langage philosophique et trinitaire. Mais dès qu'Augustin insiste sur le fait que la résurrection fait également partie de l'œuvre du Saint Esprit, il est clair qu'il a su intégrer la résurrection dans un cadre trinitaire, voire doctrinaire, voire philosophique. Il défait le langage biblique de son contenu narratif et le remplace par un cadre trinitaire et philosophique. Ce qui, en quelque sorte, était déjà visible au moment qu'il commençait à voir dans la résurrection un élément identitaire plutôt qu'un élément littéral.

Ce qui paraît confirmé par le fait que la dernière mention de la résurrection dans le *De Trinitate* se trouve dans le livre XV où Augustin précise que le Christ, après sa résurrection, a donné à double reprise son Esprit.[37] Ce don de l'Esprit Saint, il le mentionne trois fois ; en effet les seuls trois fois qu'il parle de la résurrection dans le livre XV.[38] Augustin termine donc son examen de la résurrection en la plaçant dans le cadre du l'Esprit. De nouveau donc un autre cadre que celui de corporalité. Faut-il en conclure alors que le cadre ontologique a également changé ? Certainement pas. Dans le livre précédent (XIV), Augustin avait précisé que l'homme ressuscité ressemblerait uniquement au Fils et certainement pas au Père ou à l'Esprit :

> Nam dicitur etiam ista imago filii dei, in qua sicut ille immortale corpus habebimus, conformes facti in hac parte, non patris imaginis aut spiritus sancti, sed tantummodo filii, quia de hoc solo legitur, et fide sanissima accipitur: verbum caro factum est.[39]

[37] *De Trin*. XV,26,46 : *Quid vero fuerit causae, ut post resurrectionem suam, et in terra prius daret, et de caelo postea mitteret spiritum sanctum.*
[38] *De Trin*. XV,19,34 ; XV,26,45 ; XV,26,46.
[39] *De Trin*. XIV,18,24.

C'est clair, il y a ressemblance, mais il n'y pas d'égalité. Même s'il explique que nous ressemblerons à Dieu – il cite en effet l'Ecriture *similes ei erimus*[40] – ce n'est rien d'autre qu'une ressemblance qui n'équivaut nullement l'égalité. Comme il l'avait déjà dit, dans la phrase précédente :

> Et in hac quippe similes erimus deo, sed tantummodo filio, quia solus in trinitate corpus accepit, in quo mortuus resurrexit, atque id ad superna pervexit.[41]

Naturellement, nous ressemblerons à Dieu, mais en fait uniquement au Fils !

On voit clairement que la doctrine trinitaire a pris le dessus sur le langage biblique. Augustin le respecte entièrement, mais l'interprétation de ce langage biblique doit se faire dans le cadre de la doctrine trinitaire. Autrement dit, c'est la notion de la similitude et son interprétation philosophique qui prévalent. En effet, Augustin a défait le langage biblique de ces propres caractéristiques et l'adapte au langage philosophique. La résurrection n'est qu'une métaphore de ce que la similitude représente.

7. Conclusion

Mais si tel est le cas, la dernière question sera celle de savoir si la similitude elle-même n'est peut-être également rien d'autre qu'une métaphore ? C'est-à-dire, qu'elle n'a pas une qualité ontologique, mais qu'elle se situe uniquement au niveau du langage ? Au moins cela correspondrait à la fameuse tripartition qu'Augustin évoque dans *De Trinitate* V,1,1 entre être-réflexion-langage. C'est une tripartition qui représente une hiérarchie : l'être est au-dessus de la réflexion et la pensée est au-dessus du langage. Nos pensées ne peuvent saisir l'être, mais le langage ne peut saisir la réflexion. Ainsi, il y a toujours le système de la similitude qui détermine les relations entre les différents niveaux de la réalité : la pensée ressemble à l'être, mais elle ne peut être identifiée avec celui-là et il en va de même pour le langage. Mais cette similitude n'a pas de contenu ontologique. C'est une ressemblance épistémologique qui est entièrement basée sur des modèles néoplatoniciens. En revanche, si la corporalité de la résurrection avait été un élément où l'aspect physique avait été important, on aurait pu croire qu'une telle conception faisait partie d'un anti-docétisme qui, éventuellement, aurait pu figurer dans une (proto-)orthodoxie. Ce qui n'est pas

[40] *De Trin.* XIV,18,24.
[41] *De Trin.* XIV,18,24.

le cas. Augustin fait tout son possible pour intégrer la résurrection dans un système philosophique, voire néoplatonicien. La résurrection est importante pour lui. Mais uniquement tant qu'elle peut corroborer la doctrine trinitaire avec son concept de différentes couches dans la réalité. L'orthodoxie, c'est pour lui une orthodoxie qui s'inspire de la philosophie néoplatonicienne. Dans ce sens, la résurrection est un bel exemple de la façon dont Augustin défait le langage biblique de son contenu dans le but de le rendre utile dans la construction d'une 'orthodoxie' néoplatonicienne.

HOW AUGUSTINE EXPLAINS TO PORPHYRY, THE "BITTEREST ENEMY OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH," THE RESURRECTION AND THE CORRECT BALANCE BETWEEN FLESH AND SPIRIT, BODY AND SOUL IN *THE CITY OF GOD* XXII

Laela Zwollo

While composing *The City of God* (*Civ*.), book XXII, Augustine evidently had 1 Cor 15:14 in mind: "And if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain, your faith also is in vain" (ESV).[1] In chapters 25–28 of this book he responds to the Neoplatonist, Porphyry (232–ca. 305 CE), who denied Christ's resurrection and criticized the Christian notion of the resurrection of the body as an instrument of redemption. Augustine dismantled Porphyry's criticism with discourses on the theme of flesh and spirit (from Paul: 1 Cor 15, among others) and body and soul (from Platonism). Of interest here is Augustine's surprising claim that Porphyry's thoughts on the relationship between the soul and body contradict that of his teacher, Plato.

> A number of our people have a great affection for Plato because of his unique charm of style, and because of a number of points on which he had a true insight; and for that reason they say that his view about the resurrection of the dead was something like ours.[2]

Thus in this final book of *Civ*., Augustine sets out to prove the plausibility of the resurrection of the flesh by using passages from the works of Plato.

[1] See also Augustine, *Serm.* 229J.

[2] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXII.28: "Nonnulli nostri propter quoddam praeclarissimum loquendi genus et propter nonnulla, quae veraciter sensit, amantes Platonem dicunt eum aliquid simile nobis etiam de mortuorum resurrectione sensisse"; Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, eds., CCSL 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), 855. In this paper, all Latin quotations from *Civ*. are taken from CCSL 48–49 (orthography may be slightly adapted). All English translations are from: Henry Bettenson, trans., *Augustine: Concerning the City of God against the Pagans* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

The primary aim of this article is to explore Augustine's conception of the resurrection as seen through the refutation in *Civ*. of his prime antagonist Porphyry. This will entail focusing not only on *Civ*. XXII.25–28, where he deals directly with this Platonist's critique of the resurrection, but utilizing passages from other books, such as *Civ*. X, XIV, and XX. Yet in order to do this, we must first establish what Porphyry meant to Augustine: how Porphyry's claims (discussed in *Civ*. X) are related to his critique of the Christian notion of the resurrection of the flesh (*Civ*. XXII) and to the general aims of the whole work.

1. Background of Augustine's Defence of the Resurrection and his Refutation of Porphyry

1.1 *Augustine's Relationship to Porphyry*

In his article on books XXI–XXII of *Civ*., the distinguished Augustinian scholar, David Hunter, aptly sums up the core content:

> One can read the final books of the City of God as the endpoint of a specific intellectual journey, one which Augustine had embarked decades earlier, one that led him to abandon much of the mental furniture of a late antique philosopher and to embrace – even to pioneer – a cosmology and a theological anthropology with specifically Christian contours … Augustine's commitment to the notion of a resurrected body that was genuinely material would not have come easily to a late antique man, especially one with profound debts to Neoplatonic philosophy.[3]

Hunter's statements are of interest here because they touch upon various topics which are essential to this article's content. Hunter indicates the attitude towards the body in the philosophical milieu in which Augustine had been educated, which is often characterized as espousing a "Platonist body/soul dualism." Augustine underwent a number of intellectual changes during the course of his career and in his younger years, he, too, had embraced this dualism as a consequence of his readings of Greek philosophy.[4] Hunter further states here that Augustine's defence of the body in

[3] David G. Hunter, "Books 21 & 22. The End of the Body: Heaven and Hell in *The City of God*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine's City of God*, ed. David Vincent Meconi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 276–96 (276).

[4] See Margaret R. Miles, *Augustine on the Body* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979); Paul van Geest, "The Care of the Body in Augustine's Mystagogy as a Criterion for Orthodoxy? His *Praeceptum* and *De Haeresibus* Reread," in *Early Christian Mystagogy and the Body*, ed. Paul van Geest and Nienke Vos, Annua Nuntia Lovaniensa (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 366–84; Laela Zwollo, "Awful/Awesome St. Augustine: Is the

book XXII of *Civ*. led him to "abandon the mental furniture" of late antique philosophy. This formulation might sound as if Augustine had come to the conclusion that Platonist philosophy should be abandoned altogether.

Yet this was, in my opinion, not the case. The second aim of this article is to illustrate within the context of Augustine's refutation of Porphyry, how he sought to correct ancient Platonism with his explanation and defence of the physical resurrection in book XXII, thereby proposing a more nuanced picture of body/soul and flesh/spirit dichotomies. A most salient example of the latter is *Civ*. XIV.2–4,[5] where Augustine first discusses the elements flesh and spirit as opposites, then relates them to the body and soul. His goal here is to ultimately correct radicals, among them Christian heretics as well as certain Platonists, who posited these severe oppositions which ultimately resulted in the disparagement of the physical body.

It is indeed an arduous task for any Christian Platonist to provide a rational explanation for Christ's resurrection which would also encompass the conception of the bodies of saints destined for the *civitas caelestis* in the afterlife. It is even more arduous when one's "interlocutor" is the famous scholar (yet already deceased) Porphyry,[6] who had not only ridiculed Christ's divinity (*Civ*. XIX.23) and his resurrection (XXII.25–28),[7] but

Body the Cornerstone of his Theology?" in Van Geest and Vos, *Early Christian Mystagogy*, 405–423.

[5] See also *Civ*. XIV.14–19, 21, 23; D. Hunter, "Augustine on the Body," in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 353–64, 359–60; Mathijs Lamberigts, "Book 13 & 14: The Incomprehensibility of the Fall and Its Consequences for Humanity," in Meconi, *Cambridge Companion*, 167–87. See also my comparison of *Tract. Ev. Jo*., CXXI.20.10–29 and *Civ*. XIV: Laela Zwollo, "Maria Magdalene's Tears in Augustine's Correction of the Philosophers," *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* 12 (2022): 42–76, http://www.academia.edu/97737497/BIBLIOTHECA_AUGUSTINIANA_ISSN_2469_0341_Vol_XII_Año_2022.

[6] Laela Zwollo, "Augustine's Motivations for his Refutation of Porphyry and Theurgy in *The City of God*," in *Augustine of Hippo's De Ciuitate Dei: Content, Transmission, and Interpretations*, ed. Anthony Dupont and Gert Partoens, StPatr 117 (Leuven: Peeters, 2021), 177–90.

[7] See also Augustine, *Ep. 102*, 2 and 8. Almost all that is extant of Porphyry's originally extensive oeuvre is fragmentary. Augustine is one of our sources on Porphyry's critique of the resurrection. Yet another source, Macarius Magnes' *Apokritos*, although beset with difficulties, provides a passage from one of Porphyry's works in which he invalidates the Christian notion of resurrection. In my view this passage seems to be authentic, especially when compared to *Civ*. XXII.11–12 and XIII.17. For the Porphyrian fragments I have consulted Robert M. Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians*, Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2005). For the fragment on resurrection, see Macarius Magnes' *Apokritos* 4.2 (Blondel=fr. 35 Harnack), in Berchman, *Porphyry*, 210–11, 44–45.

also posited that one must flee all things bodily in order to find happiness and to experience the divine.[8]

Let us now tread further to how Augustine deals with Porphyry in book X of *Civ*. This book contains a lengthy refutation of this Neoplatonist and attacks his reflections on demonology.[9] Yet much more is stirring in the background. This philosopher was not just a follower of Plato and Plotinus, for whom Augustine had deep respect. He had also been a renown publicist and expert on ancient religions. Augustine would not only have taken offense to Porphyry's public distortion of the Christian religion because he was a Christian, but also because of his Platonist sympathies. He apparently saw it his job to set the tables straight on Porphyry's support of traditional Roman cult and demonology. In his mind, Porphyry had instigated the decline of the otherwise praiseworthy Platonist tradition by approving of engaging spirits (*daimōnes*) as intermediaries between humans and the divine. Theurgy entailed the use of occult and magical techniques in the hope of acquiring divine knowledge. For Augustine, theurgical rites were a debasement of the lofty, silent contemplation of the transcendent and wholly good God, advocated by Plato and his most prominent interpreter Plotinus. These thinkers focused upon the immaterial, divine world above as the means to overcome the restless and worldly wanderings of the soul and to achieve salvation. Porphyry admitted to the risks involved in theurgy, such as contacting an evil demon instead of a benevolent one. But because of his awareness of the dangers of these practices, he was even more at fault in the eyes of the church father. Furthermore, in his denial of Christ as the Son of God, he failed to realize that only Christ could provide trustworthy divine mediation.

Although Porphyry was not the most foremost Platonist proponent of theurgical practices (see for example, Apuleius and Iamblichus), he was nonetheless, for Augustine, the most influential representative of this novel turn. Porphyry had exalted the official rites of traditional Roman religion and proposed a more explicit fusion of these, which included theurgical practices, with Platonist philosophy. This scholar had also been influential in political spheres, possibly at the imperial court of Diocletian, where his favourable attitudes towards ancient cults and hypercritical presentation of Christianity would have found a grateful reception.[10] These serious charges were not always accentuated in *Civ*. However, they play a significant role

[8] *Civ*. X.9, XII.27, XIII.17, XXII.12 and 26, *Serm*. 42, *Retract*. 2.41.2.
[9] *Civ*. X.9–32.
[10] See e.g., Elisabeth DePalma Digeser, *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists and the Great Persecution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 5 n. 14, 172–91.

in the entire work, Porphyry being the primary antagonist. All twenty-one of the other books in this work bear some connotation or reference to his refutations in books X and XXII.[11] "All in all, Porphyry, with his unfounded criticisms of Christian tenets, represented for Augustine in one person all that was wrong in the pre-Christian empire and thus everything the 'Christian Revolution' sought to mitigate."[12]

1.2 *Deploying Platonism for the Sake of the Christian Revolution*

In my view, *Civ*. can be seen as a significant contribution to the social, cultural, and religious revolution which had been instigated in emperor Constantine's legislation from 313 onwards.[13] It is of interest to observe how frequently Augustine brings up Plato in this work, as if this philosopher were somehow his ally in his promotion of this revolution. Augustine believed that if Plato were alive in his day, he would certainly have been a Christian (*Civ*. VIII.5). Augustine deployed the works of Plato, among those of other pagan intellectuals, to demonstrate that the pre-Christian state cult had outlived its credibility.[14] It had been criticised by this great philosopher who had witnessed the impoverishment of ethical values in ancient cults in his own time.[15] Moreover, Plato conceived the Godhead as immaterial, transcendent, and wholly good; unlike the anthropomorphically portrayed gods in Greek mythology and in the performances of theatre spectacles composed by poets. The conventional depictions of the gods displaying typical human acts of passion-driven behaviour provided no moral examples in which to emulate. Even worse, they were inappropriate

[11] See Giovanni Catapano, "*Nobilissimus philosophus paganorum/falsus philosophus*: Porphyry in Augustine's Metaphilosophy," *Studia Graeco-Arabica* 8 (2018): 49–66.

[12] For more details, see: Laela Zwollo, "Historical Research as a Socratic Dialogue with the Present: Interpreting Augustine's Treatment of Porphyry in *Ciu*. 10," in *Renewed Augustinology: Innovative Methods to Study Augustine of Hippo in the 21st century*, ed. Anthony Dupont, *Cuestiones Teologicas* 49, no. 112 (2022): 1–18 (15), https://doi.org/10.18566/cueteo.v49n112.a11.

[13] Hendricus Wilhelm Singor, *Constantijn en de christelijke revolutie in het Romeinse rijk* (Amsterdam: Ambo, 2012).

[14] For Augustine, the traditional Greek and Roman gods stimulated selfishness, egoism, the lust for dominion, and warmongering, thus the Roman state with its prescribed religious rituals had been on the wrong track, even since its earliest origins. Augustine saw this further evidenced by the fact that war and injustice still tainted Roman society, seldom effectuating true peace. The social and political crises in Augustine's day were the ongoing repercussions from bad religion (black magic) in the pre-Christian era. Corrupt elite (defenders of the Empire) instigated rites to the demons in order to protect their power, see Zwollo, "Historical Research," 15.

[15] *Civ*. VIII.13, 14, 21; Plato, *Resp*. e.g., II.377b–379; III.376–98.

for understanding the divine or becoming godlike. The latter was a crucial goal in Plato's *Resp.* for uplifting the population of the ideal state. As Augustine shows in *Civ.* II.14, Plato's critique was even more relevant in his day. In the 4th–5th centuries, Christians were no longer a minority in the Roman Empire and Christ's message, which was strongly ethically oriented, had been widely embraced. Augustine apparently believed that Porphyry had ignored Plato's critique of Greek mythological theology.

1.3 *Flesh/Spirit and Soul/Body Oppositions*

Throughout *Civ.* and especially in his apology of the resurrection in *Civ.* XXII, Augustine dealt intensively with the dichotomies soul/body and flesh/spirit. To explain the resurrection of the body, Augustine had to reckon with not only Porphyry's punctilious approach to Scripture, but also his own readers who, like himself, were widely read and possibly even appreciated the famous publicist's works. In Porphyry's critique of the resurrection, Augustine saw a soul/body dualism in operation,[16] especially in Porphyry's exhortation that "one must flee all things bodily" in order to return to God. Augustine also pointed out that this Platonist's recommendations to call up demons in the practice of theurgy were in direct conflict with this declaration, as I will explain below.

Demons who co-operated with philosophers in theurgy (as well as the gods worshipped in traditional Roman rites) were, according to Augustine, spirits who pretended to be gods or feigned a special liaison with divine beings (*Civ.* X.9–11). Although they had sublunar aerial bodies (VIII.14 and 16, X.11) they were primarily engaged with the material, experiential world of humans, communicating through physical objects such as statuaries in temples, or by manipulating matter or sense perception for the sake of creating illusions.[17] Through their sustained contact with humans, demons established a common community which offered inroads for luring physically-oriented desires into acts of egoism and sin.[18] Thus Augustine

[16] Labelling Platonism as a soul/body dualism is regarded by most modern scholars as an outdated stereotype. See Abraham P. Bos, "'Aristotelian' and 'Platonic' Dualism in Hellenistic and Early Christian Philosophy and in Gnosticism," *VC* 56 (2002), 273–91. There are also scholars who believe that Porphyry could have changed his mind later in his life and was likely not the dualist Augustine made him out to be. For a recent update on this issue, see *inter alia*, Gregory D. Wiebe, *Fallen Angels in the Theology of St. Augustine*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 152–56.

[17] Zwollo, "Augustine's Motivations," 184.

[18] Wiebe, *Fallen Angels*, e.g., 173–7.

questions: if one must flee all things physical, why involve oneself with such material distractions (*curiositas*) as the involvement with spirits (*Civ*. X.28–29)? In book XXII, Augustine's reiterates this discrepancy in order to respond to Porphyry's critique of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection.

The underlying tension within the philosophical view of the relationship between the soul and body is striking. Their relationship is hierarchical: the soul, in particular the soul directed to God and one's inner world, was regarded as superior; yet the soul that focused on the physical, material, and worldly was more inclined to sin. As such, the bodily, the senses, and the exterior world occupy the lower rank. It may seem to some researchers, such as Margaret Miles,[19] that Augustine's critique of Porphyry in *Civ*. and his exposition on the bodily resurrection both move away from the soul/body hierarchy and honour the body. This is to some extent true, yet I maintain that a certain hierarchy of the soul and the body in his thought remains intact.[20] There are many instances in *Civ*. attesting to this.[21] This can be detected as well in Augustine's view of the two deaths or two resurrections in book XX (prior to discussing Porphyry in the context of the resurrection). The soul, or the spirit, in relation to the body, holds an elevated position.

2. Augustine's Conception of the Resurrection

2.1 *The Two Deaths or Re-births in Civ. XX.6*

Augustine begins his exposition in Book XX.6 by quoting John 5:25: "Jesus then goes on to say, 'Mark my words carefully; I am telling you that a time is coming, in fact it has already come, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear shall live. For the Father has life in himself, so the Son, by the Father's gift.'"

[19] Miles, *Augustine on the Body*, 131; ibid., "From Rape to Resurrection: Sin, Sexual Differences, and Politics," in *Augustine's City of God: A Critical Guide*, ed. James Wetzel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 75–92, 88.

[20] For my defense of this hierarchy in response to Miles, see Zwollo, "Awful/Awesome."

[21] E.g., *Civ*. XIV.1–2: indicating types of persons who live according to the flesh (vice) and others according to the spirit (virtue), respectively, citizens of the earthly and the heavenly cities; XIII.24: "This is indeed true, for the soul is not the whole man; it is the better part of man, and the body is not the whole man; it is the lower part of him." XXI.15: "…until he has achieved that peace which is his aim in the many various struggles of the present warfare, in which the 'desires of the body oppose the spirit and the spirit fights against the body's desires.'"

John's account of Jesus' words serves as the point of departure for Augustine's expositions on the last judgment and the resurrection in book XX. The church father then proceeds to differentiate between the resurrection of the body and that of the soul.[22] The body can obviously die, yet the soul can as well, by sinning and adhering to false notions or abandoning God (XIII.1–2). Spiritual death denies access to eternal life.[23] The time to resurrect the soul is now. This resurrection entails an inner renewal through faith and repentance, effectuated by Christ's grace. Those who have not first resurrected in the soul, will certainly die the second death – which is not limited to the death of the physical body. Augustine asserts that physical death was necessary for bringing the whole individual, body and soul, to judgment on the Last Day. Thus the second resurrection entails the rising of deceased physical bodies from the earth and the sea, and a reunion with their souls in response to Christ's summons. Augustine also explains the two resurrections in terms of two rebirths which, again, consist firstly of the soul and thereafter the body, the latter of which will result in either immortality (1 Cor 15:50, 53) or eternal damnation. Thus the outcome of the second rebirth of the body is contingent upon the renewal of the soul in this life and Christ's final judgment.

To elucidate Augustine's point we need to consider his exegesis in *Civ*. XXII.21–29, in which he posits that all human bodies that had died will be resurrected at the end of time and transformed into a new spiritual body (1 Cor 15:44).[24] Christ's final judgment will determine what kind of life is in store for these persons, based upon the state of their soul and their embodied life on earth. In summary, if the soul has not been resurrected in this life, then it will, with its resurrected spiritual body, undergo the second death: eternal punishment. Those who had been resurrected in the soul but had not carried through with a good life (had become wicked), will neither pass on to the eternal life. The souls which had undergone both resurrections and led good lives will, with their new spiritual bodies, enter into God's Heavenly Jerusalem, as reborn into eternal, immortal life.[25]

With their newly acquired spiritual eyes the saintly souls will be able to "see God" (XXII.29). As to how this spiritual state shall be at this time

[22] See also *Civ*. XIII.1–12, *Trin*. IV.3.6; Augustine's vision of two resurrections is not only based upon the two deaths referred to in Rev 2:11, 20:6, 20:14, and 21:8. The idea of two deaths was also firmly entrenched in philosophical literature (I. Moreira, "Book 20: The Last Day, Judgment, Purification, and Transformation," in Meconi, *Cambridge Companion*, 261–75.

[23] 2 Cor 5:14, Rom 4:25, Ps 101:1, John 5:27–29.

[24] See also Augustine, *Epp*. *147*, 49–51, and *148*.

[25] See also *Civ*. XIII.1 and 24.

and to what extent they will be able to see with their spiritual eyes, Augustine claims ignorance.[26] He devotes a lengthy exposition to these questions, sometimes unravelling his previous assertions and expressing his doubts. In *Civ*. XXII.21, he is likewise hesitant to draw conclusions as to how "spiritual" or "physical" the resurrected body will be. However, at the end of chapter 29, he reiterates his original premise and deems it the most plausible: because God is immaterial, "spiritual eyes" (thus, not those of the physical senses) are necessary in order to see our Creator.[27]

2.2 *The Two Deaths and Resurrections in Light of the Theme "Flesh and Spirit"*

Augustine's conception of the two resurrections or two deaths in *Civ*. XX.6 is linked to *Civ*. XIII.20–24, where he mentions Porphyry's flight from all things physical. His conception of the two resurrections or two deaths is likewise linked to passages in *Civ*. XIV.2–3. There he interprets "flesh" in a neutral manner, specifying that our bodies can in no way be regarded as "bad." That which is indeed "bad" is the "living to the rule of the flesh," his prime biblical substantiation being Gal 5.19–21. In these verses, the works of the flesh are associated with a long list of vices, in short, with leading a life of debauchery. These vices, he points out, are faults of the mind rather than faults of the flesh and are not always the direct result of sensual indulgence. Augustine's differentiations between flesh and spirit in book XIII and XIV soften the contours of the sharp

[26] Hunter, "Books 21 and 22," 279: "In these mature writings (retr., fid. et symb., civ.), Augustine showed himself to be acutely aware of the limitations of an excessively spiritualized notion of the resurrected body." See also Zwollo, "Awesome/Awful," 413, 418. Referring to *Ep*. *148*, 3, Paul van Geest points out: "He (Augustine, LZ) suggested that the 'body' after death differed so much from its earthly counterpart that the word 'body' was in fact entirely unsuitable"; see his *The Incomprehensibility of God: Augustine as a Negative Theologian*, Late Antique History and Religion 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 120–21.

[27] In his earlier works, Augustine adhered to the idea of fleeing all things bodily to reach God (see e.g., *Solil*. I.14.24); Hunter, "Books 21 and 22," 276. Yet it occurs as well in *Trin*., a later work, and in other passages of *Civ*. in spite of the fact that he denies it in *Retract*. I.4.3. In *Retract*. I.4.3, recalling his assertion in *Solil*. 1.14.24 that the things of sense must be entirely fled, he expressed his dissatisfaction because this assertion resembled the opinion of the false philosopher, Porphyry. The things of the senses to be fled, he retracted, are rather those which will not pertain to the perceptions of "the new heaven and the new earth" in the coming world. See *Ver*. *rel*. 3.3–5, 4.6–7, and 5.8: one should not attach oneself personally to the knowledge formed by physical sense perception, the basis for perspectives which do not transcend the lower regions of the soul closest to the physical senses (*Retract*. 2.41.2); Van Geest, "Care of the Body," 370–72.

divisions which he established elsewhere in *Civ*. Yet remarkably, in his explication of the two deaths in *Civ*. XX.6, the dichotomy appears again.[28] Flesh/spirit and body/soul are presented within the context of other dichotomies: of the earthly and heavenly human (1 Cor 15:41) (for example throughout Book XIII), and the earthly and heavenly cities. (The latter are nuanced later as well.) The body is consistently portrayed in a positive manner: we cannot do without the body or the material life because these are essential for determining the destination of one's soul and for redemption. Christ's own human life and his physical resurrection are a conformation of this – Christ who liberated us, not from the body but from sin (*Civ*. XIII.23, XXII.24–25).

Thus there are a variety of ways in which Augustine distinguished flesh, spirit, body, and soul. Sometimes the two elements in these pairs are treated separately (as to refute Porphyry), sometimes in conjunction (as in referring to the physical or material body as flesh, the spirit as the soul), then conjoined (as in the "spiritual body" in the afterlife). Augustine's portrayal of tension between flesh and spirit seems to be most manifest in his references to the physical body in this present life, in which the body and soul are depicted as warring factions, characteristic of mankind's fallen state (*Civ*. XXI.15, XIV.23–24). After the resurrection, the tension will disappear. The heavenly human will exist in a state in which the body and soul, or flesh and spirit, will function harmoniously and come to rest – a state which was foreshadowed by Christ's resurrection (*Civ*. XXII.30).

2.3 *Augustine's Use of 1 Cor 15*

To explain the resurrected body, Augustine made use of several verses in 1 Cor 15. The most striking example is the Latin terminology for "spiritual" and "physical" body in verse 44:

> It is sown a natural body (*corpus animale*); it is raised a spiritual body (*corpus spiritale*). If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. (ESV)[29]

[28] The dichotomies occurring in some of these passages likely have something to do with the rhetorical device which Augustine employs throughout *Civ*.: *synkrisis* and *comparatio*, also used by Greek and Latin rhetors. Hofer discussed this method in the context of *Civ*. XIX 21–25; see Andrew Hofer, "Book 19: The Ends of the Two Cities: Augustine's Appeal for Peace" in Meconi, *Cambridge Companion*, 228–50, esp. 229–30 n. 5, 246. *Synkrisis* involves establishing an antithesis to show enormous differences between things which could be thought similar. A good example of this in *Civ*. is Augustine's treatment of the earthly and heavenly cities, which are often strongly contrasted. Yet other passages in *Civ*. imply Augustine's belief that the two cities are somewhat intermixed.

[29] For the Latin wording, see Eberhard Nestle, Kurt Aland, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine (Nestle-Aland)* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1984), 466–70.

This is best exemplified in *Civ*. XXII.24 (see note 36) in which the fleshly body (*corpus animale*) implies the body in its original and transient, sinful state, and the *corpus spiritale*, the spiritual or risen body in its immortal state. Paul's distinction earthly/heavenly in verses 46–49 is not only an anchor point for *Civ*. in its entirety, but in particular for Augustine's dichotomies of the fleshly, earthly body contrasted with the spiritual, heavenly resurrected body:

> But it is not the spiritual that is first but the natural, and then the spiritual. The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven. As was the man of dust, so also are those who are of the dust, and as is the man of heaven, so also are those who are of heaven. Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven. (ESV)

In addition, we see Augustine's use of Paul's designations of the spiritual body as imperishable and immortal in verses 50–55, in which the end of time is implied:

> I tell you this, brothers: flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable. Behold! I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed. For this perishable body must put on the imperishable, and this mortal body must put on immortality. When the perishable puts on the imperishable, and the mortal puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: "Death is swallowed up in victory."

Here Paul insists on flesh and blood being unable to inherit the Kingdom of God. Yet, as we will see in the upcoming sections, Augustine believes that "flesh" *will* enter the holy Heavenly City in the afterlife, yet only following its transformation to immortal and spiritual flesh.

3. Porphyry's Critique of the Notion of Resurrection

In book XXII, the themes flesh/spirit and body/soul return to play an important role in Augustine's defence of the resurrection of the flesh. Now the opposition terrestrial/celestial (as in the two cities) is more drawn into the picture. Although Porphyry is mentioned early on (XXII.4), Augustine's arguments from chapters 11–24 are generally geared to all Platonists. In chapters 25–28 he specifically addresses his main antagonist once again. Thus the first subsection of part III of this article will show how Augustine builds up the preliminaries of his strategy in chapters 11–24. In the second subsection, a treatment of his rebuttal of Porphyry follows.

3.1 *The Unfolding of Augustine's Defence of the Resurrection (XXII.11–24)*

In chapters 11–24, Augustine prepares his specific critique of Porphyry by first confronting the arguments of unnamed Platonists. The basis of their objections to the resurrection is a philosophical problem which is formulated as such: the soul, which is incorporeal, immaterial, and intellectual,[30] cannot ascend to heaven – a realm bearing the same traits – while still in an earthly-corporeal-material body. Augustine responds by pointing out the untenability of the contention that anything physical/material/terrestrial cannot merge with the spiritual/celestial. Such a concept would necessarily imply that a creature would never be able to return to its Creator. He underlines here that the interweaving of the material and the immaterial happens so often in the natural world that we take it for granted. He gives an example: how the soul and the body are bound together to form a human being. This is a miraculous phenomenon, even more miraculous than the merging of the material with the material. Within this perspective, the idea that God can change a physical body into a glorified heavenly one, should be of no surprise and therefore should not be objectionable (XXII.4).

In chapters 11–12, Augustine provides further arguments for his point made above, on the interweaving of the material with the immaterial, by challenging two lines of argumentation against the notion of resurrection. The first involves the Platonic theory of elements, the second is directed to specific questions posed by Platonists, both of which will be treated below. To note here is, that in refuting the Platonists, Augustine underscores fundamental Christian theological tenets which underpin belief in the resurrection of the flesh, for instance, the omnipotence of God.

3.2 *Against the Platonic Theory of Elements*

The first defence of the resurrection, beginning in chapters 11–12, affronts Platonist arguments against the resurrection of the body based upon the weights of the elements, found in the teachings of Plato (*Tim*. 30–32A). The order of the elements, beginning with the heaviest, is: earth, water, air, and fire. Due to their weight, the universe stays in balance: all four elements maintain their proper places. The premise here is that the opposite extremes – fire and earth – are linked by two intermediary elements – air and water. Fire is an element in the sky, while the earth is the foundation

[30] See also *Civ*. XXII.1.

of the world. Within this logic, it is not possible for anything earthly to exist in the sky due to the differences in weight. Thus, based upon this theory, the possibility of the interweaving of material and immaterial, as assumed in Augustine's vision of the resurrected body, cannot be feasible.

Subsequently Augustine counteracts by asking: how then is it possible that birds can fly in the air? Or that water clouds exist? That fire can exist on earth? (XXII.11). He then reasons that, according to the theory of elements, animals and humans should live underground due to their weight.[31] This theory, he argues, fails to explain why earthly beasts, were they to submerge under water (the second element) like aquatic animals, would drown, being dependent as they are of the third element, air. Another example which Augustine uses to defy this theory is the phenomenon of a piece of lead, the heaviest of all metals, which floats in water. He then relates this to the body and soul. First he mentions Aristotle who considered the soul as the fifth body (*quintum corpus*) and then Plato, who contends that the soul has no body, thus no mass or weight. It would thus follow that the body would weigh down the soul.[32] Yet, Augustine conjectures, why can it not be the other way around: that the soul makes the body lighter and enables it to rise to heaven?

Another weakness Augustine exposes in the element theory is that fire does not only exist above, it exists on earth as well. It even exists underground, as witnessed by a volcanic eruption. Yet the opponents will protest, he says, by claiming that earthly fire differs from heavenly fire. Earthly fire is wild, destructive, creates smoke, and is extinguishable. Heavenly fire is pure, serene, non-destructive, and never extinguishes. Augustine then points out that earthly fire cannot destroy mountains or the depths of the earth where it is constantly smouldering. Moreover, if the proposition were true that earthly fire differed from its heavenly counterpart, then he is willing to concede that heavenly fire is able to adjust itself to earthly conditions. And if this were true, why could this not equally apply to physical bodies: once transformed into incorruptible ones, they would adjust themselves to heavenly conditions? Augustine concludes that the Platonists' arguments for the classification of the elements by weight cannot set limits on the power of God, who can make our physical bodies capable of dwelling in the heavens (XXII.11). Although Augustine claims

[31] The theory of elements is also treated in *Civ*. XIII.17. Augustine is seemingly responding to Porphyry's own arguments. See Macarius Magnes, *Apokritikos* 4.2 (Blondel=fr. 35 Harnack); Berchman, *Porphyry*, 210–11.

[32] See also *Civ*. XIII.16–17. Augustine seems to be attacking his own adherence to this theory; or he lacks consistency: cf: *Trin*. VIII.2.3; *Civ*. XIV.3.

to be addressing unspecified Platonists here, the Christian belief in the omnipotence of God is also a point which Porphyry confuted.[33]

3.3 *Questions Concerning the Resurrection Posed by Platonists*

Chapters 12–24 tackle other physical particulars of the Christian conception of the resurrection, about which Porphyry or other Platonists had raised questions. A few examples: can miscarriages or abortions resurrect? (XXII.12). What about the resurrection of children, if a child dies, will its resurrected body be that of a child? (XXII.12, 14). Will women resurrect? (XXII.12, 16–17).[34] Will deformities or scars of the martyrs be visible on the resurrected body? (XXII.19). To whose flesh shall the souls return in the case of cannibalism? (XXII.12 and 20).[35] These were inquiries, according to Augustine, intended to deride Christians and defend the notion of reincarnation. In the latter passages, Plato and Porphyry are again mentioned. In their perspective, periods of misfortune alternate with those of blessedness in the duration of living different lives in multiple bodies. Once souls reach the end of their misery, they return to the divine eternal world and are godlike; thus they do not return to the physical body. Once the cycle of reincarnations terminates, it is because they will have removed themselves from all things bodily, as Porphyry exhorts (XXII.12, XIII.19). This is precisely the point which Augustine will target, as illustrated below.

3.4 *Resolution: the Resurrected Spiritual Body*

1 Cor 15:35 states: "But someone will ask, 'How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?'" (ESV). To answer this, Augustine contends that "nothing of the body will be lost" (Luke 21:18). At the time of the resurrection, when the deceased physical flesh of the souls will be re-animated, the transformed body will resemble the physical body in every detail. Here he stresses that the created body is beautiful, yet the

[33] See also Augustine, *Ep. 102* (Harnack fr. 92); Robert Louis Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1984), 161; and Didymus the Blind, see Berchman, *Porphyry*, 142.

[34] Augustine does not give a straightforward response but ultimately the answer is yes (ibid.).

[35] Perhaps Augustine is responding here to Porphyry's claim: "Therefore it is not plausible that if the resurrection should follow, the whole (body, LZ) is destroyed.… And that which pleases God is fitting that it exist forever, and that it not be condemned by the creator or destroyed, as if it had been made by some mere man, as something fashioned by a mortal being"; Macarius Magnes, *Apokritikos* 4.2 (Blondel=fr.94 Harnack); Berchman, *Porphyry*, 418.

resurrected body will be even more so because all disharmony and ugliness will be removed (see also XXII.20). Furthermore, all the recognizable characteristics of the body while it was alive and ensouled will be equally discernible on the new resurrected body, regardless of the kind of death it had undergone.

> Thus all that has perished from the living body, or from the corpse after death, will be restored. And with it will arise all that remains in the grave, changed from the old animal body into a new spiritual body, clothed in incorruptibility and immortality (1 Cor 15:53). Even if because of some serious accident, or through savagery of the enemy, it has been ground utterly to dust and scattered, as far as may be, to the winds or in the waters so that it has ceased to be an entity in any particular place, even so it cannot possibly be withdrawn from the power of the Almighty Creator and "not a hair of its head will perish."[36]

Subsequently, Augustine emphasizes once again the central significance of the spirit or soul, now in a complicated articulation: "The spiritual flesh will thus be subject to the spirit, but it will be flesh, not spirit, just as the carnal spirit was subject to the flesh, and yet was spirit, not flesh" (XXII.21). In other words, "flesh" will always remain "flesh," whether it be of a physical or spiritual nature. The resurrected flesh will be spiritual because it will be immortal, incorruptible, and perfected, thus superior to the physical flesh in which the soul was housed in this life. It will be a heavenly body (1 Cor 15:47), which is immaterial, because heaven – the City of God, our destination in the afterlife – is also predominantly immaterial (*Civ*. XI.1, XVII.13).

Augustine then expresses his delight while imagining the post-resurrection existence in a spiritual body:

> What blessings are we to receive in that kingdom, seeing that in Christ's death for us we have already received such a pledge! What will man's spirit be like when it is free from any kind of imperfection, when there are no evil tendencies for man to be subject to, or to yield to, or to fight against – however praiseworthy such a struggle may be; when the spirit of man is made perfect in undisturbed peace and goodness! How complete, how lovely, how certain will be the knowledge of all things, a

[36] *Civ*. XXII.21 (CCSL 48, 841): "Restituetur ergo quidquid de corporibus vivis vel post mortem de cadaveribus periit, et simul cum eo, quod in sepulcris remansit, in spiritalis corporis novitatem ex animalis corporis vetustate mutatum resurget incorruptione atque inmortalitate vestitum. Sed etsi vel casu aliquo gravi vel inimicorum inmanitate totum penitus conteratur in pulverem atque in auras uel in aquas dispersum, quantum fieri potest, nusquam esse sinatur omnino: nullo modo subtrahi poterit omnipotentiae Creatoris, sed capillus in eo capitis non peribit."

> knowledge without error, entailing no toil! For there we shall drink of God's Wisdom at its very source, with supreme felicity and without any difficulty.[37]

Hereby he adds characterizations of the transformed body: the long-awaited subjugation of bodily desires and its nourishment from the spirit.

> How wonderful will be that body which will be completely subdued to the spirit, will receive from the spirit all that it needs for its life and will need no other nourishment! It will not be animal; it will be a spiritual body, possessing the substance of flesh, but untainted by any carnal corruption.[38]

3.5 *Augustine's Correction of Porphyry (XXII.25–28)*

In these chapters Augustine begins by stating his case with Porphyry and his followers who deny the resurrection, yet acknowledge that the soul will receive the blessing of perfect happiness in the afterlife.

> Now there is no dispute between us and the well-known philosophers about the blessing that the soul will enjoy in perfect felicity after this life. But they quarrel with us about the resurrection of the body; in fact they strenuously deny it. And yet the increase of believers has left very few who deny this resurrection. Many have come to believe, learned as well as unlearned, the wise of this world as well as the simple. They have turned faithful hearts to Christ, who has proved, by his resurrection, the truth of what seems absurd to the obstinate few.[39]

Porphyry is one of the obstinate few who could envision a blessed heavenly afterlife, but not the notion of resurrection of the physical body, whether of Christ or of his followers. He is mentioned directly afterwards, in the context of one of the Greek oracles which he had obtained from the Delphic Pythia (in his work *Philosophy from Oracles*, discussed in

[37] *Civ*. XXII.24 (CCSL 48, 852): "Quae bona in illo regno accepturi sumus, quando quidem Christo mororiente pro nobis tale iam pignus accepimus! Qualis erit spiritus hominis nullum omnino habens vitium, nec sub quo iaceat, nec cui cedat, nec contra quod saltem laudabiliter dimicet, pacatissima uirtute perfectus! Rerum ibi omnium quanta, quam speciosa, quam certa scientia, sine errore aliquo vel labore, ubi Dei sapientia de ipso suo fonte potabitur, cum summa felicitate, sine ulla difficultate!"

[38] *Civ*. XXII.24 (CCSL 48, 852): "Quale erit corpus, quod omni modo spiritui subditum et eo sufficienter vivificatum nullis alimoniis indigebit! Non enim animale, sed spiritale erit, habens quidem carnis, sed sine ulla carnali corruptione substantiam."

[39] *Civ*. XXII.25 (CCSL 48, 852): "Verum de animi bonis, quibus post hanc vitam beatissimus perfruetur, non a nobis dissentiunt philosophi nobiles: de carnis resurrectione contendunt, hanc quantum possunt negant. Sed credentes multi negantes paucissimos reliquerunt et ad Christum, qui hoc quod istis videtur absurdum in sua resurrectione monstravit, fideli corde conversi sunt, docti et indocti, sapientes mundi et insipientes."

Civ. XIX.22). Porphyry acknowledged the God depicted in the Old Testament as being the same "highest God" whom the philosophers venerated, which meant that Porphyry believed in God the Father (XXII.25, X.23). One of the oracles had declared Jesus Christ a wise, virtuous man, a saint who had deserved immortality at the end of his life just as other pious souls before him. Yet Porphyry thought Christians to be foolish for worshipping this man and believing he was the Son of God (*Civ*. XIX.23).

At this point, Augustine re-introduces Porphyry's infamous anti-corporeal claim.

> Our philosophers quote Porphyry as saying that if the soul is to be in bliss, it must be free of all contact with a body; and so, according to them, it is of no use to say that the body is to be incorruptible, seeing that the soul will not be blessed until it escaped altogether from anything material.[40]

As suggested earlier, scholars question whether Porphyry himself wholeheartedly stood behind such a declaration which implied a stringent soul/body dualism and whether Augustine merely pulled this statement out of context and blew it out of proportion.[41] Justifiably attributed to Porphyry or not, I contend that Augustine would nonetheless have found it of utmost importance to spotlight Porphyry's conviction regarding the flight of all things bodily, because many Christians in his day also saw the necessity of "escaping the body": such as radical practitioners of ascetism, who disdained the body, the world, sexuality, or marriage,[42] or others, such as Docetists, who misrepresented Christ and denied his human, physical nature. Such an anti-corporeal disposition, especially coming from an influential Platonist, would certainly generate doubts as to the veracity of the physical resurrection.

It is remarkable how Augustine proceeds to prove Porphyry's adage untenable by citing passages from Plato's *Tim*. 41. He claims that a close, unbiased reading of this popular work will reveal that Plato, in fact, adhered to the immortality of physical bodies and had even paved the way for the credibility of the notion of resurrection. Here the Demiurge informs the lower gods (the planets) that their physical nature is what makes them

[40] *Civ*. XXII.26 (CCSL 48, 853): "Sed Porphyrius ait, inquiunt, ut beata sit anima, corpus esse omne fugiendum. Nihil ergo prode est, quia incorruptibile diximus futurum corpus, si anima beata non erit, nisi omne corpus effugerit."

[41] See above, note 16.

[42] In *Civ*. XIV.5 he mentions the Manicheans, who "execrate earthly bodies as the natural substance of evil." On heretics and Augustine's own ascetism, see: Van Geest, "Care of the Body," 381–4.

destined to perish. Yet his omnipotence enables him to assure them that they will not.

> Plato says that those gods of theirs have been shut up in heavenly bodies; and so, if Porphyry is right, Plato must say that those gods will escape from their bodies, that is, that they will die, in order to attain to bliss. And yet God, their Creator, promised them immortality, that they would dwell forever in those same bodies in order to assure them of their felicity.
>
> And this was not because of something in their nature, but because of his all-powerful design. In the same passage Plato also refutes the contention that the resurrection of the body is incredible simply because it is impossible. In fact, God, the uncreated, is represented in Plato as saying something quite explicitly to the gods created by him that he is going to do something impossible: this is when he promises them immortality.… For in saying, "It is true that you cannot be immortal, but by my will you shall be immortal," he (the creator God) is saying, in effect, "By my act you will become something which is impossible."[43]

The chief assertions in the passages above are, that Plato, too, espoused the omnipotence of God, a God capable of endowing mortal matter with immortality and incorruptibility, although this notion in itself was contrary to conventional Platonist logic. As in Judeo-Christian Scriptures, Plato maintained that God will and can do the impossible. Thus, Augustine asks: why then all the objections to the resurrection of the flesh? Now Augustine can add to his points of critique of Porphyry that this illustrious Platonist, had, once again, not properly interpreted key texts of his great master.

Augustine's next argument is that "escaping the body" is entirely unnecessary.

> It follows that what is needed for the soul's life of bliss is not the escape from any kind of body but the possession of an imperishable body. And what imperishable could be more fitting for their joy than the body in which, when it was perishable, they endured their sorrow? …I mean that in this state they will feel no desire to return to a mortal body, when they will possess the body to which they desire to

[43] *Civ*. XXII.26 (CCSL 48, 853–4): "Plato et dicat eorum deos, ut beati sint, sua corpora fugituros, id est esse morituros, quos in caelestibus corporibus dixit inclusos; quibus tamen Deus, a quo facti sunt, quo possent esse securi, inmortalitatem, id est in eisdem corporibus aeternam permansionem, non eorum natura id habente, sed suo consilio praevalente, promisit. Ubi etiam illud evertit quod dicunt, quoniam est inpossibilis, ideo resurrectionem carnis non esse credendam. Apertissime quippe iuxta eundem philosophum, ubi diis a se factis promisit Deus non factus inmortalitatem, quod inpossibile est se dixit esse facturum."

> return, and possess it in such a way as never to relinquish that possession, never to be parted from that body by any death even for a brief moment.[44]

Here Augustine presents his correction of the Platonist conception of reincarnation. The inherent desire of the soul to return to the body, which is proclaimed to be the prime motivation of reincarnation, is not the desire to return to a physical body per se but the desire to return to the *resurrected* body which has been transformed to a spiritual, immortal one.

In Augustine's conclusive statements on this matter, he develops a scheme in which a combination of the views of Plato and Porphyry would support the Christian notion of resurrection. Therefore, if they had combined them and exchanged the one for the other, they would have become Christians. Augustine seems to be well aware that these claims sound absurd. Perhaps this justifies his painstaking and meticulous manner of explication in this chapter. It all boils down to this: if Plato had communicated to Porphyry that souls of the just and wise, after complete purification, will return to their human bodies, and if Porphyry, on his part, had communicated to Plato that holy souls will never return to the miseries of the perishable body, then both would concur that souls could acquire bodies in which they could live in bliss and immortality. Such bodies can only be those which God promises when he says that blessed souls will live forever with their own flesh (XXII.27).

4. Conclusions

In *Civ*. XXII.25–28, Augustine explained the doctrine of bodily resurrection according to Scripture, in particular 1 Cor 15, by refuting Porphyry's critique, the latter of which consisted of two main points: the Christian convictions regarding the bodily resurrection and the omnipotence of God and his intervention in the world of humans. Augustine aimed to debunk Porphyry's exhortation of the necessity of "fleeing all things corporeal" and in doing so he clarified the redemptory significance of the body and the physical life.

[44] *Civ*. XXII.26 (CCSL 48, 854): "Non ergo, ut beatae sint animae, corpus est omne fugiendum, sed corpus incorruptibile recipiendum. Et in quo convenientius incorruptibili corpore laetabuntur, quam in quo corruptibili gemuerunt?… sic, inquam, cupiditatem revertendi ad corpora non habebunt, cum corpora, in quae reverti cupiunt, secum habebunt et sic habebunt, ut numquam non habeant, numquam ea prorsus vel ad exiguum quamlibet tempus ulla morte deponant."

A number of verses from 1 Cor 15 served as the basis of Augustine's arguments, in particular 15:44 concerning the spiritual nature of the resurrected human body in the afterlife. He showed that Porphyry's faulty claims could also be ameliorated by a proper reading of his teacher Plato. In both Paul (1 Cor 15:27) and Plato (*Tim*. 41), the church father read the possibility of the immortality of the flesh by the sheer will of God.

In refuting Porphyry's major arguments against the resurrection, Augustine did not discard the typical Platonist mental framework of soul and body. Nor did he, in my opinion, abandon the notion of the superiority of the soul, a notion often expressed in his works of the same period. He did not see Platonism in general as a threat to Christian doctrine. Porphyry's writings however, filled with faulty information and unjustified critique of Christian tenets, *were* a threat. This philosopher's examination of the Bible through the lenses of Greek rationalism distorted it and nourished an already established polarisation between Greek philosophy and Christianity which, in Augustine's opinion, was uncalled for. Porphyry's third century works, which were likely still circulating in Augustine's day, also advertised the benefits of contacting the world of spirits as intermediaries between humans and God, venerating spirits of dubious standing through pagan rituals and advocating haughty Greek culture in which redemption was reserved only for philosophers and the elite. All of the above were counterproductive to the "Christian revolution."

RESTORED FOR ETERNITY: AN EXAMINATION OF PELAGIUS'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE RESURRECTION*

Peter J. van Egmond

The primordial Christian confession that at the end of time the dead will rise again is, at least from a historical point of view, not followed by a full stop but by a comma. Rather than an end point, it was the starting point for extensive theological discourse and debate throughout centuries. For what exactly does "resurrection" mean? Is it physical, and if so, what is the nature of the resurrection body and its relation to the body that died? The first centuries of Christianity saw heated debates on questions like these, both with internal and with external critics.[1]

A perhaps unexpected voice in these debates is that of Pelagius (ca 360–420 CE) – the British monk who, under the influence of Augustine in particular, went down in history as an "arch-heretic" and "enemy of God's

* I would like to thank Riemer Roukema for our pleasant and inspiring co-operation at the Protestant Theological Faculty during these last years. We share a love for the study of early Christianity and his approach to historical research has been an example both for me and for other colleagues, as well as for students.

[1] There are too many studies on or related to this subject to offer a complete overview here. A helpful introduction with further references is given in Alexey B. Somov, "Resurrection (General)," in *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*, ed. David G. Hunter, Paul J.J. van Geest, and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018 [first online publication]), http://doi.org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00002959. See also Frederick S. Tappenden and Carly Daniel-Hughes, eds., *Coming Back to Life. The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortality, Death and Life in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Montreal, QC: McGill University Library and Archives, 2017). Specifically with regard to 1 Cor 15, it may be noted that, apart from the present volume, three publications written or contributed to by Riemer Roukema offer a helpful start in the field: Riemer Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 221–60; "La résurrection des morts dans l'interprétation origénienne de 1 Corinthiens 15," in *La résurrection chez les Pères*, ed. Jean-Marc Prieur, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 7 (Strasbourg: Université Marc Bloch, 2003), 161–77; and "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity," in *"If Christ has not been Raised…" Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church*, NTOA 115, ed. Joseph Verheyden, Andreas Merkt, and Tobias Nicklas (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 33–60. See also James Ware, "Paul's Understanding of the Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:36–54," *JBL* 133 (2014): 809–35 (esp. 810–17).

grace" advocating of the idea that our actions are governed by free will and nothing else. Whatever the reader of this paper may think of all that, fact is that Pelagius also wrote on other, largely unrelated issues, such as the resurrection. This leads not only to the question whether the image created of him is accurate, but also to the question what place his views on free will and grace occupied in the whole of his theology. To what extent are the classical loci of the Pelagian controversy a good entry point for understanding Pelagius's thought? Reconstruction and in-depth study of his theology *as a whole* remains an important *desideratum*.[2] This article, then, aims to make a modest contribution by exploring Pelagius's thinking on the resurrection.

Pelagius's last, still extant work will be taken as main entry point for that investigation: the so-called *Libellus fidei* (written 417 CE).[3] In this profession of faith, Pelagius includes a few compactly worded and yet emphatic remarks on the resurrection. It is my intention to outline from the perspectives of genre (creeds), theological history (the struggle over the views of Origen and his followers), and social context (the networks of Pelagius's opponents and supporters) how these remarks may be understood.

Since Pelagius's profession of faith was composed primarily to exonerate himself and to avert a provisional condemnation for heresy, the question arises whether it was merely a strategically phrased document or rather, or at the same time, a sincere confession. Pelagius himself claimed that his creed expressed the faith *as he had always held it*.[4] The scope of this paper does not allow for comprehensive scrutiny of that claim, but wherever relevant there will be reference to what he wrote a decade earlier, in his commentary on the epistles of Paul, in particular on 1 Cor 15.

[2] Some valuable studies on the subject are: Torgny Bohlin, *Die Theologie des Pelagius und ihre Genesis*, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1957:9 (Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1957); cf. Gerald Bonner, "How Pelagian was Pelagius? An Examination of the Contentions of Torgny Bohlin," StPatr 9, TU 94 (1966): 350–58; repr. in: *Church and Faith in the Patristic Tradition: Augustine, Pelagianism, and Early Christian Northumbria*, VCS 521 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), no. 3; Sebastian Thier, *Kirche bei Pelagius*, Patristische Texte und Studien 50 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999). For an overview of recent research, see: Otto Wermelinger, "New Research on Pelagius, Caelestius, and Julian of Aeclanum," in *Sancti viri, ut audio. Theologies, Rhetorics, and Receptions of the Pelagian Controversy Reappraised*, BETL 336, ed. Anthony Dupont et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2023), 1–21.

[3] Peter J. van Egmond, *'A Confession Without Pretence'. Text and Context of Pelagius' Defence of 417 AD* (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2012), 19–22.

[4] Pelagius, *Libellus fidei*, 26.

1. Text, Context, and Genre of Pelagius's Profession of Faith

The *Libellus fidei* is the last of Pelagius's writings, at least of those known and extant today.[5] The profession was sent, from Palestine, to bishop Innocent of Rome in 417 CE as part of a dossier consisting also of a cover letter and a letter of recommendation written by bishop Praylius, successor of John at the see of Jerusalem. Shortly before, Innocent had affirmed the condemnations of Pelagius by two Latin African synods, nevertheless allowing him to defend his case. Pelagius did so, in writing, but by the time his dossier reached Rome Innocent had already passed away.[6] For our understanding of what follows below, it is perhaps worth keeping in mind that before the condemnations of the Latin African councils, Pelagius had clashed with Jerome of Stridon in Palestine. The latter had tried to associate Pelagius with Origenism, depicting his (presumed) teaching of sinlessness and *apatheia* (freedom of passions) as branches of the Origenist tree, as "a new heresy from the old".[7]

The composition of the *Libellus fidei* is largely governed by the rules and vocabulary that belong to the credal genre. Perhaps its most striking feature is the combination of brevity and broad scope. Within limited space Pelagius addresses a wide variety of subjects, including the resurrection. For Augustine, the broad scope revealed an attempt to hide heretical views by diverting attention to all kinds of issues that were not at stake. This impression has been repeated often, also by modern scholars. Closer inspection reveals a different picture, as I have argued elsewhere.[8] I will return to this in the conclusion. For now, it may be observed that the issues Augustine considered irrelevant to the questions at stake, are partly given with the choice of (credal) genre.

[5] Unlike with many other "heretical" voices of early Christianity, several of Pelagius's works are still extant today. This means that we have access to source material from both sides of the argument, *in casu* not just of Augustine or Jerome but also of Pelagius and some of his followers/kindred spirits. Over the past century, the appearance of critical editions of his works has given the study of Pelagius and "Pelagianism" a significant impetus.

[6] See Van Egmond, *A Confession*, for a discussion of the dossier, critical edition of the *Libellus fidei*, and reconstruction of the remaining fragments of the cover letter.

[7] Jerome, *In Hieremiam*, prol. book IV, on 2:6, on 25:3, on 22:24-27, on 30:10-11; *Epistle* 133, 3; *Dialogus adversus pelagianos*, book I prol., book III 19. See also Orosius' *Apologeticum*, 1.

[8] Van Egmond, *A Confession*, *passim*.

The relevant sections, with some extra context, are as follows:[9]

13. Mortuus est ergo Dei Filius, secundum scripturas, iuxta id quod mori poterat. Resurrexit tertia die, ascendit in caelos, sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris, manente ea natura carnis in qua natus et passus est, in qua etiam resurrexit. Non enim exinanita est humanitatis substantia sed glorificata, et in aeternum cum deitate mansura.

14. Accepta ergo a Patre omnium potestate quae in caelo sunt et in terra, venturus est ad iudicium vivorum ac mortuorum, ut et iustos remuneret et puniat peccatores.
15. Resurrectionem carnis ita credimus ut dicamus nos in eadem in qua nunc sumus veritate membrorum esse reparandos. Qualesque semel post resurrectionem fuerimus effecti, in perpetuo permansuros.
16. Unam esse vitam sanctorum sed praemia pro labore diversa, e contrario pro modo delictorum peccatorum quoque esse supplicia.

13. Therefore, the Son of God has died, in accordance with the Scriptures, in respect of what was capable of dying. He has risen again on the third day, has ascended into heaven, has seated himself at the right hand of God the Father; as the same nature of flesh endured in which he was born and suffered, in which he also rose again. For the substance of his humanity is not emptied but glorified and will remain with the divine (substance) into eternity.
14. Having received from the Father power over all things that are in heaven an on earth, he will come to judge the living and the dead, in order to reward the righteous and to punish the sinners.
15. We believe in the resurrection of the flesh, in such a way that we say we will be restored again into the same reality of members in which we now live. And as we will have been made once after the resurrection, so we will forever remain.
16. (We confess) that there is one life of the saints, but that there are different rewards for (their) work, as conversely there are also punishments in accordance with the degree of the transgressions of sinners.

This selection (as well as most of the profession) evidently follows the framework and wording of a creed, repeating the traditional articles, interspersed with adjustments, clarifications, and additions.[10] Also, there are

[9] Pelagius, *Libellus fidei*, 13–16; ed. Van Egmond, *A Confession*, 170–71. Here and elsewhere in this paper, the orthography and punctuation of all Latin quotations, from various editions, has been adapted to the style requirements of this Festschrift. English translations of the *Libellus fidei* in this paper are my own. In the running text, paragraphs of the *libellus* will be referred to by adding the number between brackets.

[10] In earlier studies, I have tried to identify what creed precisely had stood model for Pelagius's confession. Though pinpointing this is not easy, it seems clear that Pelagius had an eastern creed (or credal structure) in mind, rather than for example the Roman creed. Moreover, his text is in many respects close to Epiphanius's *Second Creed*. See Van Egmond, *A Confession*, 283–314 and "There and Back Again – A Creed's Tale. The Interaction between Baptismal (Mystagogical) and Polemical Creeds," in *Seeing Through the Eyes of Faith. New Approaches to the Mystagogy of the Church Fathers*, ed. Paul J.J. van Geest, Late Antique History and Religion 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 203–25.

biblical echoes, especially from 1 Cor 15:3,[11] Phil 3:21,[12] and 1 Pet 3:21–22.[13] The genre also explains why Pelagius touched upon the resurrection in the first place: it was given with the credal framework. Nevertheless, Pelagius left his own marks throughout the text as well.

Regarding the overall structure, it may be observed that Pelagius treats the resurrection of Jesus Christ (13) and the resurrection of mankind (15) as closely connected, parallel subjects. Moreover, both sections on the resurrection are followed by a statement on the final judgment, punishment, and heavenly reward (14 and 16). Again, this repetitive structure is partly given with the credal framework, but Pelagius continues this repetition in his additions, which makes it more explicit. The theological notion behind this, is that the destiny of humans is intimately connected to the life, death, and resurrection of the Son of Man. This insight has old roots, reaching back even to Paul's discourse on the resurrection in 1 Cor 15.

That Pelagius made his own additions to the traditional articles of faith, is how the genre mostly functioned in a polemic context: on the one hand, close adherence to the traditional structure and wording of the creed was required to attest one's orthodoxy, on the other it was necessary to rework and expand this material to deal with the matters at stake. Markus Vinzent has described this process in his analysis of Greek creeds in the Arian controversies of the fourth century. Especially the adjustments and additions are of interest, however minor they may seem at first glance, because these shed light on the personal agenda of the author.[14]

If we apply the rules of the genre to Pelagius's profession, we find him partly adhering to the credal tradition by repeating the articles of the faith in their common order:

> 13a. The Son of God has died, in accordance with the Scriptures, …. He has risen again on the third day, has ascended into heaven, has seated himself at the right hand of God the Father; …
>
> 15a. We believe in the resurrection of the flesh, …

[11] The phrase "in accordance with the Scriptures" is distinct for 1 Cor 15:3–4.

[12] Pelagius speaks of Christ's resurrection body as *glorificata*. Cf. also 1 Cor 15:42–44.

[13] That is, the combination of resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of the Father with the receiving of power and authority over everything in heaven and earth (cf. also Matt 28:18).

[14] Vinzent has described this in his "antilogisch-traditionelles Baukastenmodell"; see Markus Vinzent, "Die Entstehung des 'Römischen Glaubensbekenntnisses,'" in *Tauffragen und Bekenntnis*, ed. Wolfram Kinzig, Christoph Markschies, and Markus Vinzent, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 74 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1999), 185–409 (presentation of the model: 235–382, esp. 238).

… while on the other hand supplementing these with additions and clarifications he considered relevant for his own position:

> 13b. … in respect of what was capable of dying.
> … as the same nature of flesh endured in which he was born and suffered, in which he also rose again. For the substance of his humanity is not emptied but glorified and will remain with the divine (substance) into eternity.
>
> 15b. … in such a way that we say we will be restored again into the same reality of members in which we now live. And as we will have been made once after the resurrection, so we will forever remain.

The most striking addition is Pelagius's assertion (both in 13 and 15) that the resurrected flesh will remain into eternity. His remark that the resurrected human flesh will be a restoration of the very same members we now live in (15), stands out as well. We will now take a closer look at these points.

2. Pelagius on the Nature and Destiny of the Resurrected Flesh

Pelagius insists in both articles that the risen body is not temporal but eternal. The point receives nearly exclusive focus in the article on Christ (13). Pelagius emphasises the continuity of the he human flesh taken by the Son, from incarnation into eternity. After repeating the standard credal sequence on resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of the Father, he writes that "the same nature of flesh endured" and "the substance of his humanity … will remain … into eternity."

This statement resonates with the Christological debates on the human and divine natures – or "substances", as Pelagius calls it – after the incarnation. With few words, Pelagius makes clear that the assumed human nature of the Son will not be laid off after his return to the Father but will remain forever with his divine nature.[15] In other words, the incarnation

[15] Pelagius starts his statement with "the nature of flesh" ("natura carnis") but ends with the whole "substance of his humanity" ("humanitatis substantia"). He concludes, thus, with the unity of the human and the divine "substances" of Christ. Perhaps it is also worth noting that Pelagius's term "exinanita" seems to echo the Christologically important *kenosis*-text Phil 2:7 (in which "exinanivit" [Vg] renders the Greek ἐκένωσεν), although as a deliberate reference it would turn out rather confusing. In his commentary, Pelagius interprets the term "exinanire" quite differently, that is, not as "to empty" in the sense of ending or fully abandoning divine nature (cf. his *Expositio in Philippenses ii, 6–7*). In *Libellus fidei* 13 however, he does seem to interpret "exinanita" in that sense (though applied to the human nature and with a denial).

took place at a specific point in time, but the "result" was to remain into eternity. The combination of discourse on the resurrection and Christological issues, is found also in his earlier work.[16]

Of course, the Christological point has no parallel in the section on the resurrection of mankind (15). Pelagius does make a similar claim there, that the resurrected body will remain into eternity, but the embedding is somewhat different. First, he professes his belief in the resurrection of the flesh (the traditional clause), next he argues that the resurrected flesh will consist of the very same members we now live in (first addition), then he proceeds: "And as we will have been made once after the resurrection, so we will forever remain" (second addition, echoing the article on the resurrection of Christ).

The first addition, on the "same members we now live in", is a clear reference to the Origenist controversy on the nature of the resurrection body, as I have argued elsewhere.[17] Pelagius basically complies with what his enemy Jerome had argued was the orthodox position.[18] With Epiphanius, Jerome accused Origen of teaching that another, ethereal body would rise from the grave. The common theological objection to this, was that it undermined the righteousness of God's final judgment: if not the same members were to be restored, then the bodies that had sinned would never experience the consequences, nor would bodies that had died a martyr's death enjoy any reward.[19] For the sake of brevity, I will not discuss this issue again. It is worth noting however that Pelagius, in an attempt to attest his orthodoxy, saw reason to explicitly distance himself from the Origenist

[16] Pelagius, *Expositio in I Corinthios xv, 45*. In this section, his expository remarks include a refutation of Apollinarism and Manicheism. According to François Altermath, *Du corps psychique au corps spirituel. Interprétation de 1 Cor. 15, 35–49 par les auteurs chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles*, BGBE 18 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1977), 223, this strategy is typical of the Greek commentaries, Pelagius being a rare example in the Latin tradition.

[17] Cf. Peter J. van Egmond, "Pelagius and the Origenist Controversy in Palestine," StPatr 70 (2013): 631–47; Van Egmond, *A Confession*, 324–29.

[18] Jerome, *Contra Iohannem*, 23–36 as well as the exchange of treatises between Jerome and Rufinus of Aquileia. Admittedly, the debate itself also illustrates that in debates like these, offering "the correct wording" is never enough to convince. Rufinus for example had professed the same (including the words 'flesh' and 'members') but Jerome suspected ambiguity and deemed his statement insufficient. Jerome seems aware of the dynamics of this process, but defends his suspicions in *Epistle* 84, 5.

[19] See for example Jerome, *Contra Iohannem* 24 and 26; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus* 88-89. This argument from the righteousness of God's judgment is found already in the second century CE: Athenagoras, *De resurrectione mortuorum* 18.5 and 21.1–4, but there the context is apologetic debate with pagan critics rather than theological debate within the church. I owe this reference to Metha Hokke's paper in this volume, p. 262, note 89.

position.[20] This suggests that he was under the suspicion of being a follower of Origen for one reason or another. Below, we will see that the Origenist controversy had influenced his profession in other respects as well.

As for the other addition, on the eternal nature of the resurrected flesh, the parallel to paragraph 13 is evident. We will now take a closer look at that claim and its intricacies.

3. The Problem of Material Existence in Heaven

Pelagius's statements regarding the eternal destination of the resurrected body are distinctive, but not entirely without precedent. Similar questions had been touched upon by other authors, especially concerning Christ, but this rarely resulted in prominent debate or widespread disagreement.

Mostly, the considerations of these other Christian authors related to the question whether we should assume that Christ had *physically* taken his place at the right side of the Father. Is that possible: a material body, in heaven? And should we take "sitting" and "the right hand" literally? Apparently, it was the connection with the ascension, rather than the resurrection, that prompted theological reflection. At the same time, those questions were raised against the background of the account in Acts in which the disciples had seen Jesus physically ascend to heaven and in which they received the promise that He would return on the clouds in the same manner.[21] For that reason, early Christian authors like Tertullian took the physicality of the ascension and session primarily as a *given* and merely referred to it as an argument in debates on other issues.[22]

At the same time, it was also felt by some that a material conception of resurrection and ascension, "in the flesh", was at odds with its heavenly destiny. The criticism of pagan philosophers like Porphyry was never far away. In *On Faith and the Creed*, Augustine points out that pagan philosophers objected to the idea that something earthly and material could exist in heaven. Interestingly, he adds that some "heretics" came up with similar objections, but he does not say who. Augustine then emphasises that Christ did indeed ascend to heaven *physically*, albeit in a spiritual body (referring to 1 Cor 15:44). By "spiritual" he does not mean that the

[20] Pelagius had done the same, though less emphatically, in his *Expositio in I Corinthios xv, 38*: "[Paulus:] *Et uni cuique seminum proprium corpus*. [Pelagius:] Attende quia 'proprium' corpus dixerit, non alienum"; ed. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, vol. 2, 222. Note that both in the *Libellus fidei* and in the *Expositiones*, Pelagius refrains from mentioning the name of Origen.

[21] Acts 1:9–11.

[22] E.g. Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis*, 51.

body would be changed into spirit, but that the resurrection body would be adapted to its destination in heaven, stripped of weakness and changed into heavenly purity and stability.[23] Augustine thus aligns himself on the one hand with the traditional view of bodily ascension, but at the same time distances himself from overly simplistic, anthropomorphic conceptions of heaven. In his *Sermon to Catechumens on the Creed*, he uses the interpretative space provided by language to make that point. "By 'sitting', understand 'dwelling': as we say of any person: 'In that country he dwelt (*sedit*) three years.' … In this way, then, believe an inhabiting of Christ on the right hand of God the Father: He is there." Similarly, instead of a spatial conception of "right hand", he takes the expression to refer to a position of supreme blessedness.[24]

Thus, with the prominent debate on the nature of the resurrection body ("same flesh" or not) a naturally related follow-up issue arose about the heavenly destiny of the resurrected body. Both debates prompted theological reflection and development, partly in the face of external critics challenging Christianity, but partly also as an internal theological debate. Moreover, both debates would become associated with the name and views of Origen.

Pelagius does not make explicit which opponents he had in mind. From his words we may infer that he thought of "voices" that claimed, or at least implied, that the resurrected flesh was merely temporal and that it would at some point vanish or be destroyed. Behind this was probably a presumed irreconcilability of material creation on the one hand and the spiritual, heavenly realm on the other.[25] That irreconcilability might be resolved (while at the same time upholding the idea of physical resurrection) by positing that the material, raised flesh merely represents a temporal stage after which heaven could be entered in a spiritual "nature" that had moved beyond the material body as we now know it.

[23] Augustine, *De fide et symbolo*, 6. It is not surprising that the term "spiritual body" has led to a wide variety of interpretations in early Christianity. For explorations in the reception history of this term, see the studies by Roukema, *De uitleg* and "The Resurrection", and Altermath, *Du corps psychique*.

[24] "Sedere intellegite habitare; quomodo dicimus de quocumque homine: in illa patria sedit per tres annos. … sic ergo credite habitare christum in dextera dei patris: ibi est." Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos*, 11; CCSL 46, 195; English translation slightly adapted from Henry Browne, NPNF, I 3; accessed via http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1307.htm. Note that *De fide et symbolo*, 7 offers a similar take on the language of session and "right hand". The word "sitting", however, is there interpreted as a reference to judicial power.

[25] See also the paper by Laela Zwollo in this volume.

Augustine followed another approach, as we have seen, and he was not the only one to contemplate the question of matter/spirit in the context of the ascension. Rufinus of Aquileia, a major influence on, and possibly a friend of, Pelagius, did the same. He obviously felt that the idea of a material body entering heaven runs counter to common intuition and yet interprets it as a mystery that is to be admired and embraced rather than to be resolved. In his *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, he writes: "But in ascending to heaven He did not go to a place where God the Word had not previously been, for He existed eternally in heaven abiding in His Father, but to a place where the *Word made flesh* had not been seated before. Further, His entry through the gates of heaven struck its doorkeepers and princes as something novel, and they saw fleshly nature penetrating the secret recesses of heaven."[26] For Rufinus, precisely this "unwonted sight" (*novitatem*) of flesh ascending to God's right hand is worth admiring and confessing.[27]

Thus, Pelagius and at least two of his contemporaries had touched upon the related questions of resurrection, ascension, and session, upholding the physical-material aspect throughout the whole of salvation history, even into the realms of heaven.

This brings us to the still unanswered question: Against whom was Pelagius directing these remarks, and why? For as far as the sources tell us, he had not at all been challenged at this specific point: neither in Palestine, nor by Augustine or the Latin African councils in the West, nor by the See of Rome. Even though the object of Pelagius's criticism remains unnamed, there are at least three authors whose work may shed light on their identification: Jerome of Stridon, Theophilus of Alexandria, and Epiphanius of Salamis. These three are not the unnamed object of Pelagius's criticism, rather, they seem to have argued for a similar cause in the decades leading up to the writing of Pelagius's profession. What they have in common is that their statements seem related, in some way or another, to the Origenist controversy of the late fourth and early fifth century.[28]

[26] "Ascendit igitur ad caelos, non ubi verbum deus ante non fuerat (quippe qui erat semper in caelis, et manebat in patre), sed ubi verbum caro factum ante non sederat. Denique quia novus iste ingressus portarum caeli aedituis et principibus videbatur, videntes naturam carnis caelorum secreta penetrantem …" Rufinus, *Expositio symboli*, 29; CCSL 20, 164–65; trans. J.N.D. Kelly, *Rufinus. A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, ACW 20 (London: Longmans, Green and co, 1955), 65–66 (paragraph 31, the numbering differs from that of the edition; italics added). See also Rufinus's *Apologia ad Anastasium*, 3 and *De adulteratione*, 1. From the latter reference it may be deduced that the vivid scene of the entry through the gates of heaven was borrowed from the work of Origen.

[27] Rufinus, *Expositio symboli*, 29.

[28] Perhaps we should say "controversies" since Origenism revolved around a variety of themes. Tellingly, Theophilus of Alexandria called Origen the "hydra of heresies";

4. Jerome of Stridon

The first of these authors is Jerome of Stridon, Pelagius's main opponent in Palestine at the time. A few decades before, Jerome had waged a bitter war of pens over the legacy of Origen with his former friend Rufinus of Aquileia. According to Rufinus, the writings of Origen had been adulterated through the years and many of the stock charges against the Alexandrian rather had to be held against his later followers, or even against enemies seeking to tarnish his name. Therefore, when Rufinus set out to translate Origen's *On First Principles* (*Peri archoon*), he not only rendered the Greek text but also purified it from later corruptions by replacing apparently unorthodox sections with more acceptable statements from Origen's other works. Jerome considered this strategy unacceptable, warning that it would legitimise the work and (what is worse) the views of Origen. In his *Apology against Rufinus*, written 402 CE, Jerome lists several objectionable statements that had *not* been replaced by Rufinus, and among these also featured Origen's "illusions of the resurrection" (*resurrectionis praestigae*).[29] In fact, the theme was one of the major bones of contention in the Origenist controversy of the fourth-fifth century.

After questioning whether Rufinus's "same flesh" view on the resurrection (see above) really meets orthodox standards, Jerome continues: "But my question is (…) whether the bodies themselves will remain forever incorruptible and immortal, and, as you so cleverly proclaim after the apostle, spiritual (…)? Or whether they will dissolve, to be sure, into nothingness, and disintegrate into the four elements of which they were composed?"[30] Jerome here he expands the "same flesh" issue to the question of the future of that resurrected flesh: is it to remain incorruptible and immortal, or will it eventually dissolve and disintegrate? This is a

Jerome (Theophilus), *Epistle* 98, 9. The fact that Origen's name was associated with a variety of views, obviously does not necessarily mean that all these were really his, nor that the interpretations of his thought did justice to him. See for example (also for further references) Jon F. Dechow, *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity. Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988); Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Richard A. Layton, "Recovering Origen's Pauline Exegesis. Exegesis and Eschatology in the Commentary on Ephesians," *JECS* 8.3 (2000): 373–411. Dechow offers a helpful overview the various charges against Origen; *Dogma and Mysticism*, 243–71.

[29] Jerome, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, I 6; CCSL 79, 6; trans. John N. Hritzu, FC 53, 66.

[30] "Sed quaero … an ipsa corpora incorrupta et immortalia et, ut argute praemones, iuxta apostolum spiritalia permaneant in aeternum … an certe paulatim resolvantur in nihilum et ad quattuor unde conpacta sunt elementa retrahantur." Jerome, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, II 5; CCSL 79, 37; trans. Hritzu, FC 53, 110.

departure from his usual strategy – he mostly confined his argument to the "same flesh" issue – but it is not merely a side path. For him, both issues were closely related. A little further, in an overview of Origen's objectionable teachings, Jerome claims that the Alexandrian taught that "the resurrection of our bodies will be of such a nature that they shall not have the same members, because, with the cessation of the functions of the members, the bodies themselves shall be rendered useless; and the bodies themselves, being tenuous and spiritual, shall gradually fade away and dissipate into thin air and even into nothingness".[31]

For Jerome, anything that detracts from a "same flesh" take on the resurrection body (with all its members and functions) will eventually leave us with a resurrection body that does not really function as a human body and will therefore ultimately disappear.[32]

It is safe to assume that Pelagius was aware of the debate between Jerome and Rufinus[33] and the pitfalls to be avoided when stating one's view of the resurrection. The debate throws light on Pelagius's profession in the sense that it connects the question with what body the dead rise to the question what will happen with that body in the long run. Also, it connects the whole cluster of issues to the recent Origenist controversy.

5. Theophilus of Alexandria

One of the authorities invoked by Jerome in the Origenist controversy, in *Apology against Rufinus* and other writings, is bishop Theophilus of Alexandria. Jerome even translated a series of his letters dating from the period 400–404 CE in order to involve these in his anti-Origenist campaign in the Latin speaking world.[34]

A closer look at Theophilus's paschal letters does reveal, however, that the bishop of Alexandria had a different approach to the resurrection

[31] "Resurrectionem nostrorum corporum sic futuram ut eadem membra non habeant, quia, cessantibus membrorum officiis, superfluo membra reddantur, ipsa que corpora tenuia et spiritalia paulatim evanescere et in auram tenuem atque in nihilum dissipari." Jerome, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, II 12; CCSL 79, 46; trans. Hritzu, FC 53, 123–24.

[32] See Jerome, *Contra Iohannem*, 25–26 for quotations from Origen's *Stromata* that could be interpreted as pointing in this direction: aereal, spiritual, and ethereal.

[33] For example, his criticisms of Jerome's commentary on Ephesians echoes the criticisms of Rufinus. Jerome defended himself extensively against these in his *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* I, 15–16, 21–29. For Pelagius's criticisms, see Jerome, *In Hieremiam*, prologue, comm. on 28:12–14; and the insightful discussion in Robert F. Evans, *Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals* (New York: Seabury, 1968), 6–25.

[34] Jerome, *Letters* 86–100 is a collection of Theophilus's letters in Latin translation and related correspondence.

issue. Unlike Jerome, Theophilus did not at all focus on the nature of the body at the moment of resurrection (the "same flesh" issue) but rather on its enduring, eternal character.[35] In his paschal letter for the year 401, he writes that Origen "dares to say that after their resurrection our bodies are once again subject to mortality and death".[36]

With this statement, Theophilus refers to Origenist speculations on pre-existent fallen souls, their descent into bodies, and their gradual ascent back into the spiritual realms of heaven.[37] He ascribes to Origen the claim that, as part of this cycle, bodies risen from death will after many centuries dissolve into nothingness, only to reappear in some other form when once again souls, fallen from their heavenly mansions, are in need of earthly bodies.[38] In such a world view, the resurrected body is by no means a persistent entity: it is part of a recurring cycle of constant change.

Theophilus is quick to point out that this stands in direct contradiction to biblical passages speaking of the definitive defeat of death, including Paul's words in 1 Corinthians 15: "What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable."[39] Therefore, Theophilus argues, the body "will rise immortal and incorruptible, so that it can continue to exist co-eternally with the soul."[40]

The idea that earthly bodies are merely a prison (*ergastulum*) for fallen souls is at odds with biblical evidence, Theophilus argues, given the many promises of a rich and blessed posterity. If bodies should be considered some form of punishment, it would be better to live without a body after all, and neither would the body of Christ have been raised, nor will ours.[41]

For Pelagius, this idea of the body as prison or punishment, which Theophilus recurrently contests in his paschal letters, must have resonated

[35] Dechow, *Dogma and Mysticism*, 436–48, notes that Theophilus's took a distinct approach and suggests he did so in face of monastic Egyptian Origenism (437). He does observe that Theophilus stresses the problem of the body's final dissolution (446–47), but the sharp contrast with Jerome is neither pointed out nor explained.

[36] Jerome (Theophilus), *Letter* 96, 13. The full quotation, in Latin: "nam inter cetera etiam resurrectionem a mortuis, quae spes salutis nostrae est, ita corrumpit et violat, ut audeat dicere corpora nostra rursum corruptioni et morti subiacentia suscitari," CSEL 55, 172. English translations of Jerome/Theodore's letters in this paper are my own.

[37] Insofar as this paper refers to (aspects of) "Origenism", this should be understood as leaving open the question of authenticity of the view it refers to. Of course, the name of Origen appears sometimes as well in contexts where authors like Jerome and Theophilus name him as the object of their criticisms, whether rightly or not.

[38] Jerome (Theophilus), *Letter* 96, 15.

[39] 1 Cor 15:42 (NRSV); referred to in Jerome (Theophilus), *Letter* 96, 15.

[40] "… quia et ipsum corpus inmortale et incorruptum resurget, ut possit permanere animae coaeternum." Jerome (Theophilus), *Letter* 96, 15; CSEL 55, 175.14–16.

[41] Jerome (Theophilus), *Letter* 98, 10–11.

with deterministic views that implicate created matter with sin and suffering. It belonged to Pelagius's "mental furniture" to consider creation as a gift of God and therefore inherently good. Sin on the other hand he regarded as an act of a free will gone astray rather than some necessity given with creation. Not surprisingly, a few lines further on in his profession of faith, Pelagius explicitly rejects the idea of pre-existent souls being sent into bodies because of their sins.[42] A decade earlier, he had done the same in his *Expositions on Ephesians*.[43] Thus, to interpret his remarks on the resurrection body as anti-Origenist statements would be consistent with other sections of his profession and with his theology as a whole.

As for Theophilus, his approach of Origenism and resurrection differs from Jerome's in that he interprets it against the larger background of Origenist teachings. What he shares with Jerome, however, is the view that the resurrected body is a persistent entity that will remain into eternity as well as the conviction that alternative views belong to the theological world of Origen and/or his adherents.[44]

6. Epiphanius of Salamis

As we have seen, Pelagius applies his discussion of the persistent nature of the risen flesh to the parallel clauses on both the resurrection of Christ and of man. Jerome and Theophilus, on the other hand, direct their focus primarily to the resurrection of mankind. However helpful their perspectives may be, they leave his Christological focus unexplained. Therefore, we now turn to the work of Epiphanius of Salamis – the heresiologist and orthodox authority of his days, as well as the main initiator of the Origenist

[42] "Eorum quoque condemnamus errorem qui eas (that is: animas, PvE) ante peccasse vel in caelis conversatas fuisse dicunt quam in corpora mitterentur." Pelagius, *Libellus fidei*, 20; ed. Van Egmond, *A Confession*, 171. Again, Pelagius does not mention the name of Origen, leaving open whether the idea of pre-existent, fallen souls is merely "Origenism" or Origen's authentic teaching (cf. above, note 20).

[43] "Quia deo nihil est novum, apud quem omnia erant ante quam fierent, non ut quidam heretici somniant, animas antea in caelo fuisse segregatas." Pelagius, *Expositio in Ephesios* i, 4; ed. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions*, vol. 2, 345.

[44] One of these adherents, Evagrius, may have been the/an implicit target of Theophilus's argument; see Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 71–74 and 105–21. What perhaps counts against this hypothesis, is that Theophilus explicitly refers to and quotes from writings of Origen (*On the resurrection* and *On first principles*), not of Evagrius. Cf. Jerome (Theophilus), *Epistle* 92, 4. In Van Egmond, *A Confession*, 324, I suggested that Pelagius directly targeted Evagrius with his statement on the dissolution of the body. A re-reading of the sources has led me to doubt that. The parallels with Jerome, Ephiphanius, and Theophilus seem to offer a better explanation. Evagrius' writings, on the other hand, are rather cryptic and difficult to interpret.

controversy of the later fourth century and in this respect both ally and inspirator of Jerome of Stridon.

In the so-called *Second Creed* appended to his *Ancoratus* (written 374 CE), Epiphanius expresses the articles of faith in a way that sounds familiar to readers of Pelagius's profession: "[We believe in] the same one who suffered in flesh and rose and ascended into the heavens *in the body itself*, gloriously seated at the right hand of the Father, who comes *in the body itself* in glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end."[45]

In many respects, this creed recapitulates the main tenets of the work it was appended to, that is, the *Ancoratus*.[46] And thus, at the main pages of the treatise, we find a section in which Epiphanius discusses Apollinarist views that opt for a separation of the divine and the human in Christ because of the assumption that human existence is defective, subject to suffering, and sinful and that assuming a complete human nature (at the incarnation) therefore implies falling into sin. Epiphanius objects that sin is not an inherent aspect of human nature and that the divine fully sacralises and perfects human nature, bringing it to a perfect unity with the divine. This also means that the human flesh will not be discarded at the ascension and session: "He is Lord God, who sits at the right hand of the Father, *who did not leave aside the flesh, but who united the whole into one, and into one divinity*."[47]

A few years later, Epiphanius offers comparable statements in his *Panarion* (ca. 378 CE). For example in its concluding essay *De fide*, Epiphanius writes, after emphasising that the same body Christ had previously lived and suffered in had been resurrected from the dead: "For it was indeed the body itself, since it had been joined to one unity and one Godhead, with no further expectation of suffering, no further death, as the holy apostle says, 'Christ is risen, he dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him' (Rom. 6:9). (…) He is very God and has ascended

[45] Παθόντα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ἀναστάντα καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι, ἐνδόξως μαθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, ἐρχόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 119.8; ed. Karl Holl, *Epiphanius I. Ancoratus und Panarion haer. 1–33*, rev. and enl. ed., GCS n.s. 10/1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 148; trans. Young Richard Kim, *St. Epiphanius of Cyprus. Ancoratus*, FC 128 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 226 (italics added).

[46] In the words of Karl Holl: "Diese Umschreibung des vorausgehenden Bekenntnisses trägt in allen Einzelheiten den Stempel des Epiph."; Holl, *Epiphanius I*, 148 (*app. crit.*).

[47] θεὸς κύριος, καθεζόμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, μὴ παραλείψας τὴν σάρκα, εἰς δὲ δὲ συνενώσας καὶ εἰς μίαν τὸ ὅλον θεότητα. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 80.8; ed. Holl, *Epiphanius I*, 100-101; transl. Kim, *St. Epiphanius*, 176 (italics added).

into the heavens and taken his seat at the Father's right hand in glory, *not by discarding his body* but by uniting it to spirit in the perfection of one Godhead."[48] Similarly, Epiphanius writes in *De incarnatione*, an essay that concludes a list of Jewish sects in *Panarion* 9–20: "And he was taken up to heaven in his body itself and his soul and mind, having conjoined these as one unity and one supernatural entity and made them divine."[49]

In both works, Epiphanius's focus is on the body of Christ as part of the whole of his human nature, and that in relation to his divine nature.[50] The unity of body and soul (and/or mind) was for him an essential tenet that he held against both Arians, Apollinarians, and followers of Origen. While the Arians and Apollinarians denied, for rather divergent reasons, that Christ received a human soul or mind at the incarnation, Origen tended to deny, at least according to Epiphanius's understanding, that Christ had a real human body after the resurrection and ascension.[51] As a consequence, they all denied the full humanity of Christ, either before or after the resurrection. The integrity of his human nature and its union with the divine, was something Epiphanius wished to uphold at all costs.

This explains much of his emphasis on the continuing role of the risen body of Christ. Without it, Christ would have a human soul but no body – which is essentially a mirror of what Apollinarius was condemned for.[52]

[48] ὅτι αὐτὸ ἦν ἀληθῶς τὸ σῶμα, ὅτι δὲ συνήφθη εἰς μίαν ἑνότητα καὶ μίαν θεότητα, μηκέτι προσδοκώμενον παθεῖν, μηκέτι ἀποθνῆσκον, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος «ἀνέστη Χριστός, οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει, θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει»· … αὐτόθεος ὤν, ἀνελθὼν δὲ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν δόξῃ, οὐκ ἀποθέμενος τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ συνενώσας εἰς τὸ πνευματικὸν ἐν τελειότητι μιᾶς θεότητος. Epiphanius, *De fide*, 17.7–9; ed. Karl Holl, Jürgen Dummer, *Epiphanius III. Panarion haer. 65–80. De fide*, rev. ed., GCS 37 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985), 518; translation (slightly adapted and with emphasis added) by Frank Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Books II and III (Sects 47-80*, De fide), Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 658–59.

[49] Καὶ ἀνελήφθη εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ νῷ, συνενώσας εἰς μίαν ἑνότητα καὶ μίαν πνευματικὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἔνθεον ἀποτελέσας. Epiphanius, *De incarnatione*, 4.1; ed. Karl Holl, *Epiphanius I. Ancoratus und Panarion haer. 1–33*, rev. and enl. ed., GCS n.s. 10/1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 231; trans. Frank Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (Sects 1-46)*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 35 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 53.

[50] Epiphanius does not use the word 'nature'. Obviously, 'two natures in one person' was an expression coined years later.

[51] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 69 (Arians; see esp. 19.7–8), 77 (Apollinarians; esp. 35.6–7 *et passim*), 64 (Origen; esp. 64.9–10 *et passim*). To what extent Epiphanius was historically accurate in his portrayal and critique of these three groups, is a question beyond the scope of this paper.

[52] Rom 6:9 is Epiphanius's favourite proof-text to show that Christ's resurrected flesh will not die again but remain eternally; see *Ancoratus*, 81.1, 92.5 (combining Rom 6:9 and 1 Cor 15:20); *Panarion*, 62 (7.6), 64 (64.10–65.1, combining Rom 6:9 and 1 Cor 15:20

In his profession we find Pelagius reasoning along the same lines, however succinctly: the same human flesh Christ lived in, died and was raised in, ascended to heaven and is now at the right hand of the Father. This human flesh was not done away with, rather it was glorified and now his human 'substance' continues to exist with his divine into eternity.

7. Conclusion: Pelagius, Jerome and the Origenist Controversy

The parallels in the works of Jerome, Theophilus, and Epiphanius are helpful for our understanding of Pelagius's text. It appears that the Origenist controversy, combined with certain Christological issues, is behind Pelagius's additions to the credal articles on the resurrection.

With Epiphanius, Pelagius extrapolates the lines of incarnation Christology into a post-resurrection Christology.[53] With Jerome, Pelagius rejects the view that humans will once rise with another body than the one they now live in. With Jerome and Theophilus, he rejects the idea that the risen body will eventually dissolve or fade away because it is part of a cycle of fall and restoration that implies a deprecatory view of created matter, or because it simply does not need the functions of bodily members anymore once it has entered the realms of heaven. With all three authors, Pelagius holds a high view of the human body as well as the Creator's power to restore and revive it, one way or another, after death has turned it into dust and ashes.[54]

The only irony in the concert of concurring voices, is in the fact that the same Jerome had also become one of Pelagius's worst enemies. Moreover, John of Jerusalem, one of Jerome's opponents in the Origenist controversy, was Pelagius's patron. And as noted above, Rufinus of Aquileia, formerly Jerome's friend but later his enemy, had exerted significant influence on Pelagius. It is perhaps not entirely surprising that in Jerome's eyes, Pelagius was simply a chip of the same Rufinian block.[55]

as in *Anc.* 92.5), 69 (42.9, 67.1), 77 (18.12, 29.1, 33.4). For similar, but more isolated quotations, see for example Jerome (Theophilus), *Letter* 96, 15 and Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos*, 10. In Epiphanius's repeated use of Rom 6:9, the passibility of the human flesh plays an important role as well: during his ministry on earth, Christ did suffer and die, according to his human nature, but after the resurrection even his humanity would neither suffer nor die again. Cf. Pelagius, *Libellus fidei*, 11–13 for similar emphasis on the problem of (im)passibility in the context of Christology.

[53] In *Libellus fidei*, 9, Pelagius argues against Apollinarianism explicitly.

[54] So also Pelagius, *Expositio in I Corinthios xv, 35–39*.

[55] Jerome, *In Hieremiam*, prologue, prol. book III, prol. book IV, on 22:24–27, on 28:12–14; *Epistle* 133, 3.

This web of relations is pointed out because it illustrates that there was a significant network-aspect to Pelagius's position and that this may have shaped his choice of words as much as purely theological considerations. His circles of friends and enemies had fought a bitter dispute on the legacy of Origen and Pelagius was at risk of being drawn into that debate, as a late guest. In fact, this is what had already happened to a certain extent: Jerome had publicly tried to associate Pelagius with Origenism.

Thus, Pelagius found himself surrounded by key players in the recent Origenist controversy and was now confronted with the allegation that his own teaching was basically just another branch of the same Origenist tree. This explains why Pelagius devotes ample room in his confession to deal with subjects largely unrelated to Augustine's concerns on divine grace and human free will. At first glance, Pelagius writes at length on issues that simply were not at stake, but this impression is misleading. For him, Origenism was a subject to reckon with, not in Latin Africa perhaps, but all the more in the Holy Land, where Pelagius lived and wrote at that time. Despite the sympathy and protection of the bishop of Jerusalem, he had every reason to consider what Jerome and other protagonists of the anti-Origenist campaign had brought forward. *That* is what seems to be behind his statements on the resurrection.

As for the question "whether he really meant it," we might say that his statements are not at odds with what he had, though less emphatically, written before in his *Expositiones*. Perhaps it can be put this way: what was sown there implicitly, is raised in his profession explicitly.

THE RESURRECTION ACCORDING TO CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

Hans van Loon*

In the chapter on 1 Corinthians 15 in his book on the exposition of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, Riemer Roukema discusses how orthodox and heterodox writers in the second and third centuries viewed the resurrection.[1] In this article I want to study how Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria (412–444), writes about the resurrection, and at times compare it with the views presented in Riemer's book and in other publications, especially Riemer's article "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity."[2] I will use the fragments of Cyril's commentary on 1 Corinthians 15 as a starting-point,[3] and add material from his other writings.

So far, little has been written on Cyril's view of the resurrection. Konrad F. Zawadzki has published a critical edition of Cyril's commentary on 1 Corinthians, with a German translation, to which he has added his own analysis.[4] Marie-Odile Boulnois has investigated whether Cyril polemicizes against Origen and/or the Origenists in his discussions on

* Riemer Roukema and I have known each other since the 1990s. Riemer came to Kampen to do research, when I was still studying theology. Later he became a lecturer in New Testament Studies, and I followed one of the courses he gave. We came to know one another better when we sang together in the Schola Cantorum Campensis, of which Riemer is still an active member. I moved elsewhere, but because of our common interest in the church fathers we continued to meet at various meetings and have stayed in touch.

1 Riemer Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1996), 221–60.

2 Riemer Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity," in *"If Christ has not been Raised…" Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church*, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 115, ed. Joseph Verheyden, Andreas Merkt, and Tobias Nicklas (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 33–60.

3 No fragments are extant of Cyril's commentary on 1 Cor 15:10–11, 29–34, 39, 58.

4 Konrad F. Zawadzki, ed., *Der Kommentar Cyrills von Alexandrien zum 1. Korintherbrief: Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung, Einzelanalyse*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 16 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 202–59 (Greek text and German translation of 1 Cor 15), 468–527 (analysis of Cyril's commentary on 1 Cor 15). Riemer Roukema wrote a review of this book in *Augustiniana* 66 (2016): 327–31.

the resurrection.[5] And I myself have devoted a few pages to the resurrection in an article on Cyril's view of the human body.[6]

Zawadzki argues that Cyril wrote his commentary on 1 Corinthians after 428, even after Nestorius's first letter to Cyril (*ep.* 3), and eventually concludes that it appeared between 433 and 438.[7] I find his arguments for the later dating[8] not convincing, but maintain that it was written after 429. The pair of terms ἀνθρώπινον–θεϊκόν is not only to be found in *Oratio ad Theodosium* – as Zawadzki has it[9] – but already in *De incarnatione unigeniti*, which was published before the Nestorian controversy.[10] Moreover, the parallels in structure and contents between the discussed passage and the Formula of Reunion are not stronger than those between the passage and other christological works from the period 430–433.[11] But it is clear that various comments are written against a Nestorian understanding of the person of Christ.

1. Verses 1–9: The Resurrection of Christ[12]

The extant fragments of Cyril's commentary on 1 Corinthians 15 start with the remark that the apostle aptly calls the proclamation of the resurrection of the dead and of Christ himself 'gospel', since it is indeed good news, for it gives hope and brings salvation. And salvation means that those who believe are stronger than sin, and escape death. Cyril often summarizes the consequences of the fall in two key notions, sin and corruption/death; and as a corollary, salvation is summed up in the terms sanctification and incorruption.[13]

That Christ died and arose shows for Cyril that he is both God and man. That he was buried emphasizes that he was really dead, his death in the flesh assures us that he truly has become a human being, and that he was victorious over death proves that he is God by nature. The context

[5] Marie-Odile Boulnois, "La résurrection des corps selon Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Une critique de la doctrine origénienne?," *Adamantius* 8 (2002): 83–113.

[6] Hans van Loon, "The Role of the Human Body in Cyril of Alexandria's Mystagogy," in *Early Christian Mystagogy and the Body*, ed. Nienke Vos and Paul van Geest, Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia 83 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 291–313, at 308–11.

[7] Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 37–60.

[8] Ibid., 52–53, 58–59.

[9] Ibid., 52.

[10] See for the dating of the latter work: Hans van Loon, *The Dyophysite Christology of Cyril of Alexandria*, VCS 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 259–61, 419–25.

[11] *Pace* Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 53.

[12] *In i Corinthios* 15:1–9, in Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 202–9. The headings are mine.

[13] Van Loon, "The Role of the Human Body," 297.

in which he writes this is that of the Nestorian controversy, because of which he wants to stress that the one Christ is the Son of God who also has become man. Here he underlines the reality of Christ's death, not in order to oppose Docetism, as did Irenaeus and Tertullian,[14] but to assert that the Word of God died in the flesh. In an earlier work, however, Cyril does quote 1 Cor 15:3–8 and 12–15 to refute Docetism.[15] During the Nestorian controversy the archbishop states also in other writings that the resurrection of Christ's body shows that he is God by nature.[16] And we find this argument already in his commentary on the Gospel of John, written before 428.[17]

A number of times Cyril quotes, paraphrases or alludes to the phrase in the letter to the Hebrews which says that Christ participated in blood and flesh in order that through his death he might destroy him who has the power over death.[18] Here, in his commentary on 1 Cor 15:1–9, instead of the verb "to destroy" (καταργέω) he uses the verb "to trample" (πατέω), and instead of "him who has the power over death" he declares that Christ trampled on "death". Cyril does not actually use the expression "trampling down death by death" (θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας), as it is sung to this day in the Eastern Orthodox Easter troparion, but we do find elements from this expression also in other works of Cyril. So he writes that Christ destroyed "death";[19] that he did so "by the death of his own flesh" (τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός), instead of "through death" (διὰ τοῦ θανάτου);[20] and that he "trampled on death" (πατήσας τὸν θάνατον).[21] A few times, Cyril adds explicitly that it was Christ's resurrection that secured the victory over death.[22]

[14] Roukema, *De uitleg*, 221–22.

[15] *De incarnatione unigeniti*, 681e–682b (SC 97, 200), repeated in *Oratio ad Theodosium* (*ACO* I.1.1, 47).

[16] *Contra Nestorium* (*ACO* I.1.6, 101); *Oratio ad augustas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 32 and 54); *Oratio ad dominas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 71).

[17] *In Johannem* 8:28 (Pusey 2.35–36).

[18] Heb 2:14: ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου. *De adoratione*, Book 2 (PG 68, 256BC); *In Oseam* 13:14 (Pusey, 1.272); *Ep. 1: Ad monachos Aegypti* (*ACO* I.1.1, 22).

[19] *In Johannem* 6:51 (Pusey, 1.518); *Epistula festalis* 22.4 (PG 77, 872C); *Quod unus sit Christus*, 722a (SC 97, 326).

[20] *In Isaiam* 52:13–15 (PG 70, 1165A); 53:3b (PG 70, 1173B); *In i Corinthios* 15:12 (Zawadzki, 212).

[21] *Glaphyra in Genesim* 49:22–26 (PG 69, 377D); *In Lucam* 9:44a (Reuss, fr. I.87); *Contra Nestorium*, Book 5, c. 1 (*ACO* I.1.6, 93).

[22] *In Lucam* 9:32–33 (Reuss, fr. I.81); *Oratio ad augustas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 30); *Epistula festalis* 25.3 (PG 77, 912B).

In the passage under investigation he also writes that, trampling down death, Christ was raised in order that we would gain the same thing, that is, in order that we, too, would be raised from the dead. A little further on, the notion that our own resurrection from the dead is dependent on Christ's resurrection is repeated in other words. It says that Christ was truly raised for our sake, for in him the whole nature, that is, the entire human race, was trampling on death.[23] And we have been buried (συνταφῆναι) and raised (συνεγηγέρθαι) with Christ and are seated (συγκαθίσαι) with him in the heavenly realms, verbs that are taken from the New Testament,[24] which recur a number of times in Cyril's works.

In his commentary on 1 Corinthians 15, and more in general in his writings, Cyril usually interprets the resurrection of people as the coming to life again of their bodies. Besides the verbs "to rise" (ἀνίστημι) and "to raise" (ἐγείρω), he also uses "to bring to life again" (ἀναβιόω) and "to give life" (ζωοποιέω). Occasionally, the archbishop links the resurrection of Christ with a new way of life here and now, before death, mostly referring, explicitly or implicitly, to Romans 6:4, where Paul writes: "We were therefore buried with him through baptism into death in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we too may walk in newness of life."[25] In such contexts Cyril may call the resurrection spiritual (νοητός)[26] or say that we have to die, to be buried and to be raised spiritually (νοητῶς).[27] It is interesting that the archbishop here uses the word νοητός rather than πνευματικός.[28] Since νοητός can indicate the intelligible, as opposed to the sensible (αἰσθητός), Cyril probably chose this word to emphasize that he is not speaking of a bodily death, burial and resurrection here.

Further, it is noteworthy that Cyril speaks of "the great mystery of the resurrection." The expression "mystery of the resurrection" occurs several times in his commentary on 1 Corinthians 15 and also in other works

[23] See for Cyril's use of "the (whole / human) nature" or "the flesh" or "the humanity" to indicate the human race, all human beings, especially in soteriological contexts: van Loon, *The Dyophysite Christology*, 172–73, 151–52, 392–93.

[24] Rom 6:4; Eph 2:6; Col 2:12; 3:1.

[25] *De adoratione*, Book 11 (PG 68, 777AB); *Epistula festalis* 22.3 (PG 77, 865D–868A); *In Romanos* 6:4 (Pusey, 3.189).

[26] *In Isaiam* 51:17–18 (PG 70, 1133B).

[27] *Glaphyra in Exodum*, Part 2 (PG 69, 441A); *In Romanos* 6:3 (Pusey, 3.189).

[28] See for Cyril's use of the word νοητός in his *Festal Letters*: Hans van Loon, *Living in the Light of Christ: Mystagogy in Cyril of Alexandria's Festal Letters*, LAHR 15 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 50–51. His understanding of the "spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν) is discussed in section 3 below.

of Cyril.[29] Much more often he uses the phrase "mystery of Christ" (cf. Eph 3:4; Col 4:3), less often "mystery of the economy (with the flesh)," and sometimes "mystery of godliness" (cf. 1 Tim 3:16). By this he means the whole economy of salvation: the incarnation of the Word of God, his suffering, death, resurrection, and ascension, but also the salvific consequences for humankind.[30] He also uses the word "mystery" for part of the economy, such as "the mystery of the incarnation," or here: "the mystery of the resurrection." A mystery can only be understood by human reason to a limited extent, we need the Holy Spirit to really grasp it. By calling the resurrection a mystery, Cyril emphasizes that we cannot accept and believe it without the light of the Holy Spirit. Mostly, he mentions the mystery of the resurrection without further specification, a few times he speaks of the mystery of Christ's resurrection[31] or of the coming resurrection.[32]

2. Verses 12–28: The Goal of the Economy is the Resurrection from the Dead[33]

The apostle Paul speaks of "some among you [the Corinthians]" who deny the resurrection of the dead. For such a denial Cyril refers to the Sadducees, with a quotation from Acts 23:8 (who say "that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit"),[34] and to Hymenaeus and Alexander, with a quotation from 2 Timothy 2:18 ("who say that the resurrection has already taken place").[35] The reference to the Sadducees can also be found in Tertullian and Origen.[36]

Cyril uses this passage especially to emphasize that Christ's resurrection was necessary for the resurrection of humankind. He even calls the resurrection the goal (τὸ πέρας) of the economy with the flesh, and the

[29] *Glaphyra in Exodum*, Book 2 (PG 69, 477AB); *In Isaiam* 26:11 (PG 70, 577D); *In Johannem* 20:19–20 (Pusey, 3.126).

[30] Hans van Loon, "The Meaning of 'Mystagogy' in Cyril of Alexandria," in *Seeing through the Eyes of Faith: New Approaches to the Mystagogy of the Church Fathers*, LAHR 11, ed. Paul van Geest (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 37–53.

[31] *De adoratione*, Book 17 (PG 68, 1092D); *In Johannem* 6:51 (Pusey, 1.520).

[32] *In Johannem* 7:24 (Pusey, 1.636–7).

[33] *In i Corinthios* 15:12–28, in Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 208–29.

[34] In his commentary on Luke 20:27 (Reuss, I.310), Cyril also refers to Acts 23:8. As far as I know, these are the only places in his extant writings where he mentions the Sadducees' view of the resurrection.

[35] The names in 2 Tim 2:17–18 are Hymenaeus and Philetus. Hymenaeus and Alexander are mentioned in 1 Tim 1:20. It seems that Cyril combines these verses.

[36] Roukema, *De uitleg*, 228.

end (ὁ σκοπός) of the inhumanation of the Only-Begotten. The Word of God has not become a human being for his own sake, and he died not for himself, but for us. The archbishop repeats that we have been raised with Christ, and adds a number of other terms and expressions.

Christ died in order to become, as it were, a way (ὁδός) or a door (θύρα) for the human nature, that is, for humankind, to overcome corruption and to return to life. In other works Cyril speaks of the way of the resurrection[37] and the way to incorruption.[38] With expressions taken from 1 Cor 15:20 and Col 1:18 the archbishop calls Christ "the firstfruits [ἀπαρχή] of those who have fallen asleep" and "the firstborn [πρωτότοκος] from the dead." Throughout his works he uses the terms "firstfruits" and "firstborn" as well as "in Christ first [ἐν πρώτῳ Χριστῷ]" more in general to indicate that the renewal of humankind took place in the person of Christ to begin with, and from him it extended to other people.[39] So he says that Christ was the first to receive the Spirit, as firstfruits of the nature that is being renewed.[40] "Firstborn" has a broader application already in the New Testament, where Christ is called "the firstborn among many brothers" (Rom 8:29). But in several of his writings Cyril applies the terms firstfruits and firstborn also explicitly to the resurrection from the dead.[41]

Paul's assertion that the faith of the Corinthians is futile if Christ has not been raised (v. 17), leads Cyril to argue that then our sins are not forgiven. In this context he quotes Romans 4:25: "He was delivered over to death for our sins and was raised to life for our justification." This verse, too, is referred to also in other works of Cyril's.[42] Here, the fruit of Christ's resurrection is not just that all will be raised from the dead, but also that those who believe in Christ are justified and their sins forgiven. He applies Paul's remark about those who have fallen asleep (v. 18) to the martyrs, and argues that they have given their life in vain, if Christ has not been raised from the dead.

Irenaeus connected the "order" which Paul mentions in verse 23 (ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι) with his millennialist views, which were

[37] *Thesaurus*, c. 25 (PG 75, 405B); *De adoratione*, Book 17 (PG 68, 1096A); *Epistula festalis* 7.2 (SC 392, 52).

[38] *Glaphyra in Numeros* (PG 69, 632D); *In Lucam* 24:1–7 (Reuss, II.112); *Ep. 45: Ad Successum I* (*ACO* I.1.6, 155).

[39] Van Loon, *The Dyophysite Christology*, 571, and the "Index of subjects," s.v. "First: in Christ first," "First-born," and "First-fruits," 617–18.

[40] *In Johannem* 7:39 (Pusey, 1.692).

[41] *De adoratione*, Book 17 (PG 68, 1112B); *In Habacuc* 3:2 (Pusey, 2.119); *Epistula festalis* 10.5 (SC 392, 238–40); *In Johannem* 6:51 (Pusey, 1.522).

[42] *In Johannem* 17:18–19 (Pusey 2.723); *Oratio ad augustas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 55–56).

based on Revelation 20.[43] In a first resurrection the righteous will be raised, and they will reign with Christ on earth for a thousand years. After that period, in a second resurrection, all the others will rise. As far as I can ascertain, Cyril does not refer to these millennialist ideas.[44] They do not seem to have been an issue for him. For the archbishop, the order points to the difference between the holy people in Israel, at the time of the Law, before Christ, on the one hand, and those who are in Christ, on the other. The latter are "better" (ἀμείνους), because they have been justified through faith, they have become partakers of the divine nature (cf. 2 Pet 1:4), and they have been enriched with the Spirit of sonship. In his commentary on the Gospel of John he writes that Christ has been raised as the firstfruits, then follow those who belong to Christ (with a quotation from 1 Cor 15:23), and after that "all the others."[45] Cyril does not say how much time there will be between the resurrection of those in Christ and that of the others.

That the Son will subject himself to the Father (v. 28) was apparently used by (neo-)Arians to argue that he is inferior to the Father and not consubstantial. With his knowledge of Aristotelian / Porphyrian logic,[46] Cyril reasons that a property like "being subject" cannot be the definition of a nature or substance. Just as when a pupil is subject to a teacher, both are nevertheless equally human beings, so Father and Son are both divine, even when the one subjects himself to the other. We find similar arguments in Cyril's anti-Arian writings.[47]

Cyril does not polemicize against Origen's controversial interpretation of the ἀποκατάστασις, the restoration of all things (Acts 3:21), based on verse 28, which says that "God will be all in all."[48] In Cyril's writings, the word ἀποκατάστασις occurs only twice, in the title of a chapter of his commentary on John, in a context in which Origen does not play a role. That title states that the Feast of Tabernacles "shows forth the restoration (ἀποκατάστασιν) of the hope due to the saints and the return to

[43] Roukema, *De uitleg*, 231–32.

[44] Searches in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (stephanus.tlg.uci.edu) in the works of author = 4090 (Cyril of Alexandria) and author = 5000 (Concilia Oecumenica, ACO) for several sets of two lemmata within five words. A search for πρῶτος and ἀνάστασις yields five results in works of Cyril, none of which refer to a "first resurrection." A search for χίλιοι and ἔτος yields only two places, both of which refer to Psalm 89/90:4. And a search for χιλιάς and ἔτος yields no results.

[45] *In Johannem* 7:24 (Pusey, 1.636–7).

[46] Van Loon, *The Dyophysite Christology*, 61–122.

[47] An elaborate exposition can be found in *In Johannem* 6:38–39 (Pusey, 1.490–4). See also *Thesaurus*, c. 30 (PG 75, 432C–433B), and *De s. trinitate dialogi* 5, 581e–584a.

[48] Roukema, *De uitleg*, 233–34.

life (ἀναβίωσιν) from the dead."[49] The archbishop links the Feast of Tabernacles more often with the resurrection: he regards the "pitching of tents" (σκηνοπηγία), as the feast is called, as a type of the reconstitution (σύμπηξις) of human bodies at the time of the resurrection, when corruption will yield to incorruption.[50] More broadly, he sees the feast as a type of the return to paradise.[51]

3. Verses 35–49: It Is Raised a Spiritual Body[52]

Cyril of Alexandria is quite clear as to the sort of body with which the dead will be raised (v. 35):[53] it will be the same flesh as that before death (εἰς τήνδε τὴν σάρκα). And he adds: "For the Lord also raised his own flesh as it was."[54] In his commentary on John 20:19–20, the archbishop speaks of the solid body (ἐν σώματι τῷ παχεῖ) with which the risen Lord enters through closed doors. It would be a misapprehension, he states, to conclude that he was not raised with this body, but stripped of the flesh.[55] That he can walk through a closed door does not imply that he has a different body after his resurrection, but it is a miracle, comparable to his walking on water. And by showing the disciples the nail prints he confirms that the risen body is the same as the body that was crucified. He withheld the glory of his holy body, because human eyes could not yet bear it, as – he adds – the three disciples could not bear it when he was transfigured on the mountain (Mt 17).

When Cyril comments on Christ's appearance to Thomas, he refers to 1 Cor 15:43 – "it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power" – and argues that at the time of the resurrection no remnant of decay will be left in us, like blindness or lameness, because neither did they belong to the original creation. But, contrary to this, as an exception, in order to show that it was really he himself and his

[49] It is the title of chapter 5 of Book 4, *In Johannem* 7:1–22 (Pusey, 1.579), which is also given at the beginning of Book 4, *In Johannem* 6:38–7:24 (Pusey, 1.483).

[50] *De adoratione*, Book 17 (PG 68, 1108D); *In Johannem* 6:1 (Pusey, 1.399). See also *Glaphyra in Deuteronomium* (PG 69, 676C); *In Zachariam* 14:16–17 (Pusey, 2.536); *In Johannem* 7:37 (Pusey, 1.686).

[51] *De adoratione*, Book 17 (PG 68, 1108C); *Epistula festalis* 28.3 (PG 77, 945D).

[52] *In i Corinthios* 15:35–49, in Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 230–52.

[53] The views of various early authors on this question are presented in Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55."

[54] *In i Corinthios* 15:35–38, in Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 234: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ κύριος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἀνέστησεν ὡς ἦν.

[55] *In Johannem* 20:19–20 (Pusey, 3.125–6).

own body, with which he was crucified, Jesus still had the scars in his hands, feet and side, when he appeared to the disciples.[56]

In Cyril's view, the "spiritual body" (v. 44), which is raised, is not a bodiless spirit, nor shadowy (σκιώδες, σκιαῖς ὀλίγα παραχωροῦν), subtle (ἰσχνόν) or airy (ἀερῶδες), but it is an earthly body that consists of bones and sinews, like the present body. Boulnois argues – rightly, I think – that, without explicitly referring to them, Cyril is polemicizing with (Origen and) the Origenists.[57] He also dismisses the view that bodies are a punishment for sins committed by pre-existent souls, which is attributed to the same group of people.[58] If that were the case, the resurrection of bodies would continue the punishment rather than being something good. Cyril nowhere mentions the view that the resurrected body would be an "ethereal body" (αἰθέριον σῶμα), a term we find in Origen.[59] This could indicate that in his polemics Cyril has the contemporary Origenists in mind rather than Origen himself.

According to the archbishop, the terms "psychical body" (σῶμα ψυχικόν) and "spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν) do not refer to a difference in nature (οὐ φύσεως … διαφορᾶς), but to a difference in thinking (φρόνημα).[60] For this, he partly quotes 1 Cor 2:14–15: "The psychical human being does not accept the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him. The spiritual human being judges all things, but is himself judged by no one."[61] And he refers to James 3:15, which speaks of "psychical" wisdom. Those with a "psychical body" have a carnal, that is, sinful way of thinking, while those with a "spiritual body" have a spiritual way of thinking, that is, their thinking is guided by the Holy Spirit. And as a result, those with a psychical body suffer corruption, while those with a spiritual body receive incorruption and glory. In his commentary on Romans 8:23, Cyril argues similarly that the spiritual body is not subtle (ἰσχνόν) or airy (ἀερῶδες), but that "it will totally discard carnal and earthly thinking."[62]

[56] *In Johannem* 20:26–27 (Pusey, 3.146–48).

[57] Boulnois, "La résurrection des corps." See for Origen's view of the "spiritual body" also Roukema, *De uitleg*, 248–50.

[58] Cyril refutes the pre-existence of souls in twenty-four syllogisms in *In Johannem* 1:9 (Pusey, 1.117–26). See also van Loon, "The Role of the Human Body," 292–94.

[59] Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 44, 46.

[60] See for a more elaborate discussion of the psychical and the spiritual body: van Loon, "The Role of the Human Body," 299–302.

[61] *In i Corinthios* 15:44–45, in Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 246.

[62] *In Romanos* 8:23 (Pusey, 3.217–28). See also *In Johannem* 20:24–25 (Pusey, 3.142–43): "no phantom nor shadow" (οὔτε φάσμα ἦν ἢ σκιά), nor a "subtle or airy" (λεπτομερές τε καὶ ἀερῶδες) body.

The archbishop interprets the "bare grain" (γυμνὸν κόκκον) that is sown (v. 37) as a body without incorruption, glory and power. At the resurrection, the present body will not be annihilated, but the bodies of those who are in Christ will be freed from corruption and weakness, and will be adorned with glory. We find a similar understanding in Cyril's commentary on 2 Cor 5:1–5.[63] The tent, that is, our present body, will be dissolved at death, but when it is raised at the resurrection we do not want it to be "naked" (γυμνοί), but rather clothed with a heavenly dwelling, that is, incorruption.

Origen uses the concept of σπερματικὸς λόγος when he explains the image of the seed in verses 36–38: also human beings have such a generative principle, which ensures that their new bodies will germinate at the resurrection.[64] In Cyril's writings this concept occurs only once, not in relation to the resurrection of the dead, but as a power that inheres herbs and trees in order that they may remain (over the years) despite their temporality.[65]

Of Cyril's commentary on verses 39–41 only a few sentences are extant. We have no comments on what Paul says about the flesh of animals, birds and fish, and about the glory of the sun, the moon and the stars.[66] In the extant fragments the archbishop merely says in general that all bodies will return to life in incorruption, but that there will be a difference in glory and adornment. Throughout his writings, he teaches that all will be raised, but, in the words of John 5:29, "those who have done good to a resurrection of life, and those who have done evil to a resurrection of judgment."[67] Those who do not belong to Christ will pay the penalty for their faults and disobedience, while those who belong to him will receive honors, crowns and splendor.[68]

Cyril argues that, strictly speaking, the resurrection is due only to those who are in Christ, but God nevertheless grants the grace of a bodily return to life to all humankind.[69] The difference between those in Christ and those without Christ lies in what happens to them after the bodily resurrection:

[63] *In ii Corinthios* 5:1–5 (Zawadzki, 204–10).
[64] Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 44; Roukema, *De uitleg*, 248.
[65] *Contra Julianum*, Book 2, section 28 (SC 322, 262).
[66] See for interpretations of these categories by other early authors: Roukema, *De uitleg*, 245, 246, 249; and Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 40, 43, 51, 52, 53, 57.
[67] *In Johannem* 6:51 (Pusey, 1.520–1). Cf. idem, 7:24 (Pusey, 1.636–37).
[68] *In Oseam* 1:11 (Pusey, 1.42).
[69] *In Johannem* 7:24 (Pusey, 1.636).

the first ones receive glory and honor, the others punishment. Although all may be said to return to "life," in a stricter sense the word "life" applies to those in Christ: it involves sanctification and blessedness and unfailing delight.[70] Cyril does not explicitly say so, but, since he speaks of the grace of the bodily resurrection also for non-believers, his teaching implies that (punishment of) a soul without its body would be worse than punishment of an embodied soul.

When he refers to the resurrection of both good and bad at the end of time Cyril sometimes speaks of "the common resurrection" (ἡ κοινὴ ἀνάστασις), an expression also found in earlier church fathers.[71] The present believers have to wait until the common resurrection, and then they will rise together with the saints of old, that is, those who died before Christ.[72] The saints remain dead and await the time of the resurrection,[73] when they will leave the ground they are in.[74] The archbishop does not dwell on the state of the soul during this waiting period.[75] When he speaks of Hades, it is a place for the dead who do not belong to Christ.[76] It is "a place, a gloomy prison for wretched souls."[77] With respect to Christ he writes: "Did he, then, remain among the dead and was he, enduring human death with us, caught in the snares of adventitious corruption? On the contrary. For he was life by nature, and he returned to life after three days."[78] Commenting on the text that "he went and preached to the spirits in prison" (1 Pet 3:19), Cyril argues that when the Word descended to Hades to preach to the souls there (between his death and resurrection), he was clothed with and united to his own human soul.[79]

In Cyril's commentary, verse 47 contains ὁ κύριος: "The first human being was from the earth, made of dust, the second human being was the Lord from heaven."[80] It is not surprising, then, that he identifies the second

[70] *In Johannem* 6:51 (Pusey, 1.521).
[71] *In Oseam* 1:11 (Pusey, 1.42); *In Johannem* 11:25–27 (Pusey, 2.274).
[72] *In Johannem (add.)* 11:25 (Reuss, fr. 12).
[73] *Glaphyra in Genesim*, Book 7 (PG 69, 348B).
[74] *In Johannem* 7:24 (Pusey, 1.636).
[75] Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* V.31.2, speaks of an invisible place allotted to them by God, where the souls wait until the resurrection. Roukema, *De uitleg*, 231.
[76] *In Johannem* 1:3 (Pusey, 1.65); idem, 8:21 (Pusey, 2.5); idem, 14:11 (Pusey, 2.433).
[77] *In Isaiam* 5:13–16 (PG 70, 153A).
[78] *Epistula festalis* 14.2 (SC 434, 162). Cf. *Glaphyra in Numeros*, (PG 69, 625C); *In Habacuc* 3:1 (Pusey, 2.119); *Contra Nestorium*, Book 5 (*ACO* I.1.6, 99).
[79] *De incarnatione unigeniti*, 692d–693d; repeated in *Oratio ad Theodosium* (*ACO* I.1.1, 55–56).
[80] Also in some other writings of Cyril's 1 Cor 15:47 contains ὁ κύριος: *Glaphyra in Genesim*, Book 1 (PG 69, 29A); *Oratio ad dominas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 95); *Ep. 39: Ad Johannem Antiochenum* (*ACO* I.1.4, 18). But he also quotes the verse without ὁ κύριος: *Ad*

human being with Christ, and the first with Adam. Some earlier authors interpreted them (without "the Lord"), not as Adam and Christ, but as sinful and spiritual human beings, respectively.[81] With verse 49, which says that human beings can bear the image of the man of dust and the image of the heavenly man, it is still possible for Cyril to apply the difference to human beings in general. He interprets the image of the man of dust as yielding to passions, being too weak to resist sin, and having been brought under the yoke of corruption; and the image of the heavenly man as having become stronger than the love of the flesh and the wish to sin, and as eventually overcoming death.

There are two variant readings of verse 49: "And just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will (φορέσομεν) / let us (φορέσωμεν) also bear the image of the heavenly one." In some early authors we find the first reading, in others the second, while some are aware of both possible readings.[82] In Cyril's commentary on 1 Corinthians he uses the exhortation "let us bear," which also occurs in other writings of his, sometimes with the addition of the word οὕτω.[83] But there are also writings of Cyril's in which we encounter the future tense.[84] However, when he quotes this verse, the form of the verb does not have any bearing on the point he wants to make.

4. Verses 50–57: Not All Will Be Changed[85]

That "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (v. 50) meant for Gnostics, Clement of Alexandria and Origen that the earthly, material bodies will not be part of the life in incorruption.[86] Others like Irenaeus, Tertullian, Methodius of Olympus, John Chrysostom and Jerome taught that human flesh somehow does take part in the resurrection, and interpret this verse differently, for example, arguing that "flesh and blood"

Hebraeos (Pusey, 3.397); *Oratio ad augustas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 28); *Quod unus sit Christus*, 771c (SC 97, 490).

[81] See for various interpretations of this verse: Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 37, 40, 45, 48, 50; and Roukema, *De uitleg*, 244–45, 247, 250.

[82] Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 38, 40–41, 43, 48, 50, 51, 54, 55.

[83] *Thesaurus*, c. 32 (PG 75, 489A); *In Romanos* 8:29 (Pusey, 3.220); *Oratio ad augustas* (*ACO* I.1.5, 55).

[84] *Glaphyra in Genesim*, Book 1 (PG 69, 29A); *De incarnatione unigeniti*, 692a (SC 97, 232); *Quod unus sit Christus*, 723b (SC 97, 330).

[85] *In i Corinthios* 15:50–58, in Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 252–58.

[86] Roukema, *De uitleg*, 251, 254–55, 257, 259–60; Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 36, 43, 45.

here refers to people without the Spirit (Irenaeus).[87] Only a small part of Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on 1 Cor 15:50 is extant. In it he states that "as long as the human body is flesh and blood, that is, mortal and corruptible, it cannot inherit the kingdom of God, that is, existence in perpetuity."

According to Cyril, human beings are mortal by nature,[88] as he also declares in his commentary on verse 53. That is, human bodies are by nature subject to corruption and death, while God has given immortality to the human soul; and death is the severance of soul and body, which results in the dissolution of the body.[89] At creation, immortality was given to the bodies through the Holy Spirit, and they did not actually die. Because of their disobedience, however, the Spirit left them and as a result corruption and death became actual, according to their own nature. The Spirit is given anew to those who are in Christ. In him they receive incorruption and immortality. This is not a change in nature, as we saw above and as the archbishop repeats in his comments on verses 51–52 (the change does not imply that we are turned "into some other nature"), but some of the human properties, like mortality, are "transelemented" into divine properties, like immortality.[90] So, Cyril is saying that by "flesh and blood" is meant the body in its natural state, subject to corruption and death, without the Holy Spirit – which is reminiscent of Irenaeus's interpretation.

There are three main textual readings of verse 51: (1) "we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed"; (2) "we will all sleep, but we will not all be changed"; (3) "we will all rise, but we will not all be changed."[91] In his commentary on 1 Corinthians, Cyril discusses the second reading.[92] In line with his comments on verses 39–41, he states that all the dead will rise at the end of the age, but that not all will receive the grace of honor and glory, but only the just – by which he will mean those justified in Christ. The evil ones – that is, those who are not in Christ – will be punished. We find the same reading in his commentary on John 10:10, with

[87] Roukema, *De uitleg*, 253–4, 255–6; Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 38–39, 41–42, 48, 54, 56–57, 59.

[88] Van Loon, "The Role of the Human Body," 297–98.

[89] Walter J. Burghardt, *The Image of God in Man according to Cyril of Alexandria* (Woodstock, MD: Woodstock College Press, 1957; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009), 85–88.

[90] Van Loon, "The Role of the Human Body," 309–10.

[91] Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55," 41–42, 45, 50, 52–53, 54, 55–56, 57–58, 59–60, gives the readings in various early authors and their interpretations.

[92] Zawadzki, *Der Kommentar*, 520–21.

a similar interpretation.[93] There he says that the return to life is common to saints and sinners, but that the participation in the Holy Spirit is not common to all, but goes beyond the common existence. It is only for those who have been justified through faith in Christ.[94]

In an earlier work, however, we find the first reading, that we will not all sleep, but we will all be changed.[95] Interestingly enough, Cyril adduces the verse when he discusses an understanding similar to that which is based on the second reading: all will rise, both bad and good, but only those who belong to Christ will be glorified. This raises the question whether Cyril's authentic text contained the first reading, or whether an early copyist changed it to bring it in line with what he regarded the biblical text.

In his comments on verses 51–52, the archbishop calls the raised saints "incomparably better" than the people here and now. He gives the following reasons: they will be incorruptible and indestructible, and moreover glorified.

Verse 53 – that this corruptible must put on incorruption, and that this mortal must put on immortality – induces Cyril to elaborate on the metaphor of nakedness and clothing, which we encountered in his exposition of verse 37. That Adam and Eve realized that they were naked (Gen 3:7), means that they became aware that through the neglect of God's command they had put off incorruption and the garment of divine glory. But at the time of the resurrection there will be a return to the former goods: the flesh will come to life again, be clothed with immortality and be enriched with the garment of divine glory.

5. Conclusion

Although Cyril of Alexandria is best known for his role in the christological controversy with Nestorius, he is first and foremost a biblical theologian, for whom Scripture is the highest authority. He has written commentaries on most bible books. Seven of the ten volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* that are devoted to Cyril, contain these commentaries or their extant fragments. One volume comprises his letters and homilies, and in the two remaining volumes we find his writings against Arianism and Nestorianism. Neither of these two belief systems touch directly on

[93] *In Johannem* 10:10 (Pusey, 1.220).
[94] See also above, the comments on vv. 39–41.
[95] *In Oseam* 1:11 (Pusey, 1.42). See note 68.

the teaching of the resurrection. Without mentioning them by name, Cyril does polemicize against the Origenists, when he discusses in what sort of body people will be raised. Otherwise, he simply wants to expound what Scripture has to say on the subject of the resurrection, which to him is an important part of the good news of the Christian faith.

I will end by highlighting several aspects of Cyril of Alexandria's view of the resurrection. When he speaks of the resurrection, he usually envisages the return to bodily life of the dead at the end of time. For the spiritual renewal of life here and now, he relatively seldom uses the metaphor of resurrection. Both the renewed life here on earth and the coming to life again on the last day are dependent on the incarnation of the Son of God, including his death and resurrection.

According to Cyril, all will rise at the end of the age, both those who belong to Christ and those who do not. But the first will be glorified, while the others will be punished. Over against the Origenists, the archbishop emphasizes that the body with which they will rise will be the same as that before death. Its nature will not be different, it will not be a subtle or airy body. When Paul speaks of a spiritual body and a psychical body, these expressions do not refer to the nature of the body, but to the way of thinking. Someone who is said to have a psychical body has a psychical, that is, sinful way of thinking, while someone with a spiritual body has a spiritual way of thinking, that is, guided by the Holy Spirit.

In Cyril's view, human nature by itself is mortal. It needs the Holy Spirit in order not to fall into corruption and death. At creation, the Holy Spirit was given to humans, but after the fall the Spirit left them, and as a result they were subject to corruption and death. Through Christ humankind can receive the Spirit again, and now permanently, so that it can live in immortality.

Based on various Scripture verses, the archbishop uses the metaphor of nakedness and clothing to elucidate his understanding of the bodily resurrection. When Adam and Eve had sinned, they realized that they were naked, that is, that they had lost the incorruption and glory given to them by the Spirit. When a human being dies, it does not want to be found naked, but it wants to be clothed with immortality and divine glory. This is given to those in Christ at the end of the age.

SECOND BIRTH: BAPTISM AND THE RESURRECTION IN THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, NARSAI OF NISIBIS, AND THOMAS OF EDESSA

Nathan WITKAMP

First Corinthians 15 is without doubt the most important New Testament chapter about the meaning of the resurrection of Christ and the expectation of the eschatological resurrection of believers. According to Paul, the two resurrections are clearly connected: the former guarantees the latter (1 Cor 15:12–22). The same apostle relates the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection to the ritual of baptism (Rom 6:3–5). Eventually (see below), this passage provided fuel for an influential mystagogy that portrayed baptism as a mimesis of Christ's death and resurrection.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428 CE), however, uniquely portrayed baptism primarily as a symbol of the final resurrection. Or, to put it in a Theodorean way: the second birth at baptism is a symbol of the real second birth at the resurrection. Since this view is key to his baptismal mystagogy – it permeates the whole baptismal mystagogy of his *Catechetical Homilies* – it provides an interesting case for tracing the reception of Theodore's baptismal mystagogy in the tradition that followed in his footsteps: the East Syrian church.[1] It is generally known that this branch of Christianity has been profoundly influenced by the West Syrian bishop of Mopsuestia.[2] Even during his lifetime, Theodore enjoyed high esteem in Syriac speaking communities. Because of projects initiated by the school of Edessa, the majority of Theodore's works was translated into Syriac

[1] The so-called "Nestorian" branch of Syriac-speaking Christianity, East of the Euphrates, nowadays represented by the Church of the East. For an introduction, see Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, trans. Miranda G. Henry (London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003); trans. of *Die Apostolische Kirche des Ostens* (Klagenfurt: Verlag Kitab, 2000). See also Christoph Baumer, *The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

[2] Nathan Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation: Baptismal Rite and Mystagogy in Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai of Nisibis*, VCSup 149 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 1–6.

before his death.[3] And Qiiōrē (d. 436/7 CE), the first head of the school of Edessa that we know by name, replaced the texts of Ephrem with those of Theodore as normative.[4] These developments led to a profound influence of "The Interpreter" – as he was and still is known by his followers – on East Syrian theology and liturgy.[5]

It goes without saying that it would be far beyond the limits of the present paper to map the full reception history of Theodore's baptismal mystagogy in Syriac speaking Christianity, even concerning our particular point of interest. Therefore my aim is much more modest and concentrates on two representatives of the succeeding generations of the East Syrian church whose writings (partly) survived: Narsai of Nisibis (d. ca. 503) and Thomas of Edessa (d. ca. 540). Narsai headed the schools of Edessa and Nisibis for decades and was a prolific writer of *mēmrē* or verse-homilies, which ranks him with Ephrem the Syrian among the so-called poet-theologians.[6] Thomas was an important teacher at the school of Nibisis and is the first witness of the genre of "explanation" (*ᶜelta*).[7] Thanks to the valuable recent publication of Possekel and Coakley, the only surviving Explanations of Thomas, of the *Nativity* and *Epiphany*, are accessible now to scholarship.[8] In particular the *Explanation of Epiphany*

[3] Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266; Subsidia 26 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965); Andrew Younan, *The Mesopotamian School & Theodore of Mopsuestia* (San Diego, CA: St. Peter Diocese for Chaldeans & Assyrians, 2009), 102.

[4] Vööbus, *History*, 10–11.

[5] This influence extends even to the present day (Cf. Frederick G. McLeod, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, *The Early Church Fathers* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), 8–9.

[6] For a description and analysis of the poetic nature of Narsai's homilies, see Philip Michael Forness, "The Construction of Metrical Poetry in the Homilies of Narsai of Nisibis and Jacob of Serugh," in *Narsai: Rethinking his Work and his World*, ed. Aaron M. Butts et al., Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 93–115.

[7] In contrast to the poetic symbolical imagery of the verse-homily, an "explanation" is a more scholastically ordered lecture that addresses several topics and questions. See further Ute Possekel and James Farwell Coakley, ed., trans., *Thomas of Edessa's Explanations of the Nativity and Epiphany*, OECT (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 28–32.

[8] Possekel and Coakley, *Explanations*. Both explanations are preserved in a sixth century collection comprising altogether thirteen Explanations, covering the principal ecclesiastical festivals as observed by the Church of the East in the sixth century. The text of the *Explanations* was discovered in 1885 near Seert, Kurdistan by the priest Samuel Giamil in a manuscript dating from the sixteenth century. That manuscript has now been lost (1915), but fortunately an early copy of it was made in 1885–1886, on which the other six remaining manuscripts are dependent. For this reason, this new edition aims to reproduce the text of manuscript A (Possekel and Coakley, *Explanations*, 54–60). This publication offers the first critical edition of *Epiphany* and the first translation of both Explanations in any modern language.

is of interest for our present purpose. Concerning Theodore and Narsai we focus on their mystagogical writings, *Catechetical Homilies* 12–14,[9] and *Liturgical Homilies* (*mēmrē* 21–22).[10] For the sake of clarity, I will first describe how Theodore views the relation of baptism and the resurrection and then discuss the reception of this idea in Narsai and Thomas.

It is my hope that this study may contribute to our understanding of the reception of Theodore of Mopsuestia in East Syria in general, and of his views on baptism and the resurrection in particular.

1. Theodore of Mopsuestia

The most familiar baptismal images of early Christianity are those of death and resurrection (following Rom 6) and new birth (following John 3).[11] It is important to note, however, that baptism as regeneration was definitely the most common view in both East and West. The Romans 6 image gained ground only during the course of, and particularly toward

[9] These are part of the *Homiliae catecheticae (Liber ad baptizandos)*, consisting of sixteen homilies. The text is extant only in one fourteenth-century Syriac manuscript (Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges' Library, *Mingana Syr. 561*, fols. 81^{r}–116^{r}), which was discovered by Alphonse Mingana and published by him, together with an English translation: *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the on the Nicene Creed*, Woodbrooke Studies 5 (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1932) and *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*, Woodbrooke Studies 6 (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1933). A French translation together with a facsimile of the Syriac manuscript can be found in: Raymond Tonneau and Robert Devreesse, eds., *Les Homélies Catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, StT 145 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1949). A German version, without the Syriac text, can be found in: Peter Bruns, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, *Katechetische Homilien*, vol. 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1995).

[10] For the Syriac text, see Alphonse Mingana, *Narsai Doctoris Syri: Homiliae et carmina*, vol. 1 (Mosul: Typis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1905), 341–68. Unfortunately, Mingana has not been clear about the identity of the manuscript underlying his edition. See Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 23–24 for a possible identification of the underlying manuscript for Mingana's edition. (The Syriac texts of all Narsai's surviving works are also found at http://syriaccorpus.org/.) There exist two numbering systems of Narsai's homilies: one follows the numbering of the 47 homilies in Mingana's edition, the other is based on Mingana's list of all transmitted homilies (81). In the present study we follow Mingana's homily numbers. A helpful aid for comparing both numbering systems is provided by Sebastian P. Brock, "A Guide to Narsai's Homilies," *Hug* 12.1 (2009): 21–40. For the manuscript attestation, see William F. Macomber, "The Manuscripts of the Metrical Homilies of Narsai," *OCP* 39 (1973), 275–306. One must note, however, that on internal grounds homily 22 must be placed before homily 21. Cf. Richard H. Connolly, ed., *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, TS 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), xlvi–xlvii; Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 25 n. 161.

[11] The early writers Justin Martyr (*1 Apol.* 1.61) and Tertullian (e.g. *Bapt.* 1.10, 20.5) interpret the second birth of John 3:1–8 as referring to water baptism.

the end of, the fourth century.[12] Theodore of Mopsuestia is among the first (Syrian) mystagogues to use the image of baptism as tomb alongside the more traditional view of baptism as womb.[13] So, in his fourteenth catechetical homily, he employs the image of baptism as a remembrance *of* and a participation *in* Christ's death and resurrection as a baptismal theology in general and as a mystagogical interpretation of the ritual in particular,[14] as in the following:

> This is the reason why, when at my baptism I plunge my head I receive the death of Christ our Lord, and desire to have His burial, and because of this I firmly believe in the resurrection of our Lord; and when I rise from the water I think that I have symbolically risen a long time ago.[15]

Nevertheless, Theodore's dominant view is clearly that of baptism as "second birth" (ܝܠܕܐ ܬܪܝܬܝܐ).[16] On the one hand, he ties in here with the traditional view of baptism as birth. But on the other hand, he does something new: he blends the common image of second birth in his own

[12] Cf. Maxwell E. Johnson, *Images of Baptism*, Forum Essays 6 (Chicago, IL: Liturgy Training Publications, 2001), 1–71. Origen seems to be the first, and possibly the only, author of the first three centuries to relate Romans 6 to Christian baptism (cf. Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation*, rev. ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007), 72–73.

[13] Although he does not use the term "womb" (ܟܘܟܐ) itself, the idea is clearly implied. Ephrem the Syrian seems to be the first Syrian father who used the term; Sebastian P. Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, Gorgias Liturgical Studies 4 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 103.

[14] Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 305–6. A baptismal theology offers a reflection on the meaning of baptism, while a mystagogical interpretation puts meaning into the specific baptismal rituals. In the present context, however, it is clear that theology and mystagogy are closely connected. Cf. Hugh M. Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose of Milan* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1974), 215–17, 281, 284.

[15] *Hom. cat.* 14.5 (*WS* 6, 184:2–6; ET: *WS* 6, 52:10–15). Cf. *Hom. cat.* 14.25 (*WS* 6, 201:17–18; ET: *WS* 6, 67:24–26). References are to Mingana's Syriac text and English translation (*WS* = Woodbrooke Studies; see n. 9 above). Tonneau and Devreesse, *Les Homélies*, divided the text into sections. Although this system is helpful (and I have also used it in the present paper), it is not very precise. For practical reasons, therefore, the reference to Mingana's edition and translation (additionally) provides both page *and* line number (separated by a colon, as in 184:2–6 above).

[16] See e.g. *Hom. cat.* 14.2–6 (*WS* 6, 181:7–185:6; ET: *WS* 6, 49:25–53:13). Other terms he (sparsely) uses are "birth" (ܝܠܕܐ) (e.g. *Hom. cat.* 14.3 [*WS* 6, 182:16; ET: *WS* 6, 50:33]), "new birth" (ܝܠܕܐ ܚܕܬܐ) (*Hom. cat.* 13.14 [*WS* 6, 175:9; ET: *WS* 6, 44:30]), "birth of baptism" (ܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ) (e.g. *Hom. cat.* 15.6 [*WS* 6, 208:22; ET: *WS* 6, 73:27–28]), and "sacramental birth" (ܝܠܕܐ ܕܪܙܐ/ܪܙܐ) (e.g. *Hom. cat.* 14.9 [*WS* 6, 187:8; ET: *WS* 6, 55:6–7]).

unique "sacramental eschatology."[17] In this way, baptism becomes the symbol of the real second birth that will take place at the resurrection.

How does this "work"? Fundamental for understanding Theodore's sacramental eschatology is that the baptismal mystery (ܪܙܐ) is viewed as a symbol of the eschatological reality. For example, concerning the change of the body into the likeness of the resurrection body of Christ, Theodore says: "This will take place in reality *at the resurrection*[18], but we perform its symbols and its signs in baptism."[19] In order to avoid misunderstanding, it is important to note that for early Christian authors like Theodore baptism is not "just a symbol" in the modern sense. It does not only *point* to future reality, but it *really mediates something*, in Theodore's case a present participation in the coming life of the resurrection.[20] To elucidate this relation between present and future, Theodore uses the classic concepts of potency and actuality and applies these, not without reason as we will see, to the development of a human person:

> And inasmuch as the one who is born of a woman has potentially in him the faculty of speaking, hearing, walking and working with his hands, but is very weak to perform all these acts in reality till the time in which God has decreed for him to perform them, so also in the case here in connection with the one who is born of baptism. This one has indeed in him and possesses potentially all the faculties of an immortal and incorruptible nature, but is not now in a position to make use of them and put them into a complete and perfect act of incorruptibility, immortality, impassibility and immutability. He who receives through baptism the potential faculty of performing all these acts, will receive the power of performing them in reality at the time when he is no more a natural but a spiritual man, and when the working of the (Holy) Spirit renders the body incorruptible and the soul immutable.[21]

[17] A term borrowed from Riley, *Christian Initiation*, 329.

[18] Mingana renders "in heaven", but the Syriac reads ܪܙܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. Cf. Tonneau and Devreesse: "à la résurrection"; Bruns: "bei der Auferstehung."

[19] *Hom. cat.* 14.22 (*WS* 6, 199:1–2; ET: *WS* 6, 65:9–10).

[20] Cf. Riley, *Christian Initiation*, 326; Rowan Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian* (Westminster: The Faith Press, 1961), 79; Peter Bruns, *Den Menschen mit dem Himmel verbinden: eine Studie zu den Katechetischen Homilien des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, CSCO 549; Subsidia 89 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 334–37, and, more elaborately, Frederick G. McLeod, "The Christological Ramifications of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Understanding of Baptism and the Eucharist," *JECS* 10 (2002), 37–75, esp. 65–72; cf. Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 307.

[21] *Hom. cat.* 14.10 (*WS* 6, 188:3–16; ET: *WS* 6, 55:31–56:9). Elsewhere, Theodore compares baptism to the "birth" of human semen from the man and the resurrection with the following birth of the child from the woman: *Hom. cat.* 14.28 (*WS* 6, 203:9–25; ET: *WS* 6, 69:8–27).

This important passage for understanding Theodore's sacramental eschatology makes clear that by the mystery of baptism man already receives the potency of the resurrection life, which becomes fully actualized in the eschaton. It is within this paradigm that Theodore further interprets the second birth of John 3: "He [Jesus, NW] called baptism a second birth because it contains the *symbol* of the second birth, and because through baptism we participate *as in symbol* in this second birth. Indeed, we receive from baptism participation in this second birth without any question and doubt."[22] As baptism is a *symbol* of the coming reality[23], baptism can only be a "second birth" in the sense that it is a symbol of the real second birth at the resurrection: "You should proceed towards baptism in which the symbols of this second birth are performed, because you will in reality receive the true second birth only after you have risen from the dead."[24] Having incorporated the idea of second birth into his sacramental view, Theodore has availed himself of the means to express the (nature of the) relation between baptism and resurrection. In this way,

> Theodore's use of the image of second birth … will constantly hover between second birth, in which is understood the event which will transpire at the baptizand's resurrection from the dead, and second birth, in which is understood the symbolic explanation of the potentialities which the act of baptism here and now, related to the actual past resurrection of Christ and really related to the future second birth in hope, actually contains.[25]

The above shows that for Theodore baptism and the final resurrection are strongly connected; it puts the whole Christian life in perspective. In this way, the present gets full meaning by the expected future. The salvation historical framework that lies behind this all is undoubtedly Theodore's view of the two *katastases* ("ages" or "dispensations") that is fundamental to his whole theology.[26] According to this view – based upon

[22] *Hom. cat.* 14.4 (*WS* 6, 183:7–9; ET: *WS* 6, 51:18–22), italics are mine.

[23] Cf. *Hom. cat.* 14.12 (*WS* 6, 190:10; ET: *WS* 6, 57:28); *Hom. cat.* 14.12 (*WS* 6, 190:15–20; ET: *WS* 6, 57:33–58:3); *Hom. cat.* 14.22 (*WS* 6, 199:1–2; ET: *WS* 6, 65:9–10).

[24] *Hom. cat.* 14.2 (*WS* 6, 181:5–9; ET: *WS* 6, 49:28–31).

[25] Riley, *Christian Initiation*, 327.

[26] Cf. Donald Fairbairn, *Grace and Christology in the Early Church*, OECS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 29–34; Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 72–85; Günter Koch, *Die Heilsverwirklichung bei Theodor von Mopsuestia*, Münchener Theologische Studien 31 (München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1965), 66–75; Frederick G. McLeod, *The Roles of Christ's Humanity in Salvation: Insights from Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 60–62; Richard A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 160–72; Anton Ziegenaus, "Das Menschenbild des Theodor von Mopsuestia" (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1963), 57–123.

Theodore's reading of Paul[27] – the whole of salvation history is divided into two different dispensations: the age of Adam and the age of Christ.[28] The first and present age is characterized by mutability, mortality, and sin; the second and coming age by immutability, immortality, and perfection.[29] The latter is inaugurated by the final resurrection. But participation in that radical event is only guaranteed by a present partaking in Christian life of the Church, initiated by baptism. In this way, the Two Ages are bridged by the mystery of baptism and the baptized hovers, as Theodore himself puts it, "between both the present and the future life."[30]

2. Narsai of Nisibis

The influence of Theodore on Narsai is well documented. Several studies have indicated Narsai's dependence on Theodore concerning his interpretation of Scripture and his use of typology, as well as his view on God (including the Trinity), creation, angels, man, salvation, the divine economy, divine pedagogics, and the two *katastases*.[31] At the same time – as

[27] Cf. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 73.

[28] See in particular the following passages from Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Catechetical Homilies*: 1.4 (*WS* 5, 119:24–120:1; ET: *WS* 5, 20:15–20); 5.20 (*WS* 5, 172:15–173:3; ET: *WS* 5, 61:12–25); 14.10 (*WS* 6, 188:7–24; ET: *WS* 6, 55:36–56:19); 14.14 (*WS* 6, 3,191:26–192:18; ET: *WS* 6, 59:5–26). Theodore's dependence on Paul is clear in 1.4, 5.20, and 14.10, where he alludes to or specifically refers to scripture passages like 1 Cor 15:42–44, 49, and 53–56.

[29] However, there is some ambiguity in the way Theodore speaks of the first *katastasis*. Although he mainly portrays the first dispensation as a created reality, he sometimes seems to hint at a fallen age (for a discussion of this tension, see Fairbairn, *Grace and Christology*, 32–34 and Witkamp, "A Multi-layered Garment of Immorality: The Coverings of the Body in Theodore of Mopsuestia's Baptismal Rite," in *Early Christian Mystagogy and the Body*, ed. Nienke Vos and Paul van Geest, Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia 83 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 153–73 (esp. 157–61). Nevertheless, for Theodore, salvation history is progressive and the second age is a higher condition and not just a return to or a re-creation of the first.

[30] *Ad Galatas* 2:15–16; ed. Rowan A. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: The Commentaries on the Minor Epistles of Paul*, WGRW 26 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 46; ET: ibid., 47. Therefore, McLeod, *Christ's Humanity*, 60 n. 4 is right when he states that "Theodore actually holds for a quasi-third stage, an intermediate one that the baptized now enjoy as being in some sense immortal during their mortal life" (cf. Koch, *Heilsverwirklichung*, 66).

[31] Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 3. Narsai even dedicated a complete homily to the veneration of the three doctors Diodore, Theodore, and Nestorius in which he hails Theodore's works as the best guide to interpret Scripture (*On the Three Doctors*; see F. Martin, "Homélie de Narsès sur les trois docteurs nestoriens," *JA* 13 (1899): 446–92 (text); *JA* 15 (1900): 469–525 (French translation). Frederick G. McLeod, ed., *Narsai's Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension*, *PO* 40.1, no. 182 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 7 qualifies him as "a devoted first-generation disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia and a zealous propagator of Theodore's teaching."

more recent scholarship shows – he was far from a slavish imitator of The Interpreter.[32] Careful research points out that Narsai was a creative poet-theologian who mixed the colours of different traditions to fabricate the artwork he desired. This is also true for Narsai's description and interpretation of the baptismal rite in his *Liturgical Homilies*.[33] If older scholarship tended to label these homilies as nothing more than shallow imitations of Theodore's *Catechetical Homilies* 12–14[34], a close reading reveals that Narsai witnesses an independent East Syrian baptismal liturgy and that his mystagogy only on occasion seems indebted to Theodore of Mopsuestia. A similar picture emerges concerning our point of interest: baptism and the resurrection.

To put the reception of Theodore's view on second birth in perspective, it is necessary to sketch the broader framework of Narsai's baptismal mystagogy. Like Theodore, Narsai uses mainly the baptismal images of rebirth and dying/rising with Christ (Rom 6). But since the former had been part of the common Syrian heritage for centuries and the latter had been gaining ground from the fourth century, it is unlikely that Narsai is heavily dependent on Theodore here. Moreover, a closer look at his liturgical homilies shows that although Narsai stays within a Theodorean framework, he creates a work of art in its own right. Unlike Theodore, Narsai interprets baptism basically as re-creation, a renewing of man's image.[35] Within this context, God the Creator is portrayed as an Artist, a Painter, who "mixed[36] the colours for the renewal of our race; with oil and water and the invincible power of the Spirit"[37] and "paints an image upon the tablet of the waters."[38]

[32] See the different contributions in Butts et al., *Narsai* (cf. my review of this study in *JTS* 73.1 (2022): 395–99). A similar picture emerges in the voluminous study of Tanious Bou Mansour, *Le ministère sacerdotal dans la tradition syriaque primitive: Aphraate, Éphrem, Jacques de Saroug et Narsai*, VCSup 156 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019) (cf. my review of this magnum opus in *JTS* 72.2 (2022): 1004–6).

[33] As I have argued at length in Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*.

[34] Cf. Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 1.

[35] *Mēmrā* 22; Mingana, *Homiliae et carmina*, vol. 1, 356:1–358:11; ET: Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies*, 356:1–358:17. English quotations of Narsai's liturgical homilies are taken from Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies*. From here, references to Mingana's Syriac text in *Homiliae et carmina*, vol. 1, consist of page number and line number (the page numbers are also present in the margin of Connolly's translation), as in 356:1 above. Since homily number and page number of the text and translation are always the same, only line numbers (may) differ.

[36] The image of "mixing" is typical for the Syriac tradition (Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 9–10, 145 n. 13).

[37] *Mēmrā* 21 (341:6–7; ET: 341:9–11).

[38] *Mēmrā* 22 (356:6; ET: 356:9). In his portrayal of God as a Painter, Narsai is very close to Ephrem (cf. *De Virginitate* 7.5). On painting metaphors in Narsai, see Eva M. Rodrigo

Only in the second liturgical homily, which more explicitly concerns the ritual of the immersions itself, does Narsai develop the image of re-creation as rebirth, jumping off from Gen 1:20–21, which says that the waters "bring forth" (ܢܒܥ) living creatures. These waters of creation are the type of the baptismal water (the antitype). Just as the waters of creation "bring forth" living creatures (Gen 1:20–21), the water of baptism brings forth new men like a birth-giving "womb."[39] It is remarkable here that Narsai does not relate the birth image to John 3, as is more common and also found in Theodore. Another point of difference between the pupil and the teacher concerns terminology. As we have seen above, Theodore's favourite term is definitely "second birth" (ܝܠܕܐ ܕܬܪܝܬܝܐ). Narsai, however, never employs this idiom but prefers "birth" (ܝܠܕܐ)[40] and "new birth" (ܝܠܕܐ ܕܚܕܬܐ)[41], two terms Theodore hardly ever uses.[42] Furthermore, since Ephrem seems to be the first to apply the term "womb" to the font, it is not unconceivable that both Theodore and Narsai (directly or indirectly) inherited this image from Ephrem.

Since the image of creation/rebirth is definitely the dominant one in the second liturgical homily, it is noteworthy that Narsai in that same homily applies only the image of dying/rising (Rom 6) to the ritual of baptism itself: "His death and life men depict in Baptism; and after they have died with Him they have risen and have been resuscitated mystically."[43] Within this mystagogy the font is explicitly pictured as a "tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ; a term not used by Theodore[44]): "It (Baptism) fills for

Gómez, "Painting Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Narsai," in Butts et al., *Narsai*, 187–98.

[39] Narsai uses both ܒܛܢ, in *Mēmrā* 21 (341:15); *Mēmrā* 21 (342:5); *Mēmrā* 21 (346:16); *Mēmrā* 21 (347:13); *Mēmrā* 21 (348:7), and ܪܚܡ, in *Mēmrā* 21 (341:11); *Mēmrā* 21 (344:25); *Mēmrā* 21 (345:5); *Mēmrā* 21 (346:10); *Mēmrā* 22 (358:2). For the image of baptism as birth and the water as womb, cf. *On Epiphany*, 127, 143, 162, 167, 269, 294–95, 297, 329, 533, 541 (text and ET: McLeod, *Metrical Homilies*, 78–79, 80–81, 86–87, 88–89, 90–91, 102–3, 104–5).

[40] *Mēmrā* 21 (342:1; ET: 342:2).

[41] *Mēmrā* 21 (342:3; ET: 342:4); *Mēmrā* 21 (342:14; ET: 342:23); *Mēmrā* 21 (345:5; ET: 345:9–10); *Mēmrā* 21 (347:9; ET: 347:14–15).

[42] See n. 16 above. Terms used by Narsai only once are: "mystical birth" (ܝܠܕܐ ܪܙܝܐ), *Mēmrā* 21 (347:8; ET: 347:12), and "birth of baptism" (ܝܠܕܐ ܕܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ), *Mēmrā* 21 (350:2; ET: 350:3).

[43] *Mēmrā* 21 (348:23–349:1; ET: 348:38–349:2). The same image is found (only) a few times scattered through homily 22 (358:16–17; 364:19–20, 20–21, 24–25; ET: 358:26–27; 364:31–32, 33–34, 39–40). Cf. *On Epiphany*, 273, 295, 542 (text and ET: McLeod, *Metrical Homilies*, 86–87, 88–89, 104–5).

[44] Like the image of the three days (see n47 below), Narsai plausibly found the tomb image in *AR* (chapter 10). *AR* is an anonymous baptismal commentary witnessed by the two Syriac sources *A* (British Library, Add. 14496, f. 23) and *R* (I.E. Rahmani, *I Fasti della Chiesa Patriarcale Antiochena*, Rome, 1920, pp. x–xiii). For text and translation,

men the office of the grave (ܩܒܪܐ) mystically."[45] In that watery grave, "the might of the Evil One and of Death" is dissolved "by the power of the name of the Divinity", which "dwells in the visible waters"[46]. Similar to other mystagogues[47] but unlike Theodore, Narsai sees the three immersions prefigured in the three days of Jesus' stay in the grave:

> With a mystery of our Redeemer he goes into the bosom of the font (lit. "of baptism") after the manner of those three days in the midst of the tomb. Three days was our Redeemer with the dead: so also he that is baptized: the three times are three days. He verily dies by a symbol of that death which the Quickener of all died; and he surely lives with a type of the life without end. Sin and death he puts off and casts away in Baptism, after the manner of those garments which our Lord departing left in the tomb.[48]

It is important to note that the image of baptism as a burial and the font as a tomb is more developed in Narsai than in Theodore. As mentioned previously, the West Syrian mystagogue applies the image of dying/rising with Christ as a general mystagogy of baptism, but is mainly concerned with the rising as a type of the final resurrection. Narsai, to the contrary, has a much more developed Rom 6 mystagogy of the ritual itself in the sense of a mimesis of Christ's death and resurrection, although it is remarkable that his description corresponds less to the Pauline idea of a symbolic participation in Christ's salvific acts.

From the above emerges a picture of a richly decorated and flowery mystagogy that apparently is not influenced exclusively by the West Syrian Interpreter. Nevertheless, in a few (scattered) places Narsai betrays that he still shared Theodore's basic sacramental eschatology. In one instance

see Sebastian P. Brock, "Some Early Syriac Baptismal Commentaries," *OCP* 46 (1980): 20–61 (the above reference is at: 40; ET: p. 41).

[45] *Mēmrā* 21 (345:21; ET: 345:35–36).

[46] *Mēmrā* 21 (345:16–18; ET: 345:28–31).

[47] The association of the three immersions with the three days Christ spent in the tomb seems to have been very popular and is widely attested. See the Jerusalem *Mystagogical Catecheses* (*MC* 2.4), Basil the Great (*Letter* 236; *On the Holy Spirit* 15.35), Leo I (*Letter* 16.4), Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna (*Sermon* 113.5), *AR* 11 (Brock, "Commentaries," 55), Severus of Antioch (*Homily* 90), Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* II, 3.7), John Damascene (*On the Orthodox Faith* 4.9), and cf. Gregory of Nyssa (*On the Day of Lights*; *Catechetical Oration* 35). Many Syrian commentators after Severus and Narsai make the same point (Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 97). Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies*, 51 n. 2 maintains that Narsai got the idea from Cyril. It seems more likely, however, that Narsai borrowed it from *AR*; cf. Nathan Witkamp, "A Critical Comparison of the So-called "Lawsuit" in the Baptismal Rites of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai of Nisibis," *VC* 65 (2011): 514–42 (esp. 517–18 n. 14).

[48] *Mēmrā* 21 (346:10–15; ET: 346:18–26); the addition between parentheses is Connolly's.

he even comes close to Theodore's wording when he says, "His birth (in Baptism) is a symbol of that birth which is to be at the end."[49] However, this isolated case where Narsai portrays the final resurrection as "birth" (not as "second birth", see above) stands in stark contrast to the central role this idea plays in Theodore's thinking. It shows that Narsai knew and accepted the concept, but that it eventually got marginalized in the development of his own mystagogy. At the same time, Narsai displays his creative use of Theodore's heritage when he compares the voice of the bishop at baptism to the trumpet at the final resurrection: "It (Baptism) fills for men the office of the grave mystically; and the voice of the priesthood (is) as the voice of the trump in the latter end" (cf. 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Thess 4:16).[50] This symbolism is absent from Theodore's catechesis.

3. Thomas of Edessa

In the ninth chapter of his *Explanation of Epiphany* Thomas elaborates extensively on the question "What the necessity for baptism was and why our Lord was baptized?" The two-sided issue at stake here is why Jesus Christ had to be baptized and how humankind benefits from that event. But before we go into Thomas's interesting argument itself, we shall first have a look at his portrayal of baptism and its relation to the resurrection in particular.

What stands out from the outset is that Thomas is a faithful spokesman of Theodore of Mopsuestia.[51] Like the West Syrian Interpreter, he pictures baptism as a burial and resurrection modelled on the burial and resurrection of Christ (Rom 6:4–5).[52] Whoever has been baptized has become a partaker in the likeness of Christ's death and resurrection. But since the Rom 6 image is not unique to the bishop of Mopsuestia, the Theodorean impact is more clearly seen in Thomas's depiction of baptism as "second birth" (ܥܕܬܐ ܬܪܝܬܝܐ), where he applies the same Syriac term as

[49] *Mēmrā* 21 (347:5–6; ET: 347:8–10). Cf. "The Evil One and Death are undone by Baptism; and the resurrection of the body and the redemption of the soul are preached therein. In it, as in a tomb, body and soul are buried, and they die and live (again) with a type of the resurrection that is to be at the end"; *Mēmrā* 21 (345:18–21; ET: 345:31–37).

[50] *Mēmrā* 21 (345:21–22; ET: 345:36–37).

[51] An illustrative example of Thomas's dependence of Theodore is his frequent use of the typical Theodorean term ܛܒ̈ܬܐ ("good things"), which he uses fifty times. Cf. Possekel and Coakley, *Explanations*, 38; Ute Possekel, "Transmitting Theodore to the Church of the East: The Contribution of Thomas of Edessa," *JEH* 71 (2020): 722.

[52] *Epiphany* 9.2, 9.11. Possekel and Coakley, *Explanations*, 196, 204; ET: ibid., 197, 205. From here, Possekel and Coakley's text/translation is merely referred to by giving the page numbers between parentheses.

Theodore.[53] His debt to The Interpreter and particularly his dependence on Theodore's *Catechetical Homilies* become unmistakable when he paraphrases Theodore's illustration of the baby (quoted above):

> And just as when a baby is born into this world from the womb of its mother, we do not doubt whether it will have full-grown limbs or no (simply) because it does not (yet) exhibit the activity of a full-grown man, so we too, when we are born by baptism into the holy church, even if we do not (yet) show in actuality the activity of impassible and immortal beings, we believe that we have received already all the lineaments and marks of incorruptibility and the absence of inclination. And when we arrive at the perfect stature of the resurrection from the dead, the workings and signs that we received at baptism will be revealed in us, just as an infant, when it has reached full-grown stature, shows the activity of the limbs that it received inside the womb of its mother.[54]

Thomas closely follows Theodore's line of thought here that a baptized person has really, but potentially, received all the spiritual benefits, which will be actually revealed at the resurrection. Directly following this passage, Thomas further showcases his indebtedness to Theodore when he argues that baptism is a symbolic birth which points to the birth of the resurrection.[55]

But despite Thomas's dependence on Theodore, he never follows The Interpreter slavishly.[56] Instead, he applies and remodels Theodore's thought to current needs. This brings us back to Thomas's main concern in the *Explanation of Epiphany*: to elucidate the (pastoral) importance of Jesus' baptism. In the previous chapter 8, Thomas had explained that Jesus' baptism was in fact the first "Christian" baptism.[57] He arrives at this conclusion by comparing Jesus' baptism with the three known Jewish/Christian types of baptism: the Jewish ritual washings, the baptism of John the Baptist, and Christian baptism. He rejects the first option, since Jesus' reproach of the Pharisees makes clear that the real pollution is not external but internal. In that light it would have been awkward, he argues, if Jesus' baptism had been for the purpose of ritual uncleanness. The second option, the baptism of John, is a more promising candidate, Thomas admits, because Jesus had been baptized by him. Nevertheless, Thomas finds it hard to imagine that Jesus, the innocent One, was baptized with

[53] *Epiphany* 9.12 (204; ET: 205). The term ܥܡܕܐ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ is a variant of ܥܡܕܐ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ with the same meaning; both are used by Theodore of Mopsuestia.
[54] *Epiphany* 9.12 (204, 206; ET: 205, 207).
[55] *Epiphany* 9.13 (206; ET: 207). Cf. *Epiphany* 9.8.
[56] As is rightly observed by Possekel, *Transmitting Theodore*, esp. 724–25, 732, 735.
[57] *Epiphany* 8 (190–96).

a baptism for repentance and forgiveness of sins. Indeed, did not John himself say that he needed to by baptized by Jesus and not vice versa? This leaves Christian baptism as the only serious option for Thomas.

After having rejected the alternatives, Thomas provides positive affirmation for the identification of Jesus' baptism with Christian baptism in chapter 9. He begins this chapter with a possible counter argument: "If we are baptized so that we be made partakers in the likeness of his death and resurrection, and so that we receive the grace of the Holy Spirit, and so that we obtain intimacy with the Holy Trinity, what grace was (our Lord) going to receive from his baptism?"[58] Thomas admits that the Lord was not baptized in order to receive these benefits since His baptism was not a participation in someone else's death and resurrection. He already possessed the Holy Spirit at that time as well as intimacy with the Holy Trinity.

So why then should the Lord have been baptized at all? According to Thomas, the reason for this lies in the area of pastoral concern. In his wisdom, God has determined that everything in salvation history occurs at its appropriate time.[59] The consequence of this pedagogic process is that causally related occurrences may be separated by a longer period of time. Especially when that time period exceeds human life span, it may be difficult to maintain faith in these events. This is particularly true for the relation between the Gospel truth of Christ's death and resurrection and the future reality of our own rising from the dead. In order to meet our human weakness and to confirm our faith, "the Holy Spirit arranged through the blessed apostles and placed within the church the glorious mystery of holy baptism, in which we depict before the sight of our eyes our descent to the tomb and our ascent from it."[60]

How does this assist the believers' faith and where does Jesus' baptism fit in? Thomas distinguishes several pastoral benefits of baptism in particular. The first concerns the symbolic meaning of the ritual. It is at this point that he introduces and applies Theodore's concept of rebirth as illustrated by the relation of potency and actuality in the development of an infant. Since a baptized person has received all the potential of the resurrection life, he/she may be as confident that this will become actuality in a similar way as a baby will develop into a full-grown human being. This practical concern also explains why Thomas puts more emphasis on the *continuity* between baptism and resurrection than Theodore. The Mopsuestian stresses time and again the importance of the resurrection

[58] *Epiphany* 9.2 (196; ET: 197).
[59] *Epiphany* 9.2–10 (197, 199, 201, 203, 205; ET: 196, 198, 200, 202, 204).
[60] *Epiphany* 9.11 (204; ET: 205).

as the "real second birth," the radical break between the current and the coming age. Although there are no reasons to suppose Thomas's denial of Theodore's concept of the two *katastases* and the radicality of the resurrection[61], he is particularly concerned with the pastoral benefit of baptism. For this reason, he probably avoids putting too much emphasis on the newness of the resurrection (discontinuity) in relation to baptism and instead concentrates on the certain (future) participation of baptized believers in the resurrection (continuity).

The second pastoral benefit of baptism corresponds to the experience of the ritual:

> For by its [baptism's, NW] effects it confirms in us the faith that just as after we have been immersed in the water and submerged, unable to see that which is above us or to do anything, we rise from (the water) and see what is before us and act as usual, so also after we go down to the tomb and remain without perception or activity, we shall ascend from Sheol and shall be revived and shall inherit a life immortal and without inclination.[62]

But, Thomas argues, despite the abovementioned pastoral benefits of baptism, a person might still have difficulty with grasping the reality of the resurrection. And this brings him to the central theme of his discourse: the meaning of the baptism of Jesus *himself*. Those who doubt the reality of their personal future resurrection, even after having been baptized, may take comfort from the Gospel truth that there has already been a baptized person who died and rose from the dead: the Lord Jesus Christ. And as the development of the human seed into an infant and consequently into a full-grown person becomes believable once one has seen one particular example, our participation in the resurrection as baptized believers becomes credible based upon what happened to Jesus, who was baptized, died and rose again. Jesus is our model: "what happened to him will also be accomplished for us ourselves."[63] That is the reason, according to Thomas, why Jesus' baptism had to be the first *Christian* baptism. Not because He needed something but "for our sake, as an assurance for ourselves and a confirmation of those things that (will be accomplished) for us."[64] If Christian baptism had begun with the Church and not with

[61] Cf. *Epiphany* 9.14 (206; ET: 207).
[62] *Epiphany* 9.13 (206; ET: 207). It is notable that Thomas's description of baptism confirms what we know from other sources that the ritual normally occurred by a complete immersion. Cf. Witkamp, *Tradition and Innovation*, 300–301 n. 37.
[63] *Epiphany* 9.14 (208; ET: 209).
[64] *Epiphany* 9.15 (208; ET: 209).

Jesus, we would have missed this crucial assurance and confirmation of the faith. And in order to make the comparison as closely as possible, God orchestrated it this way that, like us, Jesus got baptized by a human being.[65]

We see, then, that Thomas draws a strong connection between Jesus' baptism and ours, in order to assure the belief in the resurrection. It is likely that Thomas found inspiration for this view in Theodore's sixth catechetical homily, where The Interpreter states:

> Because it was necessary that we who were born later should receive faith concerning the above future good things and that we should believe that our Saviour, our head and the cause of all of them for us, was Christ our Lord, it was imperative that He should also arrange as much as possible our mode of life in this world according to the hope of the future. It is with justice, therefore, that in this also He became our model [lit. "head"]. He was baptised so that He might give a symbol to our own baptism. In it He was freed from all the obligation of the Law. He performed also all the Economy of the Gospel: He chose disciples to Himself, established the teaching of a new law and a new doctrine, promulgated ways of acting congruous to His teaching and different from the teaching of the (old) law, and taught that the ways of acting of us who believe should be in harmony with His new teaching.
>
> We also when we are baptised show (in ourselves) the symbol of the world to come; we die with Him in baptism and we rise symbolically with Him, and we endeavour to live according to His law in the hope of the future goods things which we expect to share with Him at the resurrection of the dead.
>
> (…)
>
> It is with justice, therefore, that He paid the debt of the law, received baptism, and showed the new Economy of the Gospel, which is the symbol of the world to come, so that we also, who believed in Christ and became worthy of baptism, through which we received the symbol of the world to come, should live according to His commandments.[66]

Theodore seems to inform his audience here that Jesus' baptism demarcates the eras of the Old and New covenants: Jesus' baptism delivered Him from the obligations of the Old Testament law and opened so to speak the economy of the Gospel, confirmed by His public appearance and teaching. In a similar way and following the same order of things, baptism transfers the believer from the economy of sin to the economy of the Gospel, characterized by the pursuance of a lifestyle that fits Jesus' teachings and reflects the future resurrection. According to Theodore,

[65] *Epiphany* 10.Introduction (214; ET: 215).
[66] *Hom. cat.* 6.11–12 (*WS* 5, 182:14–183:18; ET: *WS* 5, 69:129–30:26).

then, the Christian *Gestalt* switch is patterned after Christ's life in which baptism is the turning point. In this way he draws a parallel between Christ's baptism and the believer's. But although in the same context he also speaks of baptism as the symbol of the coming age and refers to the Pauline fusion of the believer with the death and resurrection of Christ in baptism, Theodore's focus remains on the Christian life in anticipation of the resurrection. He does not make the logical connection between the Lord's own baptism and resurrection as a premise for the deduction that baptism guarantees a physical resurrection. This view is a creative synthesis or extrapolation by Thomas himself, based upon and inspired by Theodore's discourse on the baptism of Jesus in relation to ours. Therefore, Thomas is not just a faithful representative of Theodore's teaching, but creatively applies and reshapes it to the needs of his day.

4. Conclusion

Theodore of Mopsuestia developed a unique view on the relation between baptism and the final resurrection. Inspired by the wording of John 3, he portrayed the final resurrection as a second birth of which baptism is the symbol. This study has shown that the reception of this idea in Narsai of Nisibis and Thomas of Edessa was not straightforward. Although Narsai basically accepts the concept, it in no way comes close to the centrality it has in Theodore's mystagogy. The idea of second birth in relation to the resurrection plays no role whatsoever in Narsai's mystagogy, but only hovers as a kind of background radiation. At the same time, Narsai does not refrain from creatively applying the concept, as his comparison of the bishop's voice with the last trumpet shows. Creativity in receiving Theodore's view features even more prominently in Thomas's *On Epiphany*, where the relation between baptism and the resurrection is taken as a basic truth. However, aiming at strengthening his audience's belief in the resurrection, Thomas creatively applies Theodore's ideas as a fertile soil to cultivate his own pastoral approach to the baptism of Jesus. In sum, then, the reception of this one aspect of Theodore of Mopsuestia's mystagogy in Narsai and Thomas yields an image that is much closer to that of a creative painter, then to a copy machine. This study further enhances the view that the East Syrian tradition is not just a "dummy" of West-Syria, but emerges as a mature theological branch of Christianity that applied Theodore's views in an artistic and innovative way.

CONCEPTS OF RESURRECTION IN NORTHERN EUROPE DURING THE CONVERSION ERA BETWEEN 500 AND 800 CE: SAINT BONIFACE

Gert van Klinken

The resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15) constitutes a core piece of Christian thinking, that was introduced in Northern Europe during the later Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages. Leaving the Mediterranean implied a move to a very different kind of society. In the North it was common to convey identity concepts via oral transmission. Moreover, a central notion among Germanic peoples anchored in the idea that, while it was possible to address the gods, knowing who the gods really were remained an impossibility. This is a feeling that Augustine would have understood only too well. However, unlike Augustine's theology, native Germanic religion also lacked a concept of grace, by which the divine would reach out to mankind and reveal itself. The only practical way to get closer to the gods was to apply strict rules of conduct, honour the ancestors (linking the living to the transcendental world of the dead), and through close observation of the natural world.[1]

Anticipation of resurrection of the believer also belongs to a way of Christian thinking that would require some serious rethinking of native tradition, where the emphasis was on the unabating cycle of death and renewal of life in general, rather than on a potentially blissful eternal life for the individual. The best a man could expect was to be remembered honourably by posterity.[2] In this contribution, I intend to explore the meanings this notion may have had for a second generation Christian during the eighth century. Accepting the Gospel implied a close attention to a written canon of authoritative teaching, that had less scope for ambiguity than previous constructs of identity. The change cannot have been easy. One can

[1] Matthias Egeler, "Kontinuitäten, Brüche und überregionale Verflechtungen. Kult und Religion in der antiken *Germania*," in *Germanen. Eine archäeologische Bestandsaufnahme* (Darmstadt: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2020), 194–211.

[2] For a similar concept in Greece during the Bronze Age, see: Barry Strauss, *The Trojan War: A New History* (London: Arrow, 2007), 164–65.

see why so many Germanic tribes initially opted for the Arian version of Christianity, with its clear distinction between God on the one hand and both Christ and mankind on the other. However, it was not Arianism but the Nicene version of the Christian creed that prevailed in the end, under the aegis of the Roman emperor.

Here my focus will be on the Anglo-Saxon St Boniface (673–754). Born in Devon, he entered into the service of the church as an infant (*puer donatus*) and became a missionary when he was in his forties. Boniface gained a reputation as a dutiful follower of the papacy. Among the converted members of his flock in Britain and the Germanic lands on the Continent, he laid the foundations for strict discipline in theological and ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless, this faithful son of the Church, who was also an active preacher, seems to have struggled to understand the meaning of resurrection, other than as a deep mystery. As evidenced by his writings (not in his native language, but in Latin), Boniface felt that God and man are and remain "different." In addition, there is a nagging feeling in his writings that suggests the frailty of human identity (sinful as it is) may never be acceptable to God.

If this impression is sound, then it might be deduced that for Boniface, the anticipation of resurrection was deeply ambiguous. On the one hand, he had become aware of resurrection as explained by the apostle Paul, that is as an aspect of being connected to God in Christ as the saviour and thus as a positive aspect of regeneration and sanctification. On the other hand, he could have just as well connected resurrection to the prospect of being judged in an unaltered state, that is to say, as a sinner and without certainty about the verdict to come. The effect, in that case, might have been that of fear.

1. Effects of a Pre-Christian Worldview

Before turning our attention to the concept of resurrection in the conversion era, I will consider some basic elements of the present perception of religion in the prehistoric era of Northern Europe. Written sources by classical or early Christian authors can offer just the beginning of an answer to the question of what this illiterate religion actually may have been and how it was transmitted.[3] Even if elements of prehistoric beliefs are being recorded for posterity by putting them into writing during the Roman or early Christian era, the likelihood of preserving long-term memories

[3] Richard Bradley, *The Past in Prehistoric Societies* (London: Routledge, 2002).

(of more than, say, a few hundred years before the noting of the first written evidence) are slight. Archaeology has demonstrated that Homer's poems in the *Iliad* in the eighth century BCE are able to convey some realistic depictions of the Late Bronze Age four centuries earlier, but such "true" memories of the past are mixed with anachronisms that reflect the experiences of a later age.[4]

Another example is the famous *Edda*, where skaldic poetry was edited by the Christian man of learning Snorri Sturluson in Iceland.[5] In his view, the endeavour to preserve the best elements of the pagan past for a Christian audience is not so very different from the tendency in the broader Christian world to transcribe and transmit the classic heritage of Greece and Rome.[6] However, it has been noted that some of the elements in the *Edda* that might seem most ancient at first glance, appear to be just the opposite at closer scrutiny.[7] A famous example is the story of how the gods created the first men. We are told that this was done by raising them from driftwood at the seabeach. At first glance, the setting of this story seems strongly archaic. Driftwood, however, is not a regular phenomenon of the Norwegian coastal region. It is part of the local environment of Iceland, settled from the ninth century CE. The creation story in the *Edda* seems to reflect the Icelandic setting, not any remote memory of the Scandinavian past.[8]

2. Archaeology

If this analysis of the *Iliad* and the *Edda* is correct, then it follows that the statement that these epics represent an unbroken chain of recorded facts and ideas from the deepest layers of the human past is untenable. An alternative extreme position defends the view that we in fact do not know anything of the world view that predated Christianity in the North. This view can be found as early as in the works of Venerable Bede (672–735). According to Bede, the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria were part of a warrior culture. Perceptions of ancestry and family honours were closely guarded[9]

[4] Strauss, *The Trojan War*.
[5] Henry Adams Bellows, ed., *The Poetic Edda* (New York: Dover, 2007).
[6] Neil Price, *The Children of Ash and Elm: A History of The Vikings* (London: Allen Lane, 2020), 227.
[7] Margaret Clunies Ross, *A History of Old Norse Poetry and Poetics* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), 114–84.
[8] Jonathan Clements, *A Brief History of the Vikings: The Last Pagans or the First Modern Europeans?* (London: Robinson, 2005), 15–47.
[9] Geoffrey Hindley, *A Brief History of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Robinson, 2006), 1–119.

and transmitted in epics such as *Beowulf*.[10] The valour of the dead reflected positively on the status of the living, fame being regarded as the "one true afterlife."[11] However, at least according to Bede, those who lived without the benefit of biblical revelation were bereft of any knowledge of the dead as such. In a famous simile, the pagan perception of human life was compared to that of a bird – darting from the darkness of the night into the orbit of the light that emanated from the hearth of the homestead, only to be swallowed by the darkness a few minutes later. As Bede presented the story, the pagans had no concept of the origins of life and neither did they possess a definite notion of what might follow it, let alone of a concept of resurrection.[12]

A different approach can be seen in present-day archaeology. While it is true that archaeologists have no direct way to enter the thoughts of those who crafted artifacts and built monuments during the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age, a position that can be defended is that analysis of long-term development in burial practices may result in a tentative assessment of the world view that gave rise to it. Does the human practice of burying the dead and revisiting their tombs imply any notion of resurrection of the dead, prior to the Christian introduction of this concept? The earliest well-documented burials in Northern Europe date from the Mesolithic. Even then it was common to provide at least some of the deceased with gifts to accompany them in their graves, though whether this implies a concept of an afterlife is a matter of dispute. What is certain is that the location of the burial sites remained known, even though the population had not yet become sedentary. Mesolithic sites such as Swifterbant (Flevoland, Netherlands) remained in use for several generations.[13] Obviously the location of the sites was communicated via oral transmission.

The Neolithic saw further development, the most famous being the introduction of megalithic architecture to provide the remains of the dead with a proper marking (dolmens).[14] Though there are also examples of stone

[10] Seamus Heaney, trans., *Beowulf: A New Translation* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999).
[11] John Haywood, *North Men: The Viking Saga 793–1241* (London: Head of Zeus, 2015), 6.
[12] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 2–13; Günter Spitzbart, ed., *Beda der Ehrwürdige: Kirchengeschichte des Englischen Volkes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997), 183.
[13] Leendert Louwe Kooijmans, "Hunters Become Farmers: Early Neolithic B and Middle Neolithic A," in *The Prehistory of the Netherlands*, ed. L.P. Louwe Kooijmans et al., vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 249–72.
[14] Keith Ray and Julian Thomas, *Neolithic Britain: The Transformation of Social Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

cists that were meant to cover just a single individual, most of the dolmens stored the remains of extended families. The ritual dismembering of skeletons and redistribution of bones strongly suggests that any concept of an afterlife or even resurrection would be limited to a community of ancestors, rather than a single person returning to life. The evidence that we have suggests that a perceived return of an individual from the realm of the dead would have been feared, and that measures were taken, in the case of at least some of the deceased, to prevent anything of the kind from happening. Another interesting feature is the connection between the burial site and astronomy, which can be perceived as early as the Mesolithic.[15] The trend continued through the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Christianity,[16] only to diminish in church architecture and cemeteries after the rise of the Enlightenment and secularization.

For several thousand years, astronomical orientation seems to have been the most enduring aspect of burial in Northern Europe, even if the custom was interrupted during periods of flux. At the very least, the custom seems to imply that human life was conceived as part of a higher order that would maintain itself through the generations. On the other hand, there are no clues to decide whether the notion of resurrection of the individual held any meaning for a prehistoric society. What is clear from the monuments is that the notion of continuation of life as such, testified by the regular and repetitive movements of the sun, planets, and stars, was a matter of reflection and keen observations.[17] The fact that astronomical observation remained a well-developed part of church architecture during the Middle Ages suggests that the idea of cosmic order was both well-known and deemed compatible to early Christianity.

Does this imply any affinity with a concept of resurrection of the human individual? In a well-known passage in his *commentarii*, Caesar ascribes a notion of reincarnation to the warrior elites in Gaul,[18] which seems to imply in his opinion a rather naïve anticipation of continuity between the martial aspirations in this life and the next. One is reminded of the feasting

[15] Harald Meller, ed., *Arche Nebra: Kleine Reihe zu den Himmelswegen*, vol. 3 (Halle: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2010).

[16] John L. Heilbron, *The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[17] Wolfgang Schlosser and Jan Cierny, *Sterne und Steine: Eine praktische Astronomie der Vorzeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996); Jo Marchant, *The Human Cosmos* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2020).

[18] Caesar, *Gallic War*, 6–14; LCL 72 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 339.

warriors in Odin's hall in the *Edda*. However, even in transmission of Scandinavian lore we find the notion that any continuity of this kind may be illusory. During the final act of history all will end in the *Ragnarök*.[19]

Written epitaphs of the Roman period in Northern Europe tend to be restrained when it comes to such topics. The living related to the *dii manes* as a collective entity.[20] Resurrection of the individual, if considered at all, remained confined to a small elite category in terms of being remembered, but this does not seem to have implied a reconstruction of the body. Only the very best examples of mankind (the *divus* Julius Caesar providing a notable example) might expect a transformation (*katasterismos*) into a different and more abstract form of being, such as being "placed among the stars."[21]

3. Boniface

Boniface became actively engaged in the Roman Catholic mission that had been organized during the pontificate of Gregory I, between 590 and 604. Gregory was a pragmatic man, who recognized the fact that cities had ceased to exist in the North. An *interpretatio christiana* allowed the take-over of existing cult places as a starting point for the reintroduction of religion that was based on literacy. However, the dead would now be buried in hallowed ground (instead of being cremated and deposited in barrows at some distance from the villages, as would have been common during the fifth century CE[22]), in the direct vicinity of the church, or even within the church building – a practice that would have been unthinkable for the previous Roman rules of *pomerium*, but that highlighted the central importance of the Christian faith. Even more striking were teachings that, though difficult to retrace to the Bible, soon became a standard element in the communication of the faith: the mass, purgatory, the *intercessio sanctorum*. An emphasis on the afterlife could hardly be overseen,[23] especially the belief (held by Willibrord and others) in the curing effectiveness

[19] Snorri Sturluson, *Prose Edda*; Jean I. Young, trans., *The Prose Edda* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 86–90.

[20] John Rogan, *Reading Roman Inscriptions* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), 77–83.

[21] Massimo Osanna, "Die Orion-Mosaike: Bilder durch die Sterne deuten," in *Pompeji: Das neue Bild der untergegangenen Stadt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2020), 123–52.

[22] Nicholas J. Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (New Haven, CT / London: Yale University Press, 2013), 127–35.

[23] Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008).

of the relics of those exemplary individuals that had already gone through some sort of resurrection: the saints.

Boniface has left us the illuminating corpus of his letters that shed some light on his position on these matters. For him, resurrection always refers to its proper source, that is to say, God's revelation. Even if it is possible to glimpse it via Scripture and the intercession of the Church, resurrection is not to be found during the present existence:

> Make haste, while you have the light of life and while the shadows of death do not yet close in on you, for soon all things will wither away.[24]

The same can be said of man. Psalm 102:15 (Vulgate) is quoted to this effect:

> Man's days are as grass, as the flower of the field so shall he flourish.[25]

No image on earth can compare to the reality of God in the world to come. Boniface advises his young friend Nithard not to dwell on the pleasures of youth, but to look beyond it. He seems to suggest that being with God in the world to come will imply some sort of transformation. We will become "spiritual sons in the name of Christ."[26]

According to his letters, for Boniface knowledge of God does not come from relating to the ancestors, but rather from hearing the Word and taking it to heart. It is the closest we can get in this world to anything resembling the concept of resurrection: the beginning of a new life, contrasting with our natural attitude. It is also an impulse that entails such concrete acts as charity towards strangers and the poor. All of this is quite unnatural, "unmanful," according to traditional Germanic ethos. The focus on an external impulse is made explicit in the letter of recommendation for Boniface (or Wynfreth, as he was known then) by his bishop Daniel of Winchester, where Scripture is referred to as the foundation of truth.[27]

As evidenced by Boniface's correspondence, Anglo-Saxon interpretations of the resurrection (as attested in 1 Cor 15) tended to be graphic and

[24] "Currite, dum lucem vitae habetis, nec tenebre mortis vos comprehendant, quia cuncta velociter transitura sunt." Boniface, *Letter to Nithard* (716–717 CE); Reinhold Rau, ed., Michael Tangl and Philipp H. Külb, trans., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 4b (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2011), 25 (9).

[25] "Homo sicut foenum dies eius, et sicut flos agri ita floriet"; Rau et al., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, 25 (9).

[26] "Filii Christi nomine consignati"; Rau et al., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, 28 (9).

[27] Daniel of Winchester, *Letter of Recommendation for Wynfreth*; Rau et al., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, 44 (11).

charged with emotion. The dead, either hidden in "sordid soil" or simply vanished out of sight of the living, were expected to rise from their "dark vaults" at the sounding of "the trumpet of the Lord." It came as a comfort that for the blessed "there would be no more pain, nor strife, nor sorrow or lament." However, the darker side of this future scenario implied that all would be held accountable for their deeds and that a negative verdict remained a worrying possibility to say the least. In order to pass the test, one should have undergone the beginning of a spiritual transformation in the present life in order to be bodily raised from the dead. What was needed was a transforming spiritual reality, tentatively beginning in this life, but fully to be achieved in the next: a sinner (given to sorrow and strife) who was to be allowed the experience of being in Christ. However, of these true saints God alone knew the number and names.[28]

The effect on Boniface and his Anglo-Saxon correspondents is evidenced by a mixture of joyful anticipation and a rather contrasting sense of apprehension. The best way to overcome the latter is to concentrate on the Biblical message, as a first step in the process of overcoming the gentile mindset with its innate insecurities, and to enter the inviting Christian state of being, where trust is anchored in the Word of God and its effective representation by the Church. There are implications for the program of missionizing Northern Europe, to which Boniface will dedicate his later years. While entrusting him with this task, Pope Gregory II highlighted the Word of God as the means to bridge the gap between the gentiles and the divine.[29] Christianity was making a new beginning in these quarters, in accordance with 1 Cor 2:9: "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of men conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him."

4. The Pagan Perspective

The question of whether the concept of resurrection was compatible with existing perceptions in society at that time, is hampered by the paucity of source materials. However, there is good reason to believe that any representation of resurrection as some sort of deification would have intuitively been understood by Boniface as being in danger of pagan misunderstanding. This requires some explanation. The historiography of the

[28] Cf. the letter by abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg to Wynfreth Bonifatius; Rau et al., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, 53 (14).

[29] Gregory II, *Letter to Boniface*; Rau et al., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, 46 (12).

Christianisation of Northern Europe between 300 and 800 CE assumes that a cult of Woden and Thor existed in this area, even though actual proofs for this assertion are hard to come by. Frank van der Pol notes the *Indiculus superstitionum et pag(i)anarum* in the Codex Palatinus 577, now held in the Vatican library and written in Fulda around the year 800.[30] The Carolingian codex not only mentions a short list of forbidden pagan behaviour (such as *dadsias*, songs for the dead), but also contains the famous Old Saxon Baptismal Vow. Here we find the often-quoted denial of three specifically named heathen gods, to be rejected by the baptismal candidate: "I forsake all works and words of the devil, of Thor and Woden and Saxnot."[31]

The figure of Redbod, referred to as a pagan "king," provides an example of the Christian perception of a warrior society.[32] Meeder and Goosmann stress the importance of so-called warlords as role models.[33] Arnulf Krause maintains that this warrior culture maintained itself between Tacitus' *Germania* (second century CE) and as late as the Icelandic *Edda* (twelfth century CE).[34] Is it possible that pagan anthropology, of the kind that was combated by Boniface, proclaimed the possibility that a mortal man could resurrect? And if so, how does resurrection relate to the concept of ancestry that is so often referred to in Anglo-Saxon literature? An example comes from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, in which he writes about the relation between Anglo-Saxon kings and Woden:

> It is said that their first bandleaders were two brothers, Hengist and Horsa (…). They were sons of Wihtgisl, whose father was Witta, whose father was Wecta, whose father was Woden; from which stock royal clans of many shires claimed their descent.[35]

It was not the link to a theologically structured concept of resurrection that mattered for paganism, but the link to human ancestors. This squares

[30] Frank van der Pol, "De Middeleeuwen tot 1200," in *Handboek Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*, ed. Herman Selderhuis (Kampen: Kok, 2010), 42–43.

[31] "Ec forsacho allum diaboles uuercum and wordum, thunar ende uuoden ende saxnote." Lutz E. von Padberg, *Christianisierung im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 76.

[32] *Willibald's Life of Boniface*, 4:15–22; Rau et al., *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius*, 476–77.

[33] Sven Meeder and Erik Goosmann, *Redbad: Koning in de marge van de geschiedenis* (Houten: Spectrum, 2018), 74.

[34] Arnulf Krause, *Die Götter und Mythen der Germanen* (Wiesbaden: Marix, 2015), 63.

[35] "Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa.… Erant autem filii Uictgisli, cuius pater Uitta, cuius pater Uecta, cuius pater Uoden, de cuius stirpe multarum provinciarum regium genus originem duxit." Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1–15; Spitzbart, *Beda*, 60–61.

well with archaeological findings of the sixth and seventh century, where the importance of social structure, family bonding, and the maintenance of status in a martial society are much more in evidence than religion of the kind that is attested in the writings of Boniface. Self-promotion of a leader like Redbad, Hengist, or Horsa, who also happened to be descended from mighty ancestors, could come very close to a pagan actualisation of resurrection, where chiefs pretended to represent the innate power of the ancestors.

The impact of this kind of thinking on Anglo-Saxon society actually *increased* during the pre-conversion era.[36] A Hegelian interpretation of history tends to qualify prehistoric societies – even in the Iron Age – as static,[37] unlike modern times. Wodenism however, if anything, was not static. The first depictions of Woden/Odin were adapted from coin portraits of Roman emperors, just as the Runic scripts were adapted from Mediterranean prototypes. Wodenism did not precede Christianity, it coincided with it. What we have here are two competing perceptions of interacting with the divine. In pagan elite sites such as the burial site of Sutton Hoo[38] we find that indications for religious cults are weak, while the markers for group status and family attachment are strong. The image of the divine comes with earthly power and is attested by ancestry.

The Christian concept of resurrection obviously represents an alternative anthropology: living by faith implies a social structuring, where biological ancestry is being transcended and perhaps even lost in the new state of being in Christ. It is not difficult to see why it took hundreds of years for this view to be fully accepted, if that ever happened at all. Considering the strong indications that pre-Christian societies in the later Iron Age may have considered relationships between men and gods (or God) as less important than relationships between families and/or group stratifications,[39] we cannot help to note that many Western Europeans would feel the same even today.

[36] Hindley, *A Brief History*, 13–19, 26–30.

[37] *Volksfrömmigkeit* could be interpreted as a rudimentary legacy of this former stage of cultural entelechy. Cf. Hans-Martin Kirn, *Geschichte des Christentums IV,1: Konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018), 82: "In allen Bevölkerungsschichten blieben mythisch-magische Glaubens- und Wertevorstellungen sowie Praktiken lebendig, die sich nicht ohne weiteres konfessionskonform regulieren ließen."

[38] Marc Morris, *The Anglo-Saxons: A History of the Beginnings of England* (London: Hutchinson, 2021), 66–71.

[39] Rob Meens, "With One Foot in the Font: The Failed Baptism of the Frisian King Radbod and the 8th-Century Discussion About the Fate of Unbaptized Forefathers," in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship; Festschrift for Dáibhi Ó Cróin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 577–96.

5. Conclusions

The perspective of resurrection seems to imply an ideal in which differences of language and ethnic background are transcended, which must have come as a shock for elite views that were common in Germanic paganism. For Boniface, resurrection refers to a transformed spiritual reality that is very different from the fallen state that is typical for natural man, ancestral ties included. Interestingly, nineteenth-century historiography tried to reintroduce a national perspective of Boniface, especially in Germany. It is almost as if an effort was being made to reintroduce the ancestral element that he himself had been so deeply ambivalent about. The monument for Boniface in Fulda (1842) portrays him as *Germanorum Apostolus*. Dieter Vorsteher-Seiler believes that Boniface was reclaimed for modern nation-building,[40] a tendency that can be observed even today in studies qualifying Boniface as *Apostel der Deutschen*.[41]

However, a theological anthropology differs from an emphasis on ancestry or national identity. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* combines an early emphasis on English identity with the perspective of the coming together of different nations (Irish, Scottish, Anglo-Saxon). Resurrection will not leave us unchanged. Even in pagan times, the idea of unrestful dead, seeking to reclaim the status they had enjoyed during their sojourn on earth, had been deeply discomforting. In this respect, Boniface was not so different. In my view, he dreaded the prospect of being revived in an unaltered state, unable to answer for his sins. On the other hand, the prospect of a state of being altered, "in Christ," seemed to be deeply comforting. The origins of this hopeful and truly renewing expectation of resurrection lay beyond anything that the natural world could convey. To Boniface, resurrection came as a thoroughly Biblical and Christian concept, and as such, a breach with the pagan past.

[40] Dieter Vorsteher-Seiler, ed., *Straße der Monumente. Nationaldenkmäler des Deutschen Kaiserreiches* (Dresden: Sandstein, 2015).

[41] Joseph Johann Laux, *Der heilige Bonifatius: Apostel der Deutschen* (repr., Norderstedt: Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2015); Reinhard Abeln, ed., *Bonifatius: Apostel der Deutschen* (Kevelaer: Topos Verlag, 2009); Dorothee von Kügelgen, *Bonifatius: Apostel der Deutschen* (Fulda: Parzellers, 2018).

HOS 13:14 AND 1 COR 15:55 IN PATRISTIC AND CHRISTIAN MEDIEVAL RECEPTION

Martin Meiser

Riemer Roukema is one of the leading specialists in the field of patristic exegesis of both Old[1] and New Testament[2], and it is a great honor for me to greet him with the following short study. The texts named in its title remind the possible allusion within the title "Salvation and Victory by Christ's Death and Resurrection in the Ancient Church" of another recent publication by Riemer.

First Corinthians 15 has repeatedly been the subject of studies in the history of reception. The prominent theme of the raising of the dead has fascinated not only theologians, but also musicians,[3] for example. My study is limited to the inner-theologian reception history of a single verse and its presumed *Vorlage*. At first, however, we have to mark the distinct versions of both texts mirrored also in this reception history.

1. Remarks on Textual Criticism

1.1 *Hos 13:14*

The Hebrew text reads: אהי דבריך מות אהי כטבך שאול (ET according to NRSV: "O death, where are your plagues; o Sheol, where is your destruction?"). In the Greek text, we note the following variants:

Ποῦ	σοῦ	Θάνατε	ἡ	νίκη[4]
Ποῦ	σοῦ	Θάνατε	ἡ	διαθήκη[5]

[1] Cf. Riemer Roukema, *Micah in Ancient Christianity: Reception and Interpretation*, SBR 15 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019).

[2] Cf. Riemer Roukema, *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1996).

[3] Cf. Georg Friedrich Händel, *The Messiah* (HWV 56); Johannes Brahms, *Ein deutsches Requiem* (op. 45 no. 6).

[4] 22^{c} 130′-534 Arm Cypr^{pt}; Theophylact of Achrida, *In Os*., PG 126:801a. These are "late witnesses" (Gert Jacobus Steyn, "Explicit Quotations of the Dodekapropheton in the New Testament," in *Die Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der Septuaginta*, eds. Florian Wilk and Martin Meiser, LXX.H 6 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2022), 329) which do not challenge the originality of δίκη in the Septuagint text.

[5] *L*$^{-36}$(22*). I did not see any reference to this variant in Patristic Commentaries on Hos 13:14 or 1 Cor 15:55.

Ποῦ	ἡ	Νίκη	σου	θάνατε	ποῦ	τὸ	κέντρον	σου	ᾅδη[6]
Ποῦ	ἡ	Δίκη	σου	θάνατε	ποῦ	τὸ	κέντρον	σου	ᾅδη[7]

In the patristic period, Jerome offers a detailed discussion on textual criticism on דבריך and its diverse Greek renderings:[8]

> In eo loco, in quo LXX transtulertunt: ubi est causa tua? et nos diximus: ero mors tua, Symmachus intepretatus est: ero plaga tua. Quinta editio et Aquila: ubi sunt sermones tui? quod Hebraice scribitur dabarach; legentes dabar, hoc es verbum, pro deber, quod interpretatur mors …

Jerome followed Aquila when interpreting the Hebrew אהי as a form of היה (ἔσομαι) and registers the different vocalizations of דבר as basis for the divergent versions: "Ero mors tua, o mors; ero morsus tuus, inferne."[9]

In modern discussion, δίκη is also traced back to a form of ריב, as in Amos 7:4; Mic 7:9[10] whereas διαθήκη could be an ancient pre-Christian scribal conjecture based on Deut 9:5 where διαθήκη also renders דברים.[11] The term κέντρον mirrors the difficulties of an adequate understanding of כטב which sometimes is also a medical term.[12] In my view, NIKH is

[6] Amphilochius of Iconium, *Or*. 6.4 *in illud: Pater si possible est*, CCSG 3:142; in the parallel at *Or*. 6.15, CCSG 3:152, the vocatives are inserted after σου.

[7] Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*, *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 13* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1943, [2]1967, [3]1984), 178, chose this text as the original Septuagint text which is also used by Theodoret, *In Os*., PG 81:1628a; Cyril of Alexandria, *In Os*., PG 71:312b; Lactantius, *Inst*. 4:19.9, GCS 19:363.

[8] Jerome, *In Os*., CCSL 76:150; in modern times cf. Hans Walter Wolff, *Dodekapropheton I: Hosea*, 3rd ed. (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1976), 288. The Vulgata reads: "ero mors tua o mors ero morsus tuus inferne." The same reading is found in Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Ep*. 14.41, CCSL 91:436, and in Primasius of Hadrumetum, *In Apc*., CCSL 92:84, in the lemma.

[9] Jerome, *In Os*., CCSL 76:150; id., *In Is*., CCSL 73:240. Francis I. Andersen, and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 639–40, underline the difficulties of an adequate interpretation of אהי. "The allusions in I Cor 15:55 and Rev 6:8 are of little help" (640). Cf. further Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, *Tome 3, Ézéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes*, OBO 50/3 (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 615–16.

[10] Cf. Wilhelm Rudolph, *Hosea*, KAT 13/1 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1966), 230; Douglas Stuart, *Hosea – Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 200; Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Stefan Kessler, *Les douze prophètes*: *Osée*, BdA 23/1 (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 161.

[11] Siegfried Kreuzer, "Ursprüngliche Septuaginta (Old Greek) und hebraisierende Bearbeitung. Die Entwicklung der Septuaginta in ihrer Bedeutung für die Zitate und Anspielungen im Neuen Testament, untersucht anhand der Zitate aus dem Dodekapropheton," in *Worte der Weissagung. Studien zu Septuaginta und Johannesoffenbarung*, eds. Julian Elschenbroich and Johannes de Vries, ABG 47 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), 30. An alternative thesis could be that this variant presupposes a confusion of דבריך and ברית or ריב and ברית.

[12] Anna Angelini, "Demonic Agents in the Greek Bible. Evaluating the role of the Septuagint in creating a Hellenistic demonology," in *Die Septuaginta – Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz*,

an inner-Greek corruption of ΔΙΚΗ,[13] not the other way round.[14] The term ᾅδη is witnessed unchallenged within the textual tradition of Hos 13:14; no influence from New Testament text tradition is visible.

In the Masoretic Text, Hos 13:14 signals condemnation whereas the Septuagint expresses a positive meaning;[15] the terror of death is reduced.[16] This paves the way for Paul's reception.

1.2 *1 Cor 15:55*

In the text of 1 Cor 15:55, we note the following variants:

Ποῦ	σοῦ	θάνατε	τὸ	κέντρον	ποῦ	σοῦ	θάνατε	τὸ	νῖκος[17]
Ποῦ	σοῦ	θάνατε	τὸ	κέντρον	ποῦ	σοῦ	ᾅδη	τὸ	νῖκος[18]
Ποῦ	σοῦ	θάνατε	τὸ	νῖκος	ποῦ	σοῦ	ᾅδη	τὸ	κέντρον[19]
Ποῦ	σοῦ	θάνατε	τὸ	νῖκος	ποῦ	σοῦ	θάνατε	τὸ	κέντρον[20]

Vulgata: "ubi est mors victoria tua ubi est mors stimulus tuus?"

eds. Martin Meiser et al., WUNT 405 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 706–7. The confusion between דֶּבֶר and דָּבָר is also to be seen in Ps 90:6^{LXX} where דֶּבֶר is rendered by πρᾶγμα.

13 Kreuzer, "Ursprüngliche Septuaginta," 30; Kreuzer, "Zum textgeschichtlichen Ort der Dodekapropheton-Zitate im Neuen Testament," in *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen*, eds. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 143.

14 Vinzenz Hamp, "Die Verwechslung von 'Wort' – 'Pest' im Alten Testament," in Vinzenz Hamp, *Weisheit und Gottesfurcht: Aufsätze zur alttestamentlichen Einleitung, Exegese und Theologie*, ed. Georg Schmuttermayr (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1990), 93. The Greek νίκη always renders נצח. The variants νίκη/νῖκος do not appear in "The Three."

15 Bons, Joosten and Kessler, *Osée*, 160. Stuart, *Hosea*, 207, is sceptic due to the literal translation technique in the Septuagint version of Hosea.

16 Eberhard Bons, "Osee / Hosea," in *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament* (LXX.E), eds. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgetsellschaft, 2011), 2336.

17 D(*) F G Ir^{latpt} Tert Cyp; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Dem. Ev*. 10:1.36, GCS 23:453; Ambst; Rhabanus Maurus, *In 1 Cor*., PL 112:157c. Chromatius of Aquileia, *Serm*. 17.2, CCSL 9A:76 traces back this variant to the prophet, not to the apostle. Older Latin authors quote at the end *contentio tua* (Tertullian, *Res*. 47.13; 54.5, CCSL 2:986, 1001; Cyprian, *Test*. 3:58, CCSL 3:145; Ambrosiaster, *In 1 Cor*., CSEL 81/2:186). The Latin "contentio" presupposes νεῖκος instead of νῖκος, based on an itacism (Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, Vol. 4, EKK 7/4 [Düsseldorf: Benziger/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001], 4:365 n. 1824).

18 א^2 A^c Ψ 075 1881 𝔐; Epiphanius, *Haer*. 66.78.4, GCS 37:119; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or*. 45.22, PG 36:653c; John Chrysostom (lemma); Theodoret (lemma); Ps.-Oecumenius, *In 1 Cor*., PG 118:896a (lemma); sy$^{(p)}$; Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm*. 113.4, CCSL 24A:691.

19 0121 0243 33 81 326 1175 1241^s 1739^c 2464 *pc*; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech*. 14.19, ed. Rupp 132; John of Damascus, *In 1 Cor*., PG 95:700d (lemma); presupposed also in Cyril of Alexandria, *In Os*., PG 71:312d. Cf. Ambrose, *In Luc*. 8:26, CCSL 14:307; Augustine, *En. Ps*. 123.4; *En. Ps*. 125.14; *En. Ps*. 127.16; *En. Ps*. 143:9, CCSL 40:1827, 1855, 1888, 2079. It is maybe also influenced by the Septuagint (Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 365 n. 1825).

20 𝔓^{46} א* B C 088 1739* *pc* lat co; Ir^{latpt} Eus^{pt}; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Dem. ev*. 4:12.5, GCS 23:170; Ambrose, *Iob. Dav*. 1.9/31, CSEL 32/2:232; Augustine, *Civ*. 20:17,

Some scholars attribute the change from ᾅδης to θάνατος to Paul[21] whereas Gert Steyn considers the usage of a pre-Pauline variant.[22] The same could be true for νῖκος.[23]

Old Testament quotations within the New Testament cause the question of a mutual influence of the textual transmission of both biblical passages. In the case of Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55, the answer can be formulated as follows: The insertion of ᾅδη instead of the second θάνατε in 1 Cor 15:55 and the replacement of νῖκος by κέντρον at the second position intend to align Paul's text with the text from the book of Hosea whereas the term δίκη and the variant νίκη (Hos 13:14^{LXX}) are never introduced in the textual transmission of 1 Cor 15:55. On the other hand, the text of 1 Cor 15:55 did not influence the textual tradition of Hos 13:14.[24] The textual transmission of Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55 confirms what is also otherwise to be noted as the result of the textual development of quotations.

What's about the great codices which contain both texts? In codex Sinaiticus, codex Alexandrinus, and codex Vaticanus, the original versions

CSEL 40/2:467; Augustine, *En. Ps.* 123.4; 125.14; 127.16; 143:9, CCSL 40:1827, 1855, 1880, 2079; id., *Div. Qu.* 57.6, CCSL 44 A:171; Jerome, *In Is.*, CCSL 73:240 ("… contentio …"); Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.*, CCSL 97:489: "Ubi est, mors, contentio tua? Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?" (this reading, together with 1 Cor 15:56, fosters the moral interpretation of the sentence); Origen, *Princ.* 2:3.3, GCS 22:117; Apponius, *Cant.* 9:57, CCSL 19:237; Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 191.2, CCSL 104:776 (introduced by "quod dictum est per prophetam"); Gregory the Great, *Hom. Ez.* 2:5.22, SC 360:270 offer "Ubi est, mors, victoria tua? Ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus?"

[21] Archibald Robertson, and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1914; repr. 1955), 378; William F. Orr and James Arthur Walther, *I Corinthians. A New Translation*, AB 7 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 351 (Paul never uses ᾅδης); Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, BHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 168–70; id., "Die Septuaginta in der Korintherkorrespondenz des Apostels Paulus," in *Die Septuaginta – Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, eds. Wolfang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, WUNT 325 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 595; Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* 4:365; Dieter Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther übersetzt und erklärt*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 523. According to Christophe Senft, *La Première Épitre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, CNT II/7, 2nd ed. (Geneve: Labor et Fides, 1990), 214 n. 18, Paul is responsible for the positive changing of the sense of Hos 13:14. With respect of the textual history of Hos 13:14, I am not sure whether this is correct.

[22] Steyn, "Quotations," 329.

[23] Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 1300. Philipp Bachmann, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther ausgelegt*, KNT 7 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1905), 473, stated that it was Paul who changed the negative sense of the Hebrew text independently from the Septuagint. In my view this is not correct.

[24] See also Frederick Fyvie Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1971), 156.

were distinct from one another. The scribes copied divergent source texts. Codex Sinaiticus and codex Alexandrinus were corrected by insertion of ᾅδη, but in codex Vaticanus, there were no changes of this kind. Probably the scribes followed closely their Vorlage; they did not feel the necessity to equate both texts.[25]

1.3 *References to Hos 13:14 in Patristic Reception on 1 Cor 15:55?*

Whereas modern commentaries presuppose that Paul in 1 Cor 15:55 refers to Hos 13:14[26], there are different tendencies in patristic exegesis. Due to different text-forms, some authors do not explicitly mention a possible quotation[27] whereas other authors state that the apostle grasped words of the prophet.[28] Cyril of Alexandria offers the best example of the first tendency: He taps a transition from the prophet's grief over sin to the promise of resurrection (Hos 13:14), which is granted not only to Israel but (Rom 3:29–30) also to the gentiles, as Paul also elaborates elsewhere (Col 2:14–15; Heb 2:14; 1 Cor 15:55). Cyril does not remark explicitly an allusion on or a quotation of Hos 13:14 in 1 Cor 15:55.[29]

2. Reception History of Hos 13:14

2.1 *The Point of Reference*

We can distinguish a historical, a Christological, and an eschatological line of interpretation.[30] The first is realized in Julian of Aeclanum's

[25] Martin Karrer and Johannes de Vries, "Der Septuagintatext in den neutestamentlichen Schriften und der Codex Ambrosianus," in *Die Septuaginta – Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, eds. Wolfgang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, WUNT 325 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 124–53, 134.

[26] Cf. e.g. Andreas Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief*, HNT 9/1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 370; Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 523.

[27] We do not find any reference to Hos 13:14 in John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor*. 42.2, PG 61:365: Theodoret, *In 1 Cor*., PG 82:368cd (this is true also vice versa: Theodoret, *In Os*., PG 81:1628ab does not refer to 1 Cor 15:55); Ambrosiaster, *In 1 Cor*., CSEL 81/2:186.

[28] Cf. Tertullian, *Marc*. 5:10.16, CCSL 1:695 (for Tertullian, this quotation is one of the many proofs of the unity of God preached in Old and New Testament); Origen, *Cels*. 5:19, GCS 3:21; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Dem. ev*. 4:12.5, GCS 23:169; Jerome, *In Os*., CCSL 76:149; id., *In Is*., CCSL 73:240; Walafrid Strabo, *Gloss*. 1 Cor., PL 114:550b: *Haec sunt verba profetae vel Apostoli laetantis*; Ps.-Oecumenius, *In 1 Cor*., PG 118:896b who also V. 54b erroneously traces back to Hosea.

[29] Cyril of Alexandria, *In Os*., PG 71:312b.

[30] On Patristic exegesis of Hos 13:14 cf. Maria Cristina Pennacchio, *Propheta insaniens. L'esegesi patristica di Osea tra profezia e storia*, SEAug 81 (Rome: Institutum patristicum Augustinianum, 2002), 267–69.

Commentary.[31] Sometimes historical and eschatological interpretation are combined insofar that the return of the Jews from captivity is a type of eschatological resurrection.[32] Part of the eschatological line is an allusion to Hos 13:14 in the Christian Sibylline oracles cited by Lactantius.[33] The Christological line of interpretation covers aspects of apologetics, dogmatics, morality, and exegesis. Lactantius underlines that Jesus Christ's prediction is foretold in Ps 15:8–11 and Hos 13:14 in order to refute Greco-Roman challenging of Jesus Christ's resurrection.[34] For Amphilochius of Iconium, Christ's overwhelming the death proves the absurdity of the suggested subordination of Jesus in comparison to God Father.[35] Within a sermon on Easter, Chromatius of Aquileia applies Hos 13:14 especially to Jesus Christ, who, according to John 14:6, is the way who leads to God, the truth because he condemns all lie, and life, because life dominates death.[36] Primasius of Hadrumetum elaborates in detail how Jesus Christ as lamb and lion (Primasius comments Rev 5:5) can be the point of reference:

> Idem quippe agnus docetur et leo, qui Innocentia mortem devote suscepit et potentia susceptam occidit, cui iustas pidem minas veraciter intemptavit dicens per Osee …[37]

2.2 *Other Biblical Texts Constituting a (Thin) Net of Quotations*

For patristic and medieval exegesis, Sacred Scripture offers a network of passages for the justification of dogmatic as well as ethical statements. One must study such networks in order to trace the functioning of this exegesis.

The network around Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55 is comparatively thin and not very stable. Theodoret, in his comment on Hos 13:14, does not refer to Cor 15:55 but to Ezek 37:11 which he interprets as hint on

[31] Julian of Aeclanum, *In Os*., CCSL 88:221, refers the term *mors* to the King of Assyria.

[32] Cf. Theodoret, *In Os*., PG 81:1628a: That happened τυπικῶς in the return of the Jews, ἐντελὲς δὲ καὶ ἀληθές in our resurrection after the Savior's resurrection insofar as we all achieved the hope on resurrection at the Last Day.

[33] Lactantius, *Inst*. 7:20.4, GCS 19:648, referring to *Or. Sib*. 8:415, GCS 8:168.

[34] Lactantius, *Inst*. 4:19.9, GCS 19:363.

[35] Amphilochius of Iconium, *Or*. 6.4 *in illud: Pater si possible est*, CCSG 3:142. In *Or*. 6.15, CCSG 3:152, the reference to the *descensus ad inferos* is obvious.

[36] Chromatius of Aquileia, *Serm*. 17.2, CCSL 9A:76. The introduction "dicitur a propheta" before the words "Ubi est mors" make sure that Chromatius had Hos 13:14 in mind, not 1 Cor 15:55.

[37] Primasius of Hadrumetum, *In Apc*., CCSL 92:84. The reference to the *descensus ad inferos* is given also in Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Ep*. 14.41, CCSL 91:436.

individual resurrection, not on the rebirth of Israel.[38] The proximity of Rev 21:4 to Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55 in terms of content does not lead to references to the prophet's or the apostle's saying in comments on Revelation.[39]

3. Reception History of 1 Cor 15:55

In his study of 1 Cor 15:35–55,[40] Riemer Roukema discussed the reception of the text under two questions: 1. is the resurrection to be understood spiritually or bodily, and if bodily, how can this bodilyness be conceived? 2. does the resurrection come only to believers or does it come to all?

The first of these questions has hardly been discussed since the fourth century specifically in the reception history of Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55 because other issues are more important in this period and Greco-Roman spirituality loses importance as a critical foil of contrast to Christianity. The second question is also hardly considered because both biblical passages are read specifically as victory songs of Christ and Christians.

There are three lines of interpretation, a moral one (based on the following verse 56 and fostered by the reading *contentio* in the Latin tradition), a Christological one, and an eschatological one.

The moral line of interpretation begins with Origen's quotation of this verse "as an exhortation to the believers to lead a spiritual life".[41] The moral interpretation of 1 Cor 15:55 depends on the answer concerning the question of free will and ability to abstain from sin. Hilarius of Poitiers,

[38] Theodoret, *In Os*., PG 81:1628ab; Theodoret, *In Ezech*., PG 81:1192a (here referring to 1 Cor 15:52 but not to Hos 13:14). Rhabanus Maurus refers Ezek 37 to the resurrection of the house of Israel, not to the general resurrection of the dead. However, according to the author, one should not reproach him as if he wanted to deny the general resurrection. Other biblical passages are stronger testimonies to this, e.g., Job 19:25; Rom 8:11 (Rhabanus Maurus, *In Ezech*., PL 110:861a–d). Consequently, he does not refer to Hos 13:14, nor does it Jerome, *In Ez*.

[39] Any reference to Hos 13:14 or 1 Cor 15:55 is missing in the comments on Rev 21:4 by Andreas of Caesarea, *In Apc*., PG 106:425c; Arethas of Caesarea, *In Apc*., PG 106:761d; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *In Apc*., CCSL 92:286.

[40] Riemer Roukema, "The Resurrection according to 1 Corinthians 15:35–55 as Understood and Debated in Ancient Christianity," in *"If Christ has not been raised …" Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and the Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church*, eds. Joseph Verheyden, Andreas Merkt and Tobias Nicklas, NTOA 115 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), passim.

[41] Riemer Roukema, "Origen's Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 15," in *Gelitten – Gestorben – Auferstanden: Passions- und Ostertraditionen im frühen Christentum*, eds. Andreas Merkt, Tobias Nicklas, and Joseph Verheyden, WUNT 2.273 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 341, referring to Origen, *Or*. 25.3, OW 21:204; cf. further Hilarius of Poitiers, *In Ps*. 127.11, CSEL 22:637.

Quodvultdeus and some Greek fathers maintain that it is principally possible to abstain from sin though the "sting" is regarded an urging present reality in human life[42] though toned down by baptism.[43] According to Latin fathers, however, the sting is taken from us only in eternal life,[44] not before the Last Judgment.[45] 1 Cor 15:55 can be the triumphant words of the saints after the struggle of the earthly life.[46] Hilarius of Poitiers interprets the thorny crown of Matt 27 in an allegorical way: The thorns are the sting of our sins.[47] Ambrose states that all are under the power of sin, all under the power of death, except Jesus Christ who did no sin and who said to death "Death, where is your victory, death, where is your sting?"[48] According to Rhabanus Maurus, Augustine states that it is the righteous ones who mock the death by these lines.[49]

The moral line of interpretation got its special importance in the controversy over Pelagius. Augustine attributes to him the concept of a good human nature which is able to distain from evil; this is possibly by grace through faith. 1 Cor 15:55 names the reached ideal within the earthly life.[50] Augustine counters that in earthly life we are incapable of such perfection. In the earthly life, in our moral struggle,[51] we must confess "I see another law in me" (Rom 7:23); in the afterlife, in our triumph, we can confess "Death, where is your victory" (1 Cor 15:55).[52] Augustine dedicated a separate *quaestio* to the passage 1 Cor 15:54–56. The sting of death is

[42] Hilarius of Poitiers, *In Ps*. 119.12, CSEL 22:552; Quodvultdeus, *Cant. Nov*. 2.23, CCSL 60:384; Gregory of Nyssa, *Virg*. 14.1, SC 119:436, referring to the fleshly life as danger for the ideal of virginity.

[43] Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech*. 3.11 ed. Reischl, 80: Λύσεται ... τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κέντρον διὰ τοιῦ βαπτίσματος.

[44] Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm*. 113.4, CCSL 24 A:691; Ambrose, *Exp. Ps. XII*, CSEL 64:233; id. *Ob. Th*. 36, CSEL 73:389. – The anonymous critic mentioned in Macarius Magnes has found Rom 5:20 and 1 Cor 15:56 to be a break with Paul's other statements on the subject of the Law (Macarius Magnes, *Apocr*. 3:34, TU 169:258). Macarius Magnes clarifies against this criticism that sin causes the death of man because the law names sin as sin and enables the accusation of the sinner (Macarius Magnes, *Apocr*. 3:41.10–11, TU 169:284). In this way, he grasps the term "sting" as a metaphor for the efficacy.

[45] Ambrose, *Exp. Ps. XII*, CSEL 64:233, explaining Ps 40:2 ("pauper"), referring it to Jesus' grief what he suffers not due to himself but due to our sin. Ambrose repeats the same interpretation of 1 Cor 15:55 in his explanation of Ps 45:2 (Ambrose, *Exp. Ps. XII*, CSEL 64:335).

[46] Caesarius of Arles, *Serm*. 177.3, CCSL 104:719.

[47] Hilarius of Poitiers, *In Matt*. 33.3, SC 258:250.

[48] Ambrose, *Expos. Ps. XII*, CSEL 64:248.

[49] Rhabanus Maurus, *In 1 Cor*., PL 112:157c.

[50] Augustine, *Perf. Iust*. 14, CSEL 42:12.

[51] Augustine presupposes *contentio* instead of *victoria*, e.g., in *Div. Qu*. 70, CCSL 44 A:197.

[52] Augustine, *De gestis Pelagii* 55, CSEL 42:110; id., *En. Ps*. 127.16, 143.9; 148.4, CCSL 40:1888, 2079, 2168; id., *Div. Qu*. 57.6, CCSL 44 A:171.

sin insofar as the pleasure of sin affects the steadiness of good will. But then death will be swallowed up in victory when, on the way to the sanctification of the whole man, the carnal pleasure will be killed off by the perfect pleasure in spiritual things.[53]

The Christological line refers 1 Cor 15:55 of course to the resurrection of Jesus Christ, but there are differences in detail. Some authors refer the statement to the *descensus ad inferos*;[54] sometimes we find also the reference to Jesus' death[55] or to the "events" reported in Matt 27:51–53[56] or in general to the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[57]

The eschatological line of interpretation[58] fosters consolation and triumph on the one hand, admonishing on the other. For Origen, 1 Cor 15:55 witnesses Christian hope on resurrection, defended in anti-Greek polemics.[59] The motif of consolation is dominant in (Ps.-)Cyprian's *Testimonia*. He quotes 1 Cor 15:53–55 under the heading "Neminem contristari morte debere cum sit in vivendo labor et periculum, in moriendo pax et resurgendi securitas."[60] The consoling effect is given also in Ambrose's explanation of Ps 118:103 ("Quam dulcia verba tua"): These are the divine words through which the forgiveness of sins is proclaimed, eternal life, the resurrection of the dead. Through them we begin to fear no more, we begin to say "Death, where is your victory?"[61] Jerome also emphasizes the motif of consolation in his interpretation of Ps 114:8, for which he also quotes Matt 5:4.[62] Sometimes especially it is underlined that the

[53] Augustine, *Div. Qu.* 70, CCSL 44 A:197–99.

[54] Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2:74.3, GCS 12:203; Origen, *Pascha* 47–48, eds. Guérard and Nautin, 246–48; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Haer.* 24.9.6, GCS 25:266; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 14.19, ed. Rupp 132; Verecundus of Junca, *Cant. Hab.* 12, CCSL 93:127, equating death and devil (this equation is also found in Origen, *Rom. Com.* 5:1, FC 2/3, 74, referring to Hos 13:14a). Verecundus justifies this notion by Isa 49:24–25.

[55] Epiphanius, *Haer.* 66.78.4, GCS 37:119; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 45.22, PG 36:653c.

[56] Sedulius Scotus, *Carm. Pasch.* 5:276–77, ed. Springer, 156. The allusion on 1 Cor 15:55 is the beginning of an Apostrophe to death (276–94). The following motif "insaturata" (278) has its parallels in Vergil, *Georg.* 2.492 and Statius, *Theb.* 4.474 (Springer, *Sedulius*, 180).

[57] Origen, *Matt. Com.* Ser. 132, GCS 38:270 (after the *descensus ad inferos*); Ambrose, *Iob. Dav.* 1.9/31, CSEL 32/2:232; Hilarius of Poitiers, *In Matt.* 33.9, SC 258:258. Ambrose, *In Luc.* 8:26, CCSL 14:307 underlines that (via Eph 5:23, Jesus Christ is the head of the Church), Jesus Christ will anew resurrect in "his body", the church.

[58] One of the first references of this line is Origen, *Princ.* 3:6.3, GCS 22:284: when the "sting" is deleted, than God is "all in all" (1 Cor 15:28), in the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων.

[59] Origen, *Cels.* 5:19, GCS 3:21.

[60] Cyprian, *Test.* 3:58, CCSL 3:145.

[61] Ambrose, *Expos. Ps 118*, CSEL 62:294. The function of consolation is also present in Ps.-Oecumenius of Tricca, *In 1 Cor.*, PG 118:896d.

[62] Jerome, *Tract. Ps.*, CCSL 78:238.

victory over the death is the result of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.[63] The eschatological line of interpretation holds in Augustine's *De civitate Dei*: 1 Cor 15:55 proves that in the city of God will not be any longer death.[64]

Not only consolation but triumph is given in Tertullian's explanation how life devours death: "vita, mortis scilicet aemula, per contentionem devorabit in salutem quod per contemptionem devoraverat mors in interitum."[65] Rhetoric of this kind is used also by Caearius of Arles in the introduction of the quote: "ut nos insultantes diabolo et exultantes in domino dicamus …"[66] Another kind of rhetoric is used by Walafrid Strabo: Death was victor over the dead; the resurrected are victors over death.[67] Theophylact of Achrida also pays attention to the linguistic gesture – Paul ἐνθουσιᾷ καὶ ἐπινίκιον βοᾷ καὶ ἀλαλάζει, οἱονεὶ κειμένῳ τῷ θανάτῳ ἐπεμβαίνων, καὶ καταπατῶν αὐτόν as if what was said before had already become reality – and refers to a possible difference between Hades and death: the souls are in Hades, the bodies in death. The souls are immortal. The death uses the sin as weapon. As the scorpion has its power in the sting, so death in sin.[68]

This motif can also help martyrs endure the agony of their torture. 1 Cor 15:55 can be the confession of the martyr who triumphs over his tormentors, the sinners addressed in Ps 118[119]:94.[69] In the Acts of Montanus and Lucius, we read: "Mors nihil est cuius aculeos comminuens contemptionemque devincens dominus per trophaeum crucis triumphavit" ("death is nothing when the Lord crushes its sting, conquers its struggle, and triumphs by the trophy of the cross").[70] The victory of the martyrs, however, can also imply ethical consequences for the life of non-martyrs: According to Arnobius the Younger, the victory of the martyr's enemies

[63] Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 191.2, CCSL 104:776; Cassiodorus, *Expos. Ps.*, CCSL 97:489, in the comment on Ps 54:6 ("Cor meum conturbatum est in me et formido mortis cecidit super me"). In Ambrosiaster, *In 1 Cor.*, CSEL 81/2:186, we find the equation death = devil whose spoil is robbed in the resurrection. Ambrosiaster explains the motif of contention: The devil resisted the resurrection, due to his *superbia*.

[64] Augustine, *Civ.* 20:17, CSEL 40/2:467.

[65] Tertullian, *Res.* 54.4, CCSL 2:1001.

[66] Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 191.2, CCSL 104:776.

[67] Walafrid Strabo, *Gloss.* 1 Cor., PL 114:550b.

[68] Theophylact, *In 1 Cor.*, PG 124:784a. Ps.-Oecumenius of Tricca, *In 1 Cor.*, PG 118:896c also offers the comparison with the scorpion.

[69] Ambrose, *Expos. Ps. 118*, CSEL 62:276.

[70] *Acts of Montanus and Lucius* 4.5, ed. Musurillo, *Acts*, 216; English translation: Musurillo, *Acts*, 217. 1 Cor 15:55 is otherwise not received in the ancient martyr literature collected by Hans Reinhard Seeliger and Wolfgang Wischmeyer, *Märtyrerliteratur, herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet*, TU 172 (Berlin/München/Boston: de Gruyter, 2015).

is death; the victory of the believer who follows the example of the martyrs should be life, abstaining from all unrighteousness.[71]

The motif of triumph, unfortunately, can also serve anti-Jewish purposes. The triumph of Jesus' resurrection sung with 1 Cor 15:55 is interpreted as the rehabilitation of the suffering righteous against his enemies, the Jews, as the interpretation of Ps 40:6, 11 in Eusebius of Caesarea states.[72]

4. Conclusion

Results can be formulated in terms of textual criticism, intertextuality, and theological statement.

With regard to textual criticism, we observe that the diversity of variants in the manuscripts has its counterpart in the diversity of variants within ancient Christian literature. There is, as in other cases, the coexistence of mutual influence and independent development. Special readings have not influenced the textual tradition.

Regarding intertextuality, we observe that the citational character of 1 Cor 15:55 is not always explicitly marked, and that there is no stable network of citations of which Hos 13:14 and 1 Cor 15:55 are a part.

Theological statements based on Hos 13:14 or 1 Cor 15:55 cover divergent issues of faith. Hos 13:14 has been interpreted as a statement about history, Christology, and eschatology whereas 1 Cor 15:55 was perceived partly as an ethical admonition, conditioned by the context, but also as consolation and hope.

[71] Arnobius, *Comm. Ps.*, CCSL 25:207, on Ps 123, in an allusion on 1 Cor 15:55.
[72] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Dem. Ev.* 10:1.36, GCS 23:452–53.

OSTERN UND DIE AUFERSTEHUNG DES MENSCHEN: DIE PERSPEKTIVE IN NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN SONNTAGSSCHULHEFTEN DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS[1]

Cornelis HOUTMAN

1. Einleitung

Seit den 60er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts trat in den protestantischen Niederlanden eine neue Literaturgattung in Erscheinung: das Sonntagsschulheft, eine Form der Massenevangelisationsliteratur, die die Jugend mit dem christlichen Glauben vertraut machen sollte.[2] Es erschienen auch Sonntagsschulhefte, die dem Osterfest gewidmet waren. Im Allgemeinen wird die Bedeutung der Auferstehung Jesu anhand von Geschichten in zwei Richtungen erklärt: Die Auferstehung bietet den Menschen (1) die Möglichkeit der Umkehr, der ‚Wiedergeburt' zu einem neuen Menschen, und (2) die Perspektive der Auferstehung nach dem Tod. Manchmal werden beide Themen gleichermaßen berücksichtigt, aber in den meisten Fällen liegt der Schwerpunkt entweder auf (1) oder (2). Ich beschränke mich auf die Erörterung des zweiten Themas und schließe in die Diskussion sechsundzwanzig der mir bekannten mehr als neunzig Schriften ein, die im neunzehnten Jahrhundert oder kurz danach veröffentlicht wurden und Ostern für die Jugend zum Thema hatten, darunter drei Bücher, die vor 1860 veröffentlicht wurden und nicht zum Genre der Sonntagsschulbücher gehören. Im Appendix werden die verwendeten Ausgaben aufgeführt und die Autoren kurz charakterisiert. Dies zeigt, dass die verschiedenen Strömungen des niederländischen Protestantismus der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts vertreten sind, der Ton wird aber von der protestantischen Orthodoxie bestimmt.

[1] Übersetzt aus dem Niederländischen von Dr. Walter Hilbrands.

[2] Zur weiteren Erläuterung der in der Einleitung erwähnten Gegenstände siehe Cees Houtman, *Kerst, Pasen en Pinksteren in zondagsschoolboekjes en andere negentiende-eeuwse lectuur voor de jeugd* (Amstelveen: EON, 2022).

2. Sterben ist Heimkehr

Das Evangelium von Ostern lässt einen Menschen in Frieden sterben. Ein bekehrter Lagerarbeiter stirbt „jubelnd“ mit den letzten Worten: „Herr, ich warte auf dein Heil!“ (Gen 49:18).[3] Auf einen schwerkranken Jungen macht die Geschichte der Auferstehung Jesu einen tiefen Eindruck. Durch die Worte seines treuen Sonntagsschullehrers versteht er, dass seitdem der Tod „kein König des Schreckens mehr ist, sondern ein Tor zum ewigen, seligen Leben!“ Mit den Worten des Liedes: „Nun jagt der Tod keine Angst mehr ein,“[4] „leuchteten seine Augen mit einer nie dagewesenen und neuen Freude“. Der Gedanke, „für immer beim Heiland zu leben“, weckte in ihm den Wunsch, bald zu sterben.[5] Am Ostermorgen entfaltet sich zwischen der kranken, einzigen Tochter einer Witwe und ihrer Mutter ein Gespräch über den Tod. Das Mädchen ist von Angst erfüllt. Mutter und Tochter sind sich einig, dass ein „gutes Sterben“ mehr ist als ein Sterben nach einem anständigen Leben. Eine Nichte, die zu Besuch ist, erzählt, wie in der Sonntagsschule das Lied 137[6] gesungen wurde, mit den Worten: „Jesus schickt keine Sünder fort“ und „Jesus lebt! Nun ist der Tod mir der Eingang in das Leben. Welchen Trost in Todesnot wird er meiner Seele geben“. Die Kranke bezieht das Lied auf sich selbst als „Sünderin“. Sie wird auch von einem einfachen Gärtner besucht, einem vorbildlichen Gläubigen, auf den der Schluss von Lied 142 zutrifft, das mit den Worten endet: „Wer mir [Jesus] glaubt, wird ewig leben“.[7] Dank seines Glaubenszeugnisses kommt die junge Frau zu der Überzeugung, dass es „nicht schrecklich“ ist zu sterben. Sie stellt sich den Tod als „ein dunkles Tor vor, das wir durchschreiten müssen, um in einen schönen, großen, hellen Garten, den Himmel“, zu gelangen. Die Aussicht, „Jesus nahe zu sein“ und „ganz und gar keine Sünden mehr zu begehen“, macht sie sehr glücklich. Sie hat keine Angst mehr vor dem Tod.[8]

Ein kleines Mädchen lernt zu verstehen, dass nur Gott weiß, „was wirklich gut“ für einen Menschen ist, und dass „wir“ deshalb im Gebet nichts von ihm „erzwingen“ dürfen. Deshalb betet sie nicht um Heilung für ihren Lieblingsonkel, sondern bittet den Herrn, ihm „Osterfreude“ zu schenken, Freude mit der Aussicht, mit Gott „im Himmel“ zu leben. Ihr

[3] Cornelis, *Jan Staupler*, 23.
[4] Zeile aus dem Lied von Eduard Gerdes *Daar juicht een toon*, das in verschiedenen noch heute verwendeten Liederbüchern aufgenommen ist. Siehe https://kerkliedwiki.nl.
[5] Johanna, *Een overwonnen vijand*, 19.
[6] *Evangelische Gezangen* (1805).
[7] *Evangelische Gezangen* (1805).
[8] Betsy, *Het ware leven*, 12–17, 22, 23.

Gebet wird erfüllt. Als der Tod naht, ist ihr Onkel „sehr glücklich“ und sagt: „Es wird wunderbar sein, das Osterfest dort oben mit dem zu feiern, der den Tod überwunden hat.“[9] Johanna, die Autorin der oben erwähnten Erzählung, hat auch den Tod ihrer „einzigen, geliebten, früh entschlafenen Schwester“ am Tag nach Ostern beschrieben. Ihre Schwester erlebte den Tod als „Heimkehr“. Die „Schrecken und Sorgen des Todes“ beunruhigen sie nicht.[10]

3. Das Leben nach dem Tod

Ostern bedeutet, dass der Tod im Grunde nicht mehr existiert: „Er ist überwunden; und alle, die in Christus entschlafen sind, sind nicht tot, sondern leben bei ihm.“[11] Das „leere Grab Jesu“ versichert „uns“, dass nicht „der Tod, sondern das Leben das letzte Wort haben wird“.[12] Das „ewige Leben“ ist „garantiert durch die Auferstehung Christi“.[13] Die Hoffnung auf die Auferstehung und das ewige Leben sind „auf die Auferstehung Christi gegründet“.[14] „Der Glaube an den auferstandenen Heiland tröstet das Gemüt, gibt uns die Gewissheit der seligen Auferstehung und lässt verlangend darauf sehen, mit ihm ewig zu leben.“[15] Der Glaube in „der Gewissheit der Auferstehung des Fleisches in Herrlichkeit“ hält die Menschen trotz aller Widrigkeiten auf den Beinen, versichern uns orthodox-protestantische Schreiber. Sie weisen auch darauf hin, dass es ein Missverständnis sei, dass „jemand, der tugendhaft gelebt hat … direkt auf dem Weg zum Himmel war“, denn nur „in Christi vollendetem Werk liegt unsere Hoffnung für die Ewigkeit.“[16] Sie geben auch Auskunft über die Zukunft derer, die im Vertrauen auf Jesus Christus sterben. „Diejenigen, die im Herrn sterben, werden sich dort oben in der Ewigkeit wiedersehen.“[17] Sie sehen auch „mit eigenen Augen“ ihn selbst, dort, „im Himmel“, wo er „allen Seinen eine Stätte bereitet“ (Joh 14:2).[18] Die Menschen dort sind „sehr glücklich“. Es ist „allezeit ein Fest, denn dort gibt es keinen Kummer.“[19]

[9] Johanna, *Hoe Trineke's gebed verhoord werd*, 22, 24–25.
[10] Johanna, *Vrees niet!*, 18, 21.
[11] Johanna, *Hoe Trineke's gebed verhoord werd*, 30–31.
[12] Betsy, *Leven uit den dood*, 22.
[13] Hoogenbirk, *Opstanding en leven*, 18.
[14] Van Lennep, *Een groene Paschen*, 30.
[15] Van der Maas, *Het paaschfeest*, 5.
[16] Hoogenbirk, *Opstanding en leven*, 21, 24–26.
[17] Betsy, *Laura*, 24.
[18] Betsy, *Het bloemenmeisje*, 29.
[19] Van Lennep, *Een groene Paschen*, 5, 31.

4. Das „ewige Leben“

Über das „ewige Leben“ gibt es kein eindeutiges Bild. So wird der Eindruck erweckt, dass die himmlische Existenz auf die Auferweckung aller Toten „am großen Auferstehungsmorgen“ am Ende der Zeit folgt,[20] wenn Jesus Christus „unser Grab“ öffnen, „unsere toten Körper auferwecken“ und uns „zu sich in den Himmel“ aufnehmen wird, „um ewig mit ihm zu bleiben“.[21] Mit anderen Worten: „Wer an ihn[22] glaubt … wird wieder mit ihm leben und nach dem Untergang des zeitlichen Todes am herrlichen Auferstehungsmorgen einen verherrlichten Leib empfangen“ und „dort oben“ seine „geliebten Verwandten … wiedersehen“.[23] Ein älterer Mann, der hundert Schritte vom Familiengrab entfernt lebt, kann sich darauf sehr freuen. Auf dem Friedhof spielt ein „himmlisches Lächeln um seine Lippen“ und er hält „seine Augen nach oben gerichtet, als ob sein Herr noch nicht gekommen wäre“. Er deutet auf das Grab und sagt:

> Ich hoffe, dort bald still zu ruhen, neben meiner lieben Frau und meinen Kindern, bis der Herr der Auferstehung uns alle erweckt, bis wir gemeinsam in jenen Himmel oben reisen, wo man des Lebens nicht müde wird.[24]

Daneben besteht die Vorstellung, dass *die Seele* eines Menschen bei seinem Tod in den Himmel fährt. Am Krankenbett eines Mädchens, das an Ostern stirbt, zweifelt keiner ihrer Angehörigen daran, „dass Gott diese Seele in sein himmlisches Reich aufnehmen und sie dort bewahren wird bis zu dem Tag, an dem diese sich mit dem Körper, der im Grab ruht, vereinen wird, um dann verherrlicht aufzuerstehen und ewig bei dem Herrn zu sein.“ Das sterbende Kind stammelt: „Nach – oben – zur [verstorbenen] Mutter … zu Jesus!“ Der Autor fügt hinzu, dass „ihre Seele“ aufstieg „in das Paradies Gottes, wo alle sind, die im Herrn entschlafen sind, und dort die Erneuerung ihres Körpers im Grab erwarten.“[25] Nachdem er kurz zuvor den Leichnam in der Erde mit dem Samenkorn verglichen hat, der

[20] Betsy, *Laura*, 24.
[21] Betsy, *De Heer is waarlijk opgestaan*, 16.
[22] An Jesus Christus, der sagte: „Ich bin die Auferstehung und das Leben“ (Joh 11:25).
[23] Van der Maas, *Het paaschfeest*, 12, 15.
[24] Kloppers, *Honderd schreden verder*, 15.
[25] Elise Gerdes, *Droevig, nochtans blijde*, 11–12. Als Nachweis wird auf folgende Bibelstellen verwiesen: 1Kor 15:42–43, 51–54, Phil 3:20–21, 1Thess 5:9–10 (siehe auch 1Thess 4:13–18). Die gleiche Interpretation begegnet auch in anderen Erzählungen. Eine der Geschichten wirft die Frage auf, wie die Zukunft für jemanden aussieht, der von einem Hai verschlungen und nicht begraben wurde. Siehe den Autor von ‚Geene rozen zonder doornen‘, *Het kerstfeest*, 50–51.

„aus dem Staub“ aufgehen wird, fordert der örtliche Sonntagsschullehrer am offenen Grab eines Jungen die Anwesenden auf, ihre Augen zu erheben „von diesem düsteren Grab nach oben …, zum seligen Vaterhaus!“ Dann fährt er unmittelbar fort: „Dort lebt er. Jesus Christus hat ihn zu sich genommen … Dort lebt er, dort jubelt er … Dort schaut er seinen Retter und Erlöser. Halleluja, preist den Herrn!“[26]

Auch die Vorstellung, dass die Erde erneuert werden wird, ist mit der Deutung des „ewigen Lebens“ verbunden. Als Antwort auf „Namenschristen“, die vielleicht noch bereit sind, an die „Unsterblichkeit der Seele“ zu glauben, betont einer der Autoren die Realität der Auferstehung des Leibes: „In einem neuen und verherrlichten Leib werden die Kinder der Auferstehung auf einer neuen, verherrlichten Erde, im neuen Jerusalem, wandeln“ (Apk 21–22). Eine seiner Figuren bezeugt ihren Glauben, dass sie nach ihrem Tod „noch einmal auf die Welt zurückkehren wird“, wie Jesus selbst.[27] In einer anderen Geschichte erzählt ein Mädchen ihrem Vater anhand eines Bildes in ihrem Bilderbuch, wie ihre verstorbene Mutter das kommende Friedensreich dargestellt hat, in dem „Löwen und Tiger und Bären so zahm sein werden, dass ein Kind sie führen kann“ (Jes 11:6–9).[28]

Alles in allem ist das Bild vom Leben nach dem Tod recht differenziert. Es stellt sich die Frage: Wie genau sollen wir uns die Zukunft vorstellen? Ein Autor seufzt: „Wie sind die Wege des Herrn noch oft geheimnisvoll“ und „Jetzt ist uns noch nicht alles deutlich. Wir wissen noch nicht, was wir sein werden.“ Er fügt hinzu: „Danach werden wir es wissen … Dann werden wir die Freude des Wiederkommens genießen, zuerst von dem Herrn …, und dann von all denen, die mit uns in ihm vereint waren und es dann für immer und ewig sein werden.“[29]

Oben sprachen die orthodox-protestantischen Autoren über das Leben nach dem Tod. Für liberal-protestantische Autoren war das Dogma der leiblichen Auferstehung Jesu von den Toten inakzeptabel. Die Vorstellung, dass der Mensch nach dem Tod in den Himmel geht, fehlt bei ihnen jedoch nicht. Ein Schriftsteller erzählt von Zwillingen, einem Jungen und einem Mädchen. Der Junge stirbt und wird am Tag vor Ostern begraben. Seine untröstliche Schwester steht am Ostermorgen an seinem Grab. Sie sagt: „Robbie, Robbie, da liegst du nun, ganz allein unter dieser kalten Erde, …“ Dann hört sie hinter sich eine „sanfte Stimme“: „Robbie liegt

[26] Johanna, *Een overwonnen vijand*, 15.
[27] Hoogenbirk, *Opstanding en leven*, 11, 13–14, 27–29.
[28] Van Lennep, *Een groene Paschen*, 7.
[29] Barger, *Na dezen*, 29–32.

nicht da.“ Es war die Stimme „des guten, treuen Schulmeisters, der vor der Kirche das Grab seines Lieblings besuchte.“ Der Meister erklärt seine Aussage:

> Robbie ist bei unserem Vater im Himmel; Robbie lebt und ist jetzt glücklicher als damals, als er schwach und krank in seinem Bettchen lag. Dort ist Rob begraben, aber der, der dort begraben liegt, war nicht mehr dein Robert, es war nur sein Leichnam, in dem er gewohnt hat. Als er dort so still und regungslos dalag …, war er bereits bei unserem Herrn. Dort lebt er und bleibt er leben, bis auch wir kommen. Er ist nicht tot, er ist nur vorausgegangen.

Die Erklärung des Lehrers ist die Beschreibung der Bedeutung von Ostern. Das Fest verkündet „die wunderbare Botschaft, die Jesus uns gebracht hat, dass unsere lieben Verstorbenen bei unserem Vater im Himmel leben“, so lässt er uns wissen.[30]

5. Die Gewissheit des Lebens nach dem Tod

Biblische Berichte über die Auferstehung aus den Toten stärken die Gläubigen in ihrer Überzeugung, dass der Tod nicht das Ende der menschlichen Existenz ist. Bei der Beschreibung von Jesu Auferweckung der Tochter des Jaïrus (Mt 9:18–26) denkt eine fromme Pfarrerwitwe, deren Töchterchen gestorben war, unwillkürlich: „So wird der Herr auch mein Kind eines Tages auferwecken und es mir zurückgeben.“[31] Vor allem anhand von Vergleichen, die der Natur entlehnt sind, wird gezeigt, wie real die Erwartung des neuen Lebens nach dem Tod ist.

6. Metaphern zur Illustration des neuen Lebens nach dem Tod

Beliebt ist der Vergleich mit einer leblosen Puppe oder einem Kokon. Ein Gespräch zwischen dem intelligenten Sohn eines Dorfschulmeisters und einigen Jungen auf einem Landgut führt zu der Frage, wie es möglich ist, dass ein Mensch, der seit Hunderten von Jahren im Grab gelegen hat, wieder zum Leben erwacht. Die Antwort lautet, dass Gott als Schöpfer des Menschen in der Lage ist, „aus dem Staub, der von uns … übrig geblieben wird, einen neuen Leib hervorbringen …, und ihn wieder mit der Seele,

[30] J.A.C.J. v. R., *Rob en Mieke*, 18–19. Vorausgesetzt wird, dass der verstorbene Mensch als „Seele“ weiterlebt. Zur Unsterblichkeit des Menschen, die nicht von allen Liberalen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts akzeptiert wurde, siehe Cees Houtman, *De selfmade dominee als auteur. Zesentwintig portretten uit de lange negentiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburgpers, 2022), 104–6.

[31] Siehe auch 1Kön 17:17–24, Mt 27:52–53, Lk 7:11–15, Joh 11.

die nicht stirbt, zu vereinen." Zur Veranschaulichung der Art und Weise, wie der Mensch „mit einem schönen und verherrlichten Leib wieder auferstehen wird," wird auf den Kokon verwiesen, aus dem die Raupe im Frühjahr „durch die pflegenden Strahlen der Sonne" wieder lebt, „wieder erschaffen in einen schönen Schmetterling".[32]

Eine wohlhabende Witwe, die ihren Mann und drei Kinder verloren hatte, aber von Gott selbst „so getröstet" wurde, dass sie „wenn auch durch feuchte Wimpern, mit weniger traurigem Blick himmelwärts nach dem Land schauen konnte, wo es für ewig Freude in Fülle gibt, vor dem Angesicht des Herrn", hatte einen Sohn, dessen Hobby das Sammeln von Schmetterlingen war. Am Ostersonntag schlüpfte ein sehr schönes Exemplar aus seiner Sammlung aus seiner Puppe. Für die Frau und ihren Bruder ist dies Anlass, über den Glanz des auferstandenen Menschen nachzudenken, mit dem Ergebnis, dass „das Ehrenkleid" der Teilnehmer „an der Hochzeit des Lammes" unvergleichlich „herrlich und prächtig sein wird" (Apk 19:7–8). Der Schmetterling wird als „ein herrliches Bild der Auferstehung" bezeichnet. Die Realität der Auferstehung geht jedoch weit über das Bild hinaus: Der Mensch wird „über einen neuen Körper" verfügen, der „zubereitet ist, die himmlische Glückseligkeit zu bewohnen und zu genießen".[33]

Eier werden ebenfalls als „Symbole der Auferstehung" genannt. So wie ein Vogel „auf wundersame Weise" aus dem Ei zum Vorschein kommt, „so stieg Jesus einst aus dem stillen Grab auf … nach oben",[34] argumentiert der erwähnte Sohn des Schulmeisters. Und auf diese Weise, erklärt er, „werden auch unsere Leiber eines Tages in einem herrlicheren Glanz, als sie ihn jetzt besitzen, aus dem Grab auferstehen und auf Vogelflügeln dem Herrn entgegeneilen" (1Thess 4:17). So erinnern die typischen Ostereier seiner Meinung nach auch an den großen Tag, an dem „ihre Gräber wie Eierschalen aufbrechen werden".[35]

Am Grab eines Jungen, der als bekehrter Mensch gestorben war, tröstete der örtliche Sonntagsschullehrer die Anwesenden, indem er sie an die Metamorphose erinnerte, die das Samenkorn in der Erde durchläuft:[36]

[32] Der Autor von ‚Geene rozen zonder doornen', *Het kerstfeest*, 49–50.

[33] Eduard Gerdes, *'s Levens worsteling*, 3, 7, 10. Das Bild von dem Kokon und dem Schmetterling wird in der Erzählung noch weiter entfaltet und ist ein beliebtes Bild, das auch in anderen Ostergeschichten verwendet wird.

[34] Auch andere Schreiber verwenden die Metapher vom Zerbrechen der Eierschale, einerseits zur Beschreibung der Öffnung des Grabes Jesu durch Gott und andererseits für die Auferstehung Jesu.

[35] Der Verfasser von ‚Geene rozen zonder doornen', *Het kerstfeest*, 48–49. Der Ursprung der Symbolik liegt in vorchristlichen Frühjahrsfesten.

[36] Cf. 1Kor 15:35–38.

> So wie das Samenkorn der dunklen Erde anvertraut wird und nach einiger Zeit in Glanz und Farbenpracht aus ihr hervortritt, so wird sich auch diese materielle Hülle eines Tages in noch nie dagewesener, makelloser Pracht aus dem Staub auferstehen.[37]

7. Die erwachende Natur als Illustration für das neue Leben nach dem Tod

In einem Vortrag über die Ostergeschichte weist eine Dame ihre jungen Zuhörer darauf hin, wie „in der schönen Frühlingszeit" die Natur das bestätigt, „was Jesus Christus über die Auferstehung und ein neues Leben gesagt hat" und wie „jede Ähre, jede Blume, jeder Grashalm" uns gleichsam zuruft: „Ich bin auferstanden; so sollst auch du, o Mensch, wenn du zur Ruhe hinabgestiegen bist, auferstehen".[38] Auch in anderen Erzählungen wird die Natur als Zeuge für das Leben nach dem Tod angeführt. Eine Geschichte beginnt so:

> Es war Frühlingsanfang. Draußen stand alles in erster Blüte … Die Sonne schien so herrlich und erfrischend und erfreute die Herzen der Menschen. Es war, als wolle sie durch die Auferstehung der Natur den großen Sieg verkündigen, wenn alle, die dort im dunklen Schoß der Erde schlafen, nämlich die, die Gott lieben, zu einem neuen und herrlichen Leben auferweckt werden, das niemals enden wird.[39]

Ein Arzt, der wegen des Todes seiner Frau durch Trauer bedrückt war, besucht zu Ostern den Friedhof. Die Atmosphäre dort wird wie folgt beschrieben:

> Die Sonne schien so schön, die Drosseln sangen, Veilchen und Gänseblümchen steckten ihre Köpfe aus dem frischen grünen Gras empor, die Sträucher waren grün … Alles sprach vom Leben, vom Sieg über den Tod.

Die Natur wiederholt die Predigt über 1Kor 15, die der Witwer am Morgen in der Kirche hörte. Der Prediger und die Natur versicherten dem Arzt, dass auch für seine Frau „der Tod in den Sieg verschlungen wurde."[40]

Eine junge Frau, ein bekennendes Kirchenmitglied, sagt bei einem Spaziergang durch die Landschaft am Tag nach Ostern im Gespräch mit einem jüngeren Bruder und einer Schwester:

[37] Johanna, *Een overwonnen vijand*, 15.
[38] Schmid, *De kerstavond*, 89–90.
[39] Keller, *Kleine Esther*, 3–4.
[40] Van Lennep, *Een groene Paschen*, 29–30.

> Ich finde es immer so herrlich, dass Ostern gerade in den Frühling fällt. Weil unsere Augen dann sehen, wie alles in der Natur aufsteht und in seiner herrlichsten Schönheit wieder auflebt, können wir viel leichter, an unsere eigene Auferstehung aus dem Tod und an das neue, verherrlichte Leben, das uns im Himmel erwartet, glauben lernen.[41]

In fast jeder Geschichte wird „das Fest der Auferstehung Christi" von einer Beschreibung der „Wiederbelebung der Natur" begleitet. Ostern, so könnte man sagen, wird zu einer Jahreszeit gefeiert, die hervorragend zum Inhalt des Festes passt. „Das Fest der Wiederbelebung und der Wiederauferstehung spricht uns stärker an, wenn es in eine Zeit fällt, in der sich die Wiederbelebung der Natur überall offenbart," so einer der Erzähler.[42] Die Natur richtet sich gewissermaßen nach dem Kirchenjahr aus. Bezeichnend ist, wie in einer Erzählung der Ostersonntag mit dem Karfreitag, dem Todestag Jesu, kontrastiert wird: Der Frühling hatte bereits begonnen, aber die Sonne schien nicht und „enthielt dem verjüngten Leben seinen ganzen Glanz vor." Außerdem war es „kalt und trostlos" und „Blätter und Blumen verschlossen sich" vor dem „eisigen Atem" des Windes. Am Ostermorgen hingegen war die Sonne „herrlich" über der Erde aufgegangen. „Alles war eine einzige Glut, ein Strahlen, ein Leben. Die Vögel sangen laut …"[43]

8. Eine Frage des Glaubens und des Vertrauens

Aber wie überzeugend sind die Hinweise auf die Natur und andere Beweise? Ein Prediger räumt ein, dass es über die Auferstehung keine „wissenschaftliche Gewissheit" gibt und dass sie letztlich eine Frage des Vertrauens ist.[44] Ein Vater erklärt seinen Kindern, dass die Auferstehung Jesu etwas ganz anderes sei als die Auferweckung des Sohnes der Witwe von Sarepta (1Kön 17:17–24) oder der Tochter des Jaïrus und des Jünglings von Naïn (Lk 7:11–15). Diese drei jungen Menschen wurden „auferweckt, um Gottes Macht zu offenbaren", sind dann aber wieder gestorben. Die „Auferstehung des Herrn ist geschehen, um die Sünder zu rechtfertigen". Außerdem bleibt Jesus auch nach seiner Auferstehung am Leben.[45] Die Parallele zur Natur geht nicht auf, denn das neue Leben ist in den Kreislauf von Wachsen, Blühen und Vergehen eingebunden, während das

[41] Johanna, *Een overwonnen vijand*, 8.
[42] Hoogenbirk, *Opstanding en leven*, 30–31.
[43] Elise Gerdes, *Droevig, nochtans blijde*, 3, 7.
[44] Van Lennep, *Een groene Paschen*, 29–30.
[45] Van der Maas, *Het paaschfeest*, 5–6.

neue Leben des christlichen Glaubens einen linearen Charakter hat, das „ewige Leben“. Eine der Figuren in den Erzählungen, ein Arzt, ist sich dieses Unterschieds bewusst. Am Ostermontag führt er aus:

> So sehr ich mich über das Gegenwärtige [das erneuerte Leben in der Natur] freue, so sehr betrübt es mich zu wissen, dass alles, was uns jetzt umgibt, dem Tod geweiht ist. Auch wenn sich das Erdreich jedes Jahr erneuert …, dass alles doch einmal vergeht und stirbt … Aber – und dies ist ein so wunderbarer Gedanke, ja, eine Tatsache – dass der aus Gott geborene Mensch, der durch den Glauben das ewige Leben besitzt, nicht stirbt, nicht verschwindet, sondern durch das Grab hindurch in ein neues Leben übergeht; mit anderen Worten, dass er, der dieses ewige Leben jetzt nur im Glauben besitzt, es eines Tages in Wirklichkeit haben und schauen wird.

In Bezug auf die neue Existenz des auferstandenen Menschen stellt der Arzt auch fest, dass „die neue Kreatur“ „unsterblich und unvergänglich“ ist und das Bild „unseres zweiten Adams [Jesus Christus], ohne Sünde, ohne Verderben“ trägt und „in Herrlichkeit mit dem gesehen werden wird, an den wir geglaubt haben.“[46]

9. Unbekehrt und für ewig verloren

Der Glaube an das neue Leben nach dem Tod ist eine Frage des Glaubens und des Vertrauens. Was aber geschieht mit denen, die den Glauben an Jesus Christus nicht aufbringen können? Die Frage ist in den Erzählungen nicht von besonderem Interesse, wird aber hin und wieder gestreift. Ein selbstsüchtiger Bauer, dem seine kleine Tochter das Gleichnis Jesu vom reichen Kornbauern (Lk 12:16–21) vorliest, ist so erschüttert, dass er eilig das Zimmer verlässt. Der Mann verbrennt bei lebendigem Leib, als sein Hof in Flammen aufgeht.[47] Ein ungläubiger Schiffbrüchiger ist wegen des Todes seiner Tochter „untröstlich“. Das entlockt dem Erzähler die Bemerkung: So geht es „jedem Menschen, der nicht in Jesu Blut Frieden gefunden hat.“[48] Das Leben nach dem Tod der erwähnten unglücklichen Menschen wird nicht erwähnt. An Meinungen über das Schicksal der Unbekehrten mangelt es jedoch nicht. Die Ausleger in den Erzählungen verwenden Vergleiche, um deutlich zu machen, dass diejenigen, die nicht „im Herrn“ entschlafen sind, nicht an der Auferstehung teilhaben.

[46] Eduard Gerdes, *’s Levens worsteling*, 29–31.
[47] Betsy, *Wouter Mastberg*, 43–45, 54.
[48] G.E.R., *Grootvaders reis*, 14.

Es wird ihnen ergehen wie dem Ei, das sich als unfruchtbar erweist und von der Henne aus dem Nest geworfen wird.[49] Der Besitz des Glaubens ist eine Voraussetzung für die Auferstehung. So wie ein Schmetterling kein neues Leben erlangen konnte, „wenn das Leben nicht in seiner früheren Hülle gewesen wäre", so „werden nur diejenigen an der Auferstehung mit dem verherrlichten Leib teilhaben, die das Leben aus Gott durch den Glauben besitzen" (Joh 3:15).[50] Auf poetische Weise wird diese Ansicht wie folgt ausgedrückt:

> Aber die nicht glauben,
> Was unbegreiflich schien,
> Die kommen nie nach oben,
> Geh'n nicht zu JESUS hin.[51]

Die Vorstellung, dass die Ungläubigen für immer tot sind, ist unter den Gestalten in den Erzählungen nicht verbreitet. Ein alter Mann, der sich in jüngeren Jahren nicht darum kümmerte, wie er bei seinem Sterben vor Gott erscheinen solle, erzählt, wie er zu der Erkenntnis kam, dass sein Herz „so unrein" war, dass „nichts Gutes" aus ihm herauskommen konnte und er sich selbst nicht „selig" machen konnte. Er kam zu der Überzeugung, dass Jesus „für die Sünden gestorben und aus dem Grab auferstanden ist, um alle, die in Wahrheit zu ihm kommen, von Sünde und Tod zu erlösen und ihnen das ewige Leben im Himmel zu geben." Als bekehrter Mann erzählt er einem jungen Freund, dass es Menschen gibt, „die glauben, sie seien nur geschaffen, um bequem zu leben, gut zu essen und zu trinken und schöne Kleider zu tragen." Mit dieser Art von Menschen geht die Sache schlecht aus, so lässt er wissen. Einmal werden sie „sterben, aber dann wieder auferstehen, um vor dem lebendigen Jesus zu erscheinen".[52] Aus dem Mund Jesu werden sie dann hören: „Geh weg von mir, denn ich habe dich nie gekannt!" (Mt 25:12, 41).[53] Solche Worte muss ein auf ewig verlorener „Sohn der Finsternis" nach seinem Tod gehört haben, denn er hatte die Warnung seiner Mutter in den Wind geschlagen, dass er „für ewig in der Hölle gepeinigt" werden würde, wenn er sich nicht bekehrte.[54] Einer seiner Gleichgesinnten, ein Seemann, über den „in der Hölle Freude geherrscht haben wird" und der, „um es mit einem Wort zu sagen, niemandem nachstand,

[49] Elise Gerdes, *Droevig, nochtans blijde*, 13–15.
[50] Eduard Gerdes,*'s Levens worsteling*, 10–11.
[51] Van Hoogeveen Sterck, *Een paaschboekje*, 30.
[52] Mt 16:27, 24:30, 25:31, 26:64, Apg 1:11, 2 Thess 1:10.
[53] Van Andel, *Jezus leeft*, 7–8.
[54] Baale, *De zoon der duisternis*, 25.

wenn es darum ging, Gottlosigkeit zu begehen oder den dreimal heiligen Namen des Herrn zu missbrauchen“ (Jes 6:3), gelang es, diesem Schicksal zu entgehen, indem er sich bekehrte.[55] Die traurige Zukunft des nicht bekehrten Menschen ist für den Erzähler der oben erwähnten Geschichte Anlass zu einer ernsten Warnung: „Wer nicht glaubt, ist schon gerichtet, weil er nicht an den Namen des eingeborenen Sohnes Gottes geglaubt hat“ (Joh 3:18).[56]

10. Zum Schluss

Heute ist das Sonntagsschulheft eine fast vergessene Gattung der niederländischen protestantischen Kinderliteratur. Obwohl sie missachtet wird – sie gehört nicht zur höheren Literatur –, kann sie doch aufgrund ihrer Verdienste als eine überraschend bunte Form der Massenliteratur bezeichnet werden.[57] Wie dem auch sei, die Sonntagsschulhefte über Ostern vermitteln ein klares Bild von den Ansichten, die unter den niederländischen Protestanten in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts über das Leben nach dem Tod herrschten.

[55] Los, *Een verrassende paaschmorgen*, 13.
[56] Los, *Een verrassende paaschmorgen*, 5.
[57] Houtman, *Kerst*, Kapitel 5.

Betsy (Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer), Laura. Een paaschverhaal*, dritte Auflage (Nijkerk: Callenbach, o.J. [1905]). Aus der Privatsammlung von Cornelis Houtman*

Pieter Los Gz. („Door de redactie van De Vriend van Oud en Jong"), Een verrassende paaschmorgen *(Leiden: R. Fuik, o.J. [etwa 1880]). Aus der Privatsammlung von Cornelis Houtman*

Appendix

Autor	Strömung	Titel	Ausgabe	Spezifikationen
Jan van Andel Jz. (1856–1922)	orthodox-protestantischer Schulmeister	*Jezus leeft. Eene Paaschvertelling voor kinderen*	fünfte Auflage: A.H. van Andel Jz., o.J	1884; 19 cm; 20 S.; Ill.[58]
Pieter Johannes Baale (1830–1901)	ultraorthodox-protestantischer Schriftsteller, später Vater eines Waisenhaus und eines Altersheims	*De zoon der duisternis. Paasgeschenk voor de jeugd*; neusprachliche Fassung von *De zoon der duisternis. Paaschgeschenk voor de jeugd*	Urk: De Vuurtoren, 1978; Leiden: R. Fuik, 1882	19 cm; 48 S.
Everwijn Barger (1846–1917)	orthodox-protestantischer Pfarrer	*Na dezen. Paaschboekje*[59]	Amsterdam: D.B. Centen, o.J.	etwa 1900; 16 cm; 32 S.
Betsy, Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer (1848–1918)	orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Het bloemen-meisje. Een paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk, vierte, aufs neue bearbeitete Auflage: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1926; 21 cm; 40 S.; Ill.: O. Geerling[60]
Betsy, Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer (1848–1918)	orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Laura. Een paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk, dritte Auflage: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1905; 19 cm; 40 S.; Ill.[61]
Betsy, Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer (1848–1918)	orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Wouter Mastberg of een dubbel geboortefeest. Een paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk, zweite Auflage: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1896; 19 cm; 56 S.; Ill.
Betsy, Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer (1848–1918)	orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Leven uit den dood. Een paaschverhaal*	Amsterdam: D.B. Centen, o.J.[62]	etwa 1908; 16 cm; 32 S.

[58] Bedeutet: mit einem oder mehreren Bildern.
[59] Ausgabe der Nederlandsch Godsdienstig Traktaatgenootschap.
[60] Erste Auflage, 1887.
[61] Erste Auflage, 1896.
[62] Ausgabe der Nederlandsch Godsdienstig Traktaatgenootschap.

Autor	Strömung	Titel	Ausgabe	Spezifikationen
Betsy, Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer (1848–1918)	orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Het ware leven. Een paasch-verhaal*	Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1902; 19 cm; 24 S.; Ill.
Betsy, Pseudonym von Elisabeth de Heer (1848–1918)	orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*De Heer is waarlijk opgestaan. De paaschge-schiedenis en de verschijningen des Heeren verteld*	Nijkerk, dritte Auflage: G.F. Callenbach, 1906	19 cm; 16 S.; Ill.
Cornelis, Pseudonym von Cornelis Spoelstra (1860–1918)	Schriftsteller, später orthodox-protestantischer Pfarrer	*Jan Staupler. Paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1878; 20 cm; 24 S.
Eduard Gerdes (1821–1898)	Lehrer, später orthodox-protestantischer Autor	*'s Levens worsteling. Een paaschverhaal voor jongelieden*	Amsterdam: Höveker & Zoon, o.J.	1887 20 cm; 32 S.; Ill.]
Elise Gerdes (1850–1929), Tochter von Eduard Gerdes	orthodox-protestantische Autorin und Übersetzerin	*Droevig, nochtans blijde. Een paaschverhaal*	Amsterdam: B.H. Blankenberg Jr., o.J.	etwa 1880; 18 cm; 15 S.
G.E.R. Identität unbekannt	Initialen eines orthodox-protestantischen Autors	*Grootvaders reis. Een paasch-verhaal*	Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1884; 20 cm; 16 S.; Ill.
Adolf Jacob Hoogenbirk (1848–1920)	Lehrer, später orthodox-protestantischer Autor	*Opstanding en leven. Een Paaschboekske*	Amsterdam: D.B. Centen, o.J.[63]	1914; 16 cm; 32 S.; Ill.
Lodewijk van Hoogeveen Sterck, Pseudonym von Leonhard Sterck (1815–1854)	protestantischer Autor	*Een paaschboekje voor de lieve kleinen*	Amsterdam, dritte völlig über-arbeitete Auflage: J.H. & G. van Heteren, 1854	13 cm; 32 S.

[63] Ausgabe der Nederlandsch Godsdienstig Traktaatgenootschap.

Autor	Strömung	Titel	Ausgabe	Spezifikationen
Johanna, Pseudonym von Johanna Cornelia van Staveren (1859–1929)	Gattin eines Pfarrers, orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Vrees niet! Een paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk, zweite Auflage: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.[64]	1898; 24 cm; 24 S.; Ill.
Johanna, Pseudonym von Johanna Cornelia van Staveren (1859–1929)	Gattin eines Pfarrers, orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Een overwonnen vijand. Een Paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1900; 19 cm; 24 S.; Ill.
Johanna, Pseudonym von Johanna Cornelia van Staveren (1859–1929)	Gattin eines Pfarrers, orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Hoe Trineke's gebed verhoord werd. Een paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1924; 20 cm; 32 S.; Ill.: O. Geerling
Ida Keller (1869–1951)	Lehrerin, orthodox-protestantische Autorin	*Kleine Esther. Een paaschverhaal*	Nijkerk, dritte Auflage: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1927; 21 cm; 24 S.; Ill.: O. Geerling
Philippus Johannes Kloppers (1848–1912)	orthodox-protestantischer Lehrer	*Honderd schreden verder. Een paaschverhaal voor onze jeugd*	Harderwijk: H.A. Berends, o.J.	1879; 20 cm; 16 S.; Ill.
Maximiliaan Frederik van Lennep (1859–1940)	orthodox-protestantischer Pfarrer	*Een groene Paschen*	Amsterdam: D.B. Centen, o.J.[65]	etwa 1900; 16 cm; 32 S.
Pieter Los Gz. (1815–1888)	Buchhändler, später ultraorthodox-protestantischer Pfarrer[66]	*Een verrassende paaschmorgen*	Leiden: R. Fuik, o.J.	etwa 1880; 21 cm; 32 S.; Ill.
Johannes Petrus van der Maas Jr. (1825–1891)	orthodox-protestantischer Schulmeister, später Pfarrer	*Het paaschfeest in den huiselijken kring herdacht*	Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, o.J.	1884; 19 cm; 15 S.; Ill.

[64] Erste Auflage 1892.
[65] Ausgabe der Nederlandsch Godsdienstig Traktaatgenootschap.
[66] Pfarrer einer freien Gemeinde, der sich verbirgt hinter der Bezeichnung: ‚De redactie van *De Vriend van Oud en Jong*'.

Autor	Strömung	Titel	Ausgabe	Spezifikationen
J.A.C.J. v. R. Identität unbekannt	Initialen einer liberal-protestantischen Autorin	*Rob en Mieke. Eene Paasch-vertelling*	Amsterdam: Tj. Van Holkema, o.J.	1887; 14 cm; 19 S.; Ill.: Wilm. Steelink
Johann Christoph von Schmid (1756–1854)	deutscher, aufgeklärter, römisch-katholischer Pädagoge und Theologe[67]	*De kerstavond en de paasch-eieren*	Leiden [neue Ausgabe]: A.W. Sijthoff, o.J.[68]	1892; 20 cm; 115 S.; Ill.
Der Schreiber von ‚Geene rozen zonder doornen'[69]	protestantischer Autor	*Het kerstfeest, de blijde paaschdag en de pinkstermorgen. Drietal verhalen*	Amsterdam: G.W. Tielmeijer, o.J.	1853; 21 cm; 100 S.; Ill.

[67] Sehr beliebt bei den niederländischen Protestanten.
[68] Erste Auflage: *De paasch-eijeren*, 1824.
[69] Identität unbekannt.

EPILOGUE

A SERMON ON 1 COR 15:1–11 (PTHU-GRONINGEN, 27 MARCH 2013)

Riemer Roukema

In the passage we heard Paul explains that his message about Christ was not his own invention. The Gospel he proclaimed to the Corinthians was not just based on his own mystical experience, his encounter with the risen Christ and the vocation that turned his life upside down. Paul writes that he had *received* the things he preached, and that his message corresponded with the preaching of those who were apostles before him. Paul quotes a summary of the faith of the first Christians: "that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, and that he was buried and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve." Subsequently he adds the testimonies of other people to whom the risen Christ appeared: five hundred people, of whom nothing else is known to us; James, who was Jesus' brother; then all the apostles, which implies that there were more apostles than the twelve – or eleven, if we exclude Judas. Paul does not make mention of women such as Mary Magdalene. Later on she was considered as "apostle of the apostles," because she had proclaimed Christ's resurrection to the male apostles – but unfortunately Paul omits her testimony.

At that time the message of a Saviour who had been crucified recently was ridiculous. In the beginning of this epistle Paul admits that the message about the cross is foolishness to those who do not believe it. By now, we are accustomed to what used to be a stumbling-block to Jews and Gentiles. To be sure, Jesus' crucifixion can still be considered a most tragic event, but as we know that after all his death could not stop his message about God and his Kingdom since it has been proclaimed throughout the world and during twenty centuries, its foolishness is less stinging; for this message appeared to hold a mysterious power that transforms human lives. Christians understood Christ's death as the means of reconciliation which had been announced by Moses and the prophets, and therefore this early creed adds that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures.

Much might be said about this, and it would be appropriate as well to dwell on Jesus' crucifixion, since in two days we will commemorate his

death. But I prefer to anticipate Easter and to deal with his resurrection. That he was buried is a matter of fact, just as his crucifixion, but that he was raised on the third day is considered impossible in the present-day Western European culture. It is a true stumbling-block. Some scholars stress that Paul does not mention the so-called "empty grave" that is narrated in the Gospels. Young men or angels explain there that Jesus' dead body has been raised, but others said that it had been stolen (Matt 28:13–15). These scholars hold that for Paul however Jesus' resurrection was a spiritual event, so that his dead body remained on earth, whereas spiritually he had been raised to heaven, where he was exalted to "the right hand of God." To a certain extent, this interpretation is more acceptable to modern people, since in this view Jesus' body remained a corpse, as we can expect. Yet for modern people it is still difficult to imagine that Jesus was exalted to God's right hand. Often this is considered as a sort of poetry, faithful imagination of Jesus' vindication after all.

But I do not believe that the scholars who stress the absence of the "empty grave" in Paul's argument are right. We read that Christ died, was buried and was raised on the third day. This testimony to his resurrection implies that something happened to his body. And in my view it is clear enough what, according to Paul, had happened to Jesus' dead body. In his subsequent exposition he argues that in the eschatological resurrection the bodies of the faithful will be transformed. They will put on immortality and imperishability. Bodies of flesh and blood will not enter God's Kingdom, but they will share in it being transformed to spiritual bodies. And since Paul argues that Christ's resurrection is the beginning of the eschatological resurrection, he obviously believed that in the same way Christ's corpse had already undergone this transformation to a spiritual body. In his view and experience, it is in this spiritual body that Christ had appeared to his disciples. This implies that, if Christ's body had been transformed to a spiritual body, the grave was empty. Of course, Paul believed that this was God's work. God had brought about the transformation and resurrection of his beloved Son.

I am convinced that this was Paul's view – and I am not the only New Testament scholar who thinks so – and it corresponds with the impression we get from the resurrection stories in the Gospels. The question is, however, whether we can believe this and whether it is important to believe it. Of course, modern, rational people cannot believe this. In Africa and Asia it seems less difficult to believe that a dead man was raised, but this does not change the mind of critical Europeans. Even many Christians take the message of Christ's resurrection as something metaphorical. They are convinced that the real miracle of Jesus' resurrection is that his message

survived and that his disciples had the courage to transmit his Gospel of God's Kingdom of forgiveness and trust and goodness. The miracle was that after the disaster of the crucifixion of their Master they overcame their consternation and despair.

I know at least two professors in theology who admitted in private that in their view Jesus' disciples had removed his corpse from the grave, so that his resurrection could be proclaimed. Two months ago, I was involved in a post-academic course on the resurrection in which we studied all of 1 Cor 15, and in the end I addressed the question of the resurrection of Jesus' body. It appeared that a good deal of the ministers who participated in the course were annoyed or even shocked by this question. To them, it was so obvious that the message of Jesus' resurrection originated from "faithful imagination," "faithful fantasy." They argued that there are so many stories in the Bible that we do not take literally; for example, the accounts of creation and paradise, of Israel's exodus, of the sun that stood still at Gibeon, and so on.

This seems to make sense, but I admit that to me a metaphorical, demythologized understanding of Jesus' resurrection would cause a problem of intellectual, theological honesty and sincerity. The two professors did not publish their view that Jesus' body had been removed from the grave so that his disciples could pretend that he had risen. They said so privately and confidentially. And the ministers who had a similar view would not say so in their Easter sermons; in some way they would preach the resurrection.

But as I said, I would find it problematic intellectually and theologically if I had an Easter message that I should preach, which deviates fundamentally from what I would say privately, confidentially; if basically, speaking frankly, I did not believe what I preach; if I passed over in silence my real opinion.

Let it be clear that the message of Jesus' resurrection is not about the reanimation of his corpse. Nowhere we read that the blood began to circulate again, that the muscles regained their vigour, and so on. What happened exactly on Easter morning is not described in the earliest documents since no one was present at that moment, but the result was – according to these documents – that the grave was empty and that Jesus appeared to his female and male disciples. This is miraculous and mysterious, and I propose that we leave it a mystery. As for Jesus' resurrection, I propose a sort of apophatic theology, as it has been formulated with regard to God: ultimately, we do not know God, although we may believe that he spoke to people and manifested himself in manifold ways. Ultimately, we do not grasp Jesus' resurrection, but in my view the solution to this problem should not be, to differentiate between a private opinion according to which Jesus'

body has been removed from the grave and has decayed elsewhere, and the public proclamation that he has risen. When the Greek Church proclaims: Χριστὸς ἀνέστη – "Christ has risen; he has risen indeed," this is meant seriously and not just as a play. Last year I celebrated Easter in Russia, and I was taught to answer the exclamation Христос воскрес by saying воістину воскрес: he has truly risen!

You may wonder: what is the relevance of this meditation on Jesus' resurrection? I would not be surprised if part of you agreed with the ministers I met two months ago, who were irritated by the issue of the resurrection of Jesus' body, as if we were still talking about the question whether the serpent in paradise has spoken. But the difference is that I would not hesitate to explain publicly the genre of the story of paradise, which is a sort of didactic myth about God and humanity; whereas the genre of this early creed is very different, since it pretends that the witnesses to Christ's resurrection and appearances are reliable. In case we would think that Jesus' resurrection is to be understood metaphorically since most probably his disciples actually removed his body from the grave, we would seriously deviate from the apostles' understanding of Easter, which – after all – is the foundation of the Church. In that case, the rumour included in the Gospel of Matthew, that Jesus' disciples stole his body, would be true, and the testimony to his resurrection would be fraud. If that were my real assumption, I could not consider myself a "catholic" Christian who lives in communion with the Church of the apostles and of all ages, but I would represent something new.

Of course, we can say that what really matters is, how the message of the resurrection transforms our lives and, hopefully, the world. How do we experience resurrection in the present world? Does its message relieve the poor, does it give hope to those who are destitute and brutalized? Where do we see God's Kingdom already, and how can we contribute to it? This is most important indeed, but this perspective was transmitted to us by people who sincerely believed that Christ had been risen. I conclude therefore that something extraordinary must have happened, something that could not be refuted by the suspicious people of those days, by showing, for example, where Jesus' dead body had been hidden. My wish is that the Church remain in sincere communion with these first witnesses and derive its inspiration from this message – foolish though it may be.

I think that in order to celebrate Good Friday and Easter, we need the humility that Augustine had to learn in order to become a Christian. For Christians it is not inappropriate to humble ourselves before God, so that – with Paul – we may know the power of Christ's resurrection.

INDEX OF ANCIENT SOURCES

Hebrew Bible

Genesis

1–3 164, 166
1–2 166, 169, 173, 176
1 165
1:7b 49
1:20–21 349
1:20–25 166
1:26 201–2, 264, 278
1:27 269
2–3 38
2:7 166, 167, 201, 266
2:24 97
2:35 263
3:7 338
3:17–19 258
12:4 36
15:15 34
25:8 34
26:8 22, 23
35:29 34
49:18 382

Exodus

15:7 45, 46
15:17 38, 46
20:12 21–23
23:6 217
33:17–23 97
33:18–24 67
34:28 67

Leviticus

19:18 239

Numbers

16:30 36
16:32 36
18:20 19
19 77
26:10 36

Deuteronomy

4:1 24
4:4 53, 54
4:26 23, 24
4:40 23, 24
5:16 21, 22
5:33 24, 32
6:2 22
6:5 199, 239
6:24 32
8:1 24
9:5 370
11:9 23
11:21 53, 54
16:20 24
17:20 23
22:7 23, 24
25:15 22
26:5 36
30:15 32
30:16 24, 32
30:18 23
30:19–20 32
30:20 23
31:16 53, 54
32 43, 45
32:22–25 43
32:22 43
32:23–24 43
32:23 43, 44
32:24 44, 45
32:25 43
32:47 23

Joshua

24:31 23

Judges

2:7 23
8:32 34

1 Kings
3:14 23, 32
16:30–33 69
17 67, 69
17:1 58, 69–70
17:17–24 50, 386, 389
17:17–18 68
17:20 58
17:21–22 71
18:1 70
18:1b 58
19:11–13 67

2 Kings
2 68
2:1–11 71
2:11 72
4:31–37 50
13:20–21 50

1 Chronicles
29:28 34

Esther
8:16 59

Job
3:11 259
12:12 23
13:18 217
14:12–14 8
18:13 39
19:7 217
19:25 375
31:13 217
32:9 217
38:14 79
42:17 34

Psalms
6:6 33
8:7 49, 164–65
15:8–11 374
16 19, 20
21 32
21:5 23
22:22 122–23
23:7 23
27:4 260
30:10 33
37:11 217
41[40]:2 376
41[40]:6 379
41[40]:11 379
46[45]:2 376
49 4, 12, 19
55[54]:6 378
67:31 120
73 4, 12, 19
73:19 120
78:49 45
88:11–13 33, 51
90 218
90:4 218, 331
91 45
91:5 44, 46
91[90]:6 37, 44, 371
91:16 23, 32
93:5 23
94:11 198
101:1 294
103[102]:15 363
110:1 49, 164
115[114]:8 377
115:17 33, 51
119[118]:94 378
119[118]:103 377
148:5 263

Proverbs
1:12 36
3:2 23
6:23a 59
28:16 23

Ecclesiastes
2:16 51
3:19 51
4:3 258
9:5–10 8
8:13 23
11:8 51

Song of Songs
7:10 53
7:10b 53

Isaiah
1:1 138
5:14 36, 39
6:3 392
11:6–9 385
14:4 41
14:9–21 38
14:12 41
22 55
22:13 49, 50, 53, 55, 105
24 217
24:21–25:12 138–39, 144
24:21–23 138–39
24:21–22 218
25:1–5 138–39
25:1 139–40
25:6–9 138
25:6 138–39, 141
25:7, 139 143
25:8 36, 49, 135, 138–41, 143, 145
25:9–12 138
25:9 9, 138–39, 141
25:10–12 141
25:10 139–40
25:12 141
26:9 61
26:13–27:11 44
26:19 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 71, 222–23
27:1 46
28:2 44
38:18–19 33
43:10 79
44–47 14
49:24–25 377
53 12
53:10 23
60:18–24 155
65 34
65:5 78
65:17–25 219
66 14, 155

Jeremiah
49:16 121

Lamentations
5:20 23

Ezekiel
3:18 222
12:22 22
37 15, 54, 98, 267, 375
37–48 221
37:1–14 57, 266
37:1–10 53
37:1–4 269
37:4 223
37:5 222–23
37:10 222–23, 266
37:11 374
38:2 222–23
38:18 222–23
38:23 222
39:4 222
39:6 222–23
39:12 221
39:14 221
39:16 221
39:21 222
39:27 222
44:10–14 222
45:17 222
45:20 222

Daniel
6 123, 132
6:21 130
7 164–65, 221
7:9 221
7:13 235
7:22 221
7:26–27 221
12 9, 12, 13, 221
12:1–3 51, 221, 265
12:2–3 161
12:2 9, 57, 60, 61, 216
12:13 62

Hosea
6 9
6:1 60
6:2–3 58
6:2 47, 49, 50, 55, 59, 61

6:4–6 9
13–14 9, 44
13:14 35, 36, 37, 39, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 142–43, 369–75, 377, 379
13:15 42, 44

Amos
7:4 370

Micah
7:9 370
7:14 75

Habakuk
3:5 37

Malachi
3 66
3:1–2 66
3:1 66–68
3:23–24 66–67, 73–74
3:23 75–76
3:24 75

New Testament

Matthew
4:1–11 67
5:4 377
5:5 217
6:1–18 239
6:5–18 239
7:5 240
7:12 239
9:18–26 386
9:18–19 51
9:23–25 51
10:2 88
11:14 66
16:13–14 66
16:27 391
17 332
17:1–8 67, 72
17:10–13 66
17:10–12 67
17:13 67
19:28 217
20:20–28 88
22:34–40 237
24:30 391
25:12 391
25:31 391
25:41 391
26:64 391
27 376
27:50–53 67
27:51–53 377
27:52–53 386
27:55–56 84
27:61 84
28 85
28:1–10 84
28:7 98
28:13–15 402
28:18 311

Mark
1:2–4 66
1:2 66
1:12–13 67
6:14–16 66
5:22–24 51
5:35–42 51
6:14–16 67
8:27–28 66
9:2–8 66, 72
9:13 66
10:31 217
11:25 241
12:18 214
15:40 84
16 85
16:1–8 84
16:7 95

Luke
4:1–13 67
4:25–27 66, 67
6:30 239
7:11–17 67

7:11–15 386, 389
8:1–3 84
8:40–56 67
8:41–42 51
8:49–55 51
9:7–8 66
9:18–19 66
9:28–36 67, 72
9:46 88
10:18 38
12:16–21 390
18:27 263
21:18 300
23:49 84
23:55–56 84
24 85
24:1–11 84

John
3 343, 346, 349
3:1–8 343
3:15 391
3:18 392
5:25 293
5:27–29 294
5:28–29 217
5:29 214, 334
11 67, 386
11:25 384
11:28–44 51
14:2 383
14:6 374
20 47
20:1–18 84
20:4 88
20:8 88
20:19–20 332

Acts
1:9–11 314
1:11 391
1:22 214
3:21 331
6:7 225
9:36–43 67
10:34 252
13:30–31 84
18:14 49
19:11–20 108
19:11–16 120
19:17–20 120
19:23–41 108, 120
19:31 132
20:7–12 67
21:18 228
23:6 214
23:8 329
24:15 214, 217

Romans
1:2 199
1:4 83, 214
1:17 199
2:1–16 172
2:24 199
3:4 199
3:10 199
3:29–30 373
4:17 199
4:24 83
4:25 83, 294, 330
5:18 258
5:20 376
6 343, 348–49
6:3–5 341
6:4–5 351
6:4 83, 328
6:5 83
6:9 83, 321–23
7:9 36
7:13 36
7:23 264, 376
8:11 375
8:17 206
8:22 170
8:23 333
8:29 330
8:34 82
8:36 199
9:13 199
9:33 199
10:9 83
10:15 199
11:8 199
11:13 91
11:26 199
12:19 198

12:21 124
14:11 198
15:3 199
15:4 199
15:9 199
15:21 199
16 91, 102
16:1–16 89
16:26 199

1 Corinthians
1:1 142
1:2 149
1:10–15:58 150
1:10–4:21 152
1:10–12 196
1:10 150
1:11–4:20 154
1:11 196, 205
1:12 150
1:18–25 198
1:18 196
1:19 198
1:20 199
1:21 196
1:23 196
1:26 196
1:31 199
2:5 199
2:6 196–97
2:7 197, 203
2:8 197
2:9–10 67
2:9 199, 364
2:13 199
2:14–15 197, 333
3:1 198
3:3–4 198
3:18 198
3:19 198
3:20 198
4:1 198
4:5 236, 243
4:6 198–99, 211
4:9–13 108, 129–31
4:9 115, 130
4:14 154
4:17 107, 154
4:18–19 198
5–6 152
5:2 198
5:5 236, 243
5:9 195–96, 199
6:2 217
6:12–20 199
6:12 199
6:13–14 200
6:14 83
7–16 196
7–15 152
7:1 153, 196
7:21–40 92
7:22 133
7:25 153, 196
8:1–4 199
8:1 153, 196, 198–99, 205
8:2 199
8:3 199
8:6 203
8:7–13 199
9 150
9:1 91
9:9 198
9:24–27 119
10:1–13 150
10:1 154
10:7 198
10:14 154
10:23–11:1 199
11:1–16 99
11:2–16 99, 102
11:5 91
11:18 150
11:26 236, 243
11:27–33 241
12–14 154
12:1 153, 196
12:1–6 91
12:12–27 99
13 147, 151
13:1–3 199
13:2 199
13:4 198
13:8 199
14:21 198
14:33–36 91, 102

14:33–35 91
14:34–35 99
14:35–36 91
15 35, 46, 65, 67, 79, 83–84, 86, 88, 105, 141, 147–48, 151, 154–55, 157, 161–62, 166–67, 173, 176–77, 179–81, 183, 186–89, 200, 204, 207, 235, 263, 269, 272–73, 287, 296, 306, 308, 311, 325, 341, 357, 363, 369, 388, 403
15:1–28 183, 185
15:1–11 160, 183, 401
15:1–9 327
15:1–3 84
15:1 199
15:3 47, 163, 311
15:3–8 88, 161, 327
15:3–5 161, 200
15:3–4 83, 199, 311
15:4 50, 83, 161, 200
15:5–8 83
15:8 91
15:12–28 329
15:12–22 341
15:12–19 162, 174, 184
15:12–17 65
15:12–15 327
15:12–13 63
15:12 83, 162, 199, 208
15:13 83, 279
15:14–19 53, 199
15:14 83, 287
15:16 155
15:17 83, 330
15:19 21,162
15:20–28 163–64, 166, 185
15:20–23 174
15:20 187, 199–200, 263, 322, 330
15:21 83, 258, 263
15:22–23 200
15:23–24 65
15:23 165, 200, 217, 236, 243, 330–31
15:24 68, 73
15:26 164, 171
15:27–28 165
15:27 306
15:28 164, 331, 377
15:29–58 185
15:29–34 105, 166
15:29–32 106, 199
15:29 109
15:30–32 105, 107
15:30 109
15:31 109, 260
15:32 50, 53, 56, 103–4, 106, 107–12, 115, 117–20, 122–25, 127, 129–32
15:35–58 387
15:35–55 375
15:35–49 166, 174, 332
15:35 300, 332
15:36–38 334
15:36–37 167
15:36 263, 267, 269
15:37 334, 338
15:39–43 167
15:39–41 334
15:39 166
15:41 296
15:42–44 200, 263, 267, 269, 311, 347
15:42–43 186, 384
15:42 263, 319
15:43 332
15:44–46 168
15:44 167, 201, 294, 296, 306, 314, 333
15:45–50 46
15:45 166, 198, 281
15:46–49 297
15:46 167, 201
15:47 201, 301, 335
15:48–49 175
15:48 169
15:49 151, 281, 336, 347
15:50–58 152, 165, 171
15:50–57 336
15:50–55 297
15:50 141, 171, 200, 205, 294, 336–37
15:51–57 141, 143–44
15:51–54 384
15:51–52 65, 337–38

15:51 141, 143, 337
15:52 143, 200, 266, 269, 351, 375
15:53–56 347
15:53–55 377
15:53 258, 263, 267, 269, 294, 301, 337–38
15:54–57 171
15:54–56 376
15:54–55 46
15:54 36, 135, 140–42, 144–45, 170, 206, 373
15:55 35, 36, 39, 46, 47, 369, 372–79
15:56 36, 372, 375–376
15:57 142, 143
15:58 141, 152–54, 171–72
16 141, 148–52, 154–56
16:1–24 153
16:1–12 153–54
16:1–4 147–52, 154, 156–57, 159
16:1 149, 154, 196
16:3 151
16:5–12 154, 156
16:5–9 152
16:8 107, 119
16:9 106
16:10–12 152
16:10 154
16:12–24 153
16:12 153
16:13–18 152
16:13 149, 153
16:19–21 152
16:22–24 152
16:22 233, 235

2 Corinthians
1:8–11 108
1:8–10 129–30
4–5 170
4:8–9 108
4:9–13 109
4:14 83
4:16–18 175
4:17–18 170
5:1–5 334
5:1–4 170
5:14 294
5:15 83, 257
5:17 34
6:4–10 108
6:14–7:1 195
8:14–24 156
8:15 199
9:9 199
11:22–33 108
12:10 108

Galatians
1:1 83, 91
1:9 91
2:10 156
2:15 92
3:10 199
3:13 199
4:22 199
4:27 199
5:19–21 295

Ephesians
1:20 83
2:6 206, 328
2:19 260
3:4 329
5:23 377
6:12 120

Philippians
1:19–24 130
2:7 312
2:9–11 96
3:10–11 109
3:10 83
3:20–21 384
3:21 311

Colossians
1:18 329
2:12 83, 206, 328
2:14–15 373
3:1 328
4:3 329

1 Thessalonians
1:10 83
4:13–18 216, 384
4:14–18 165
4:14 83
4:16 266, 269, 351
4:17 387
5:9–10 384

2 Thessalonians
1:10 391

1 Timothy
1:20 329
3:16 329
6:20 191

2 Timothy
2:6 83
2:17–18 329
2:18 329
4:16 123
4:17 122–23, 125, 130

Hebrews
2:14 327, 373
4:6–9 214
6:2 214
7:2 229
7:4 229
7:6 229
7:9 229
8:4 229
9:9 229
10:11 229
10:26–34 229
13:2–7 229

James
3:15 333
5:9 229

1 Peter
3:19 335
3:21–22 311
5:8 120

2 Peter
1:4 331
2:8 218

Revelation
1:3 216
1:5 214
1:6 221
2:8 214
2:10 214
2:11 56, 214, 294
2:13 214, 221
2:26–28 217
3:14 214
3:21 217, 221
4:4 221
5:9–10 217
5:10 221
6:9 214, 228
7:9 214
11:1–2 228
11:7–8 228
11:19 224
13:1 228
13:11 228
14:1 214
16:10 221
17:1–6 228
17:14 214
18:4 228
19:7–8 387
19:11 214
20 213, 217, 220, 224, 331
20:1–3 218
20:3 217, 219
20:4–5 215–16, 222–23
20:4 221, 375
20:5 214, 219, 230
20:6 56, 214, 218, 221–22, 294
20:7–9 222–23
20:7 217
20:12 221
20:14 56, 296
21–22 213, 222, 385
21:3 260
21:4 34, 254, 375

21:5 214
21:8 56, 294
21:12–13 265
22:2 219
22:5 214
22:6 214
22:20 233, 235

Ancient Near Eastern Texts

Mesopotamian Texts
RS 94.2158

Ugaritic Texts
KTU 1.2: I. 7–8 41
KTU 1.2: I. 9 41
KTU 1.4: VII.55ff 42–43
KTU 1.5: I.19 36
KTU 1.5: II.3–4 39
KTU 1.6: II.17–19 36, 43
KTU 1.16: VI.54–57 41
KTU 1.16: VI.57–58 41
KTU 1.23:8–11 41
KTU 1.100 39
KTU 1.100:61–62 39
KTU 1.100:65 38
KTU 1.107 39
KTU 1.107:4–6 40
KTU 1.107:35 39
KTU 1.107:45 39
KTU 2.23 24, 30
KTU 5.9 30, 31

North-West Semitic Inscriptions
KAI 4 24, 25, 32
KAI 6 24, 25, 27, 32
KAI 7 24, 25, 27, 32
KAI 10 24–27, 32
KAI 14 25, 28
KAI 25 24, 28, 32
KAI 26 24, 27, 32
KAI 226 24, 29, 32–33
KAI 286 25
KAI 309 24, 29, 32

Second Temple Jewish Literature

2 Baruch
29:1–30:1 217
29:5 220
30:50–51 217
40:1–4 217
40:3 218
72:2–74:3 217

Dead Sea Scrolls
4QMessAp–4Q521 75

1 Enoch
1–36 12
1:9 235
6:11 38
10:11–22 220
22 13
37–71 12
51 13
51:1–2 216
85–86 38
91:10 216
92:3 216
93:3–10 217
93:11–17 217

2 Enoch
33:1 218

4 Ezra
7 250
7:26–44 217
7:28–29 219
7:32–44 217
7:32 265
7:33–43 265
7:47–48 251
7:60 251

8:14–16 251
8:34–36 251
8:36 251
9:21–22 251
9:26–10:59 261
9:39 251
10 249–51, 255, 263
10:5a 251
10:6–24 251
10:6–11 252
10:9–11 263
10:10 251, 266
10:11 250, 252
10:14 263
10:15–16 252
10:20–24 254–55
10:25–27 251
10:39 251
10:44 251, 254
10:48 254
10:49–50 251
10:54 254
12:31–34 217

Josephus

Antiquitates judaicae
2.555–556 225
15.273–275 114
16.136–141 114
16.137 114
16.139 114
18.1–4 64
20.197–207 229
20.197–199 228
20.200–207 228
20.207 229

Bellum judaicum
2.114–166 64
2.271–276 225
2.272–276 225
2.277 225
2.422–424 225
2.433 225
2.434 225
2.441 225
2.529 225
2.556 225
2.562 225
4.147 225
4.204–207 225
4.305 225
4.313–314 225
4.318 225
4.319–325 225, 229
4.348 225
4.578 225
4.567–569 2
4.573–577 226
5.1 225
5.2 226
5.14 227
5.15–20 226
5.15–17 225
5.15 226
5.17–18 228
5.17 227
5.18 227
5.19–20 227
5.105 226
5.562–566 227
6.328 227
6.418 116
7.38 116

Jubilees
4:29–30 219
23:27–30 219

1 Maccabees
2:60 123

2 Maccabees
7 13
7:14 216
7:37–38 227

4 Maccabees
6:28–29 227
17:21–22 227

Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah
9,11–12 214

Philo

Legatio ad Gaium
281–282 64

Psalms of Solomon
3:11–12 216

Sirach
48:13–14 50

Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs

Testament of Benjamin
10:6–8 13

Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish Literature

Targumim

Targum Jonathan
Isa 22:13–14 55
Isa 22:13 55
Isa 22:14 55, 56
Isa 26:19 57
Isa 38:16 57
Isa 57:16 57
Hos 6:2 59

Palestinian Targum
Gen 4:8 56

Mishnah
m. Sotah 9:15 75
m. B. Meṣ. 1:8 74
m. B. Meṣ. 2:8 74
m. Sanh. 10:1 52, 56, 60, 65, 229
m. ʻEd. 8:7 74

Tosefta
Sotah 13.2 75

Palestinian Talmud
y. Ber. 2:4,16 225
y. Ber. 5:1,9ab 58
y. Ber. 5:2 70
y. Šeqal. 3:3 76
y. Ter. 8:4–11 72
y. Ta'an. 1:1,63cd 58

Babylonian Talmud
b. Ber. 34b 68
b. Pes. 68a 75
b. Ta'an. 21a 72
b. Meg. 16b 59
b. Ket. 106a 72
b. Ned. 50a 72
b. B. Meṣ. 114a 72
b. Sanh. 90ab 51, 65, 71
b. Sanh. 90b 51
b. Sanh. 92a 61
b. Sanh. 97ab 220
b. Sanh. 98a 72
b. Sanh. 99a 220
b. Sanh. 113a 72
b. ʻAbod. Zar. 20b 75
b. Nid. 69b 77
b. Nid. 70b 77–78

Midrashim (alphabetical)

Genesis Rabbah
56:1 60
71:9 72
85 78

Kohelet Rabbah
3:15 68

Mekhilta de R. Ishmael
Pisha 18 56
Bachodesh 4 72

Midrash Mishlei
19:3 68

Commentaries

Joseph Albo
Sefer haIkkarim, Maamar 4:35.9 7

Other Primary sources

Acts of Montanus and Lucius
4.5 378

Acts of Paul
104, 117–18

Acts of Paul and Thecla
115

Aelian

De Animalibus
7.48 117

Aulus Gellius

Noctes Atticae
5.14 117

Ambrose

De excessu fratris sui Satyri
1 248, 252, 268
1.1–2 249
1.1 252
1.2 252, 257
1.3 252, 258
1.5 252
1.6 257
1.14 248
1.20 257
1.25 248
1.27 257
1.28 252
1.30–32 256
1.32 255
1.36 252
1.53 257
1.56 261
1.59 257
1.63b 251
1.64–71 250–51
1.64 250–53, 256
1.65 252
1.66 263, 266
1.67 252
1.68 252, 254
1.69 254–55
1.70 251, 254, 265–66
1.71 254
1.72 254
1.78 248
1.80 252
2 263, 268
2.3–49 255
2.3 256
2.4–17 256
2.4 256
2.5 257, 259
2.6 256, 258
2.7 257
2.8 257
2.9–10 257
2.11 257
2.12 257
2.14 256
2.16 258
2.17 256
2.18–42 256
2.18 258–59
2.19 259
2.20 260, 264
2.21 260
2.22 260–61
2.25 257, 261
2.28 257
2.29 259
2.30–32 259
2.33 259–61
2.35 260
2.37 258
2.38 258
2.40 264
2.43–49 256
2.46 256
2.47 258
2.48 258, 265
2.49 257–58
2.50 261
2.52 262
2.53 262–63
2.54 261, 263
2.55 262, 265
2.56–58 263
2.56 261, 264
2.57 261, 263
2.58 261–62, 265
2.59 265
2.60 263
2.62 259
2.63 267
2.64 259, 263
2.65 264
2.66 252, 261

2.67 265–66
2.68 265
2.69–76 266
2.69 263, 266
2.70 263
2.73 265
2.74 263
2.75 266
2.77–78 263
2.80 265
2.81 263
2.85 263
2.87 261
2.88 262, 264–65
2.89 266
2.90 263
2.91 265
2.92 265
2.93 265
2.102 266
2.108 264
2.111 260
2.114 266
2.115 265
2.116–121 251
2.116 261
2.118 257
2.121 261, 265
2.122 260
2.124 258–59
2.125 259
2.127–131 264
2.127 264
2.128 264
2.130 262, 264
2.132 251
2.133 260
2.134 264
2.135 259
2.217–218 267
2.126–131 267
2.134–135 267

De institutione virginis
17.107 252

De interpellatione Job et David
1.9/31 371, 377

De obitu Theodosii
36 376

De virginibus
1.5.20 247

Exhortatio virginitatis
10.68 261

Explanatio Psalmorum XII
40.6 376
40.27 376
45.9 376

Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam
8:26 371, 377

Expositio Psalmi CXVIII
377–78

Ambrosiaster

Ad Corinthios prima

15.55 371, 373, 378

Amphilochius of Iconium

Oratio in illud: Pater si possibile est
6.4 370, 374
6.15 370, 374

Andreas of Caesarea

Commentarius in Apocalypsin
21:3–4 375

Apponius

In canticum canticorum explanatio
9:57 372

Arethas of Caesarea

Commentarius in Apocalypsin
21:1–4 375

Arnobius Junior

Commentarii in Psalmos
123 379

Artemidorus

Oneirocritica
2.12 127
2.49–66 126
2.54 126–27

Athanasius

Thirty-Ninth Festa

l Letter

26.42–53 204

Athenagoras

De resurrectione
249–50, 261, 269
2.2 261
2.5 265
2.51 262
2.52 261
3.1 263
3.2 262–63
3.3–8.4 262
7.1 265
9.2 263
12.6 264
12.9 265
13.2 262
15.2 262
15.4 263
15.7 264
16.2–4 264
16.2 265
17.1 262
17.2–4 262
18.4 262
18.5 262–65, 313
19.5 265
20.3 264
21–23 264
21 262, 265
21.1–4 262, 313
24.4–5 264
24.4 263
25.3 263, 265
25.4 265–66
25.5 265

Augustine

Confessiones
VII.1.1–2 282
X.25.36 282

De civitate Dei
II.14 292
VIII.5 291
VIII.13 291
VIII.14 291–92
VIII.16 292
VIII.21 291
X 288, 290–91
X.9–32 290
X.9–11 292
X.9 290
X.11 292
X.23 303
X.28–29 292
XI.1 301
XII.27 290
XIII 295–96
XIII.1–12 294
XIII.1–2 294
XIII.1 294
XIII.16–17 299
XIII.17 290, 299
XIII.20–24 295
XIII.23 296
XIII.24 293–94
XIV 288–89, 295
XIV.1–2 293
XIV.2–4 289
XIV.2–3 295
XIV.3 299
XIV.5 303
XIV.14–19 289
XIV.21 289
XIV.23–24 296
XIV.23 289
XVII.13 301
XIX.21–25 296
XIX.23 289, 303
XIX.22 303

XX 288, 293–94
XX.6 293, 295–96
XX.17 371, 378
XXI–XXII 288
XXI.15 293, 296
XXII 287–89, 291–93, 297
XXII.1 298
XXII.4 297–98
XXII.11–24 297–98
XXII.11–12 298
XXII.11 299
XXII.12–24 300
XXII.12 290, 300
XXII.14 300
XXII,15 279
XXII.16–17 300
XXII.19 300
XXII.20 300–1
XXII.21–29 294
XXII.21 295, 301
XXII.24–25 296
XXII.24 297, 302
XXII.25–28 287–89, 297, 302, 305
XXII.25 279, 302–3
XXII.26 290, 303–5
XXII.27 305
XXII.28 287
XXII.29 294
XXII.30 296

De fide et symbolo
6 315
7 315

De Genesi ad litteram
VI.25.36 280

De gestis Pelagii
55 376

De perfectione justitiae hominis
14 376

De symbolo ad catechumenos
10 323
11 315

De Trinitate
271, 273–74
II.17.29 281
II.17.30 281
IV.3.6 281, 294
IV.6.10 276
IV.7.11 281
IV.16.21 281
V.1.1 284
VIII.2.3 299
X.5.7 275
X.6.8 275
XII.6.7 282
XIV.8.11 280
XIV.16.22 280
XIV.18.24 281, 283–84
XIV.19.25 275, 278
XV.11.21 276
XV.19.34 283
XV.26.45 283
XV.26.46 283

De vera religione
3.3–5 295
4.6–7 295
5.8 295

De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII
57.6 372, 376
70 376–77

Enarrationes in Psalmos
123:4 371–72
125:14 371–72
127:16 371–72, 376
143:9 371–72, 376
148:4 376

Epistulae
102 300
102.2 289
102.8 289
147.49–51 294
148 294
148.3 295

In Evangelium Johannis Tractatus
121.20.10–29 289

Retractationes
1.4.3 295
2.41.2 290, 295

Sermones
42 290
215.6 278–79
216 279
229J 287

Soliloques
271
I.14.24 295
II.6.10 273
II.7.13 274
II.10.18 274

Basil the Great

De Spiritu sancto
15.35 350

Letters
236 350

Beda

Historia Ecclesiastica
367
1–15 365
2–13 360

Beowulf
360

Bonifacius Moguntinus
Epistola 4 363

The Book of Thoth
194

Caesar

De bello Gallico
6–14 361

Caesarius of Arles

Sermones
177.3 376
191.2 372, 378

Canones Ecclesiastici Apostolorum
7,1–32 237

Cassiodorus

Expositio Psalmorum
54 372, 378

Geoffry Chaucer

Canterbury Tales
C 350–57

Chromatius of Aquileia

Sermones
17.2 371, 374

Chrysostomus

Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios
42.2 373
43 154

Cicero

Tusculanae disputationes
1 249–50, 254–55, 268
1.14.32 257
1.16.36 256
1.19.44 256, 259
1.21.48 256
1.22.51 260
1.22.52 261
1.30.72 256, 259–60
1.30.74 259–60
1.31.75 260
1.34.82 256
1.34.83–88 259
1.34.83 256, 258
1.34.84 256
1.35.85–86 256
1.38.91 256–59, 262
1.39.93 256, 258
1.41.97–98 256
1.44.107 265
1.45.109 256
1.46.111 255–57
1.48.114 259
1.48.115 257, 259
1.48.116 257

1.49.117 255
1.49.117–118 256
1.49.118 256, 258, 260–61

1 Clement
41.2–3 224

Clemens Alexandrinus

Paedagogus
2:74.3 377

Stromata
1.4 237
1.20 237
1.100 237
7.17 202

***Codex Hierosolymitanus* 54**
237

Codex Palatinus: Indiculus superstitionum et pag(i)anarum
365

Corpus Hermeticum
194, 197, 209

Cyprian

Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos
3:58 371, 377

Cyril of Alexandria

Contra Julianum
2.28 334

Contra Nestorium
ACO I.1.6,93 (5.1) 327
ACO I.1.6,99 (5) 335
ACO I.1.6,101 327

De adoratione
2 327
11 328
17 329–30, 332

De incarnatione unigeniti
326
681e–682b 327
692a 336
692d–693d 335

De sancta trinitate dialogi
5,581e–584a 331

Epistulae
1 327
39 335
45 330

Fragmenta in epistola ad Hebraeos
335–36

Epistula festalis
7.2 330
10.5 330
14.2 335
22.3 328
22.4 327
25.3 327
28.3 332

Glaphyra in Deuteronomium
332

Glaphyra in Exodum
Book 2 329
Part 2 328

Glaphyra in Genesim
49:22–26 327
Book 1 335–36
Book 7 335

Glaphyra in Numeros
335

In i Corinthios
15:1–9 326
15:12–28 329
15:12 327
15:35–49 332
15:35–38 332
15:44–45 333
15:50–58 336

In ii Corinthios
5:1–5 334

In Habacuc
3:1 335
3:2 330

In Isaiam
5:13–16 335
26:11 329
51:17–18 328
52:13–15 327
53:3b 327

In Johannem
1:3 335
1:9 333
6:1 332
6:38–7:24 332
6:38–39 331
6:51 327, 329–30, 334–35
7:1–22 332
7:24 329, 331, 334–35
7:37 332
7:39 330
8:21 335
8:28 327
10:10 337–38
11:25–27 335
14:11 335
17:18–19 330
20:19–20 329, 332
20:24–25 333
20:26–27 333

In Lucam
9:32–33 327
9:44a 327
20:27 329
24:1–7 330

In Oseam
1:11 334–35, 338
13:12–13 370, 373
13:14 327, 371

In Romanos
6:3 328
6:4 328
8:23 333
8:29 336

In Zachariam
14:16–17 332

Glaphyra in Numeros
330

Oratio ad augustas
327
ACO I.1.5,28 336
ACO I.1.5,30 327
ACO I.1.5,32 327
ACO I.1.5,54 327
ACO I.1.5,55–56 330
ACO I.1.5,55 336

Oratio ad dominas
ACO I.1.5,71 327
ACO I.1.5,95 335

Oratio ad Theodosium
326
ACO I.1.1,47 327
ACO I.1.1,55–56 335

Thesaurus
c. 25 330
c. 30 331
c. 32 336

Quod unus sit Christus
722a 327
723b 336
771c 336

Cyril of Jerusalem

Catecheses
3.11 376
14.19 371, 377

Didache
236–38
1 237, 239
1.1–6.3 238
1.1 243

1.2 239
1.3b–2.1 239
2 237, 239, 241
3 237
4.14 237
7 237, 239
7.1–10.7 238–39
8.1 239
8.2 239
9 240
10 240–41
10.5–6 243
10.6 233, 242
11–15 238, 240
11–13 240
11 240–41
12 241
13 241
14 241
14.2 237
15 239–40
15.3 237
16 238–39, 241

Dio Cassius

Historia Romana
51.20.6–7 114

Dio Chrysostom

Orationes
1.84 131

Diodorus of Sicily

Bibliotheca historica
3:43 112
36:10 115–16

Diognetus
3.3–5 224

Ephrem

De virginitate
7.5 348

Epictetus

Dissertationes
1.6.32 131

Epiphanius of Salamis

Ancoratus
80.8 321
81.1 322
88–89 313
92.5 322
119.8 321

De fide
17.7–9 322

De incarnatione
4.1 322

Panarion
9–20 322
24.9.6 377
29.7,7–8 225
62 322
64 322
66.78.4 371, 377
69 322–23
77 322–23
92.5 323

Eusebius

Demonstratio evangelica
4.12.5 371, 373
10.1.36 371, 379

Historia ecclesiastica
1.2–3 237
2.1–2 228
2.22–23 228
2.23.18 228
3.5.3 225
3.25.4 237
8.7 117
8.7.2 116

Fulgentius of Ruspe

Epistulae
14.41 370, 374

The Gospel of Mary
87

The Gospel of Thomas
87

Gregory the Great

Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Prophetam
2:5.22 372

Pope Gregory II

Epistolae ad Bonifatium
364

Gregory of Nyssa

De virginitate
14:1 376

In diem luminum
350

Oratio catechetica
35 350

Gregory of Nazianzius

Orationes
45.22 371, 377

Hermas, Mandata
11.7 240

Hilarius of Poitiers

Commentarius in Matthaeum
33.3 376
33.9 377

Tractatus super Psalmos
119.12 376
127.11 375

Hippolytus

Commentarium in Danielem
3,29 117

Homer

Iliad 359

Ignatius of Antioch

Ad Ephesios
1.2 115

Ad Romanos
4.1–2 115
5.1 122, 124–25, 130
5.2–3 115
5.2 116
5.3 124
6.1 124

Ad Trallenses
10 115, 124

Irenaeus

Adversus haereses
5.28.3 218
5.31.2 335
5.33–36 218
5.33.3–4 220

Jerome

Apologia adversus libros Rufini
I.6 317
I.15–16 318
I.21–29 318
II.5 317
II.12 318

Commentarii in Esaiam
6.14.7/11 370, 372–73

Commentarii in Ezechielem
375

Commentarii in Hieremiam
Prologus 318, 323
III prologus 323
IV prologus 309, 323
IV.2:6 309

IV.22:24–27 309, 323
IV.25:3 309
IV.28:12–14 318, 323
IV.30:10–11 309

Commentarii in Osee
3.13.14–15 370, 373

Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum
23–36 313
24 313
25–26 318
26 313

Dialogus adversus pelagianos
I prologus 309
III.19 309

Epistulae
84,5 313
86–10 318
92,4 320
96,13 319
96,15 319, 323
98,9 317
98,10–11 319
133,3 309, 323

Tractatus in Psalmos
104.8 377

John Damascene

In epistolam I ad Corinthios
15:55 371

De fide orthodoxa
4.9 350

Julian of Aeclanum

In Osee
3.13.14–15 374

Justin Martyr

Apologia i
1.61 343

Justinianus

Digesta
48.19.31 116

Lactantius

Institutiones divinae
4:19.9 370, 374
7:20.4 374

Orationes Sibyllinae
8:415 374

Leo I

Letter 16.4 350

Lucian

Lexiphanes
19 112, 119

Macarius Magnes

Apokritos
289
3.34 376
3.41.10–11 376
4.2 289, 299–300

Marcus Aurelius

Meditationes
10.8.1 122
10.8.2 123

Martyrium Polycarpi
3.1 116

Menander

Monodie
434,23 251

Thais
105

Mystagogical Catecheses
2.4 350

Narsai of Nisibis

Liturgical Homilies
Mēmrā 21–22 343
Mēmrā 21 348–51
Mēmrā 22 348–49

Nestorius

Epistulae
3 326

Nag Hammadi Codices

I 3 *Gospel of Truth*
18.12–17 203
18.14–15 203
19.32–35 203
20.25–29 203
20.26 204
23.5–6 204

I 4 *Treatise on the Resurrection*
45.22–29 206
45.39–46.2 206
49.16–24 206
49.41–50.2 206

II 1 *Secret Gospel of John*
9.25–10.7 210
10.11–20 210

II 3 *Gospel of Philip*
56.26–34 205
57.1 205
57.3 205
57.3–8 205
57.9–11 205
57.19 205
63.21 205
67.26–27 204
67.29–30 203
69.5–8 204
70.34–71.15 204
70.35–71.8 204
71.8 204
73.8–19 204
74.14–24 204
77.17 205
86.14 205

II 4 *Nature of the Rulers*
86.21 202

VII 2 *Second Discourse of Great Seth*
55.16 210
56.19 210

VIII 2 *Letter of Peter to Philip*
135.10–15 210
138–139 210

XI 2 *A Valentinian Exposition*
36.28–38 210

Origen

Commentarii in evangelium Matthaei
17.29 64

Commentarii in Romanos
5.1 377

Commentarium series in evangelium Matthaei
132 377

Contra Celsum
2.28 87
5.19 373, 377

De oratione
25.3 375

De pascha
47–48 377

De principiis
317, 320
2.3.3 372
3.6.3 377

De resurrectione libri ii
320

Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam i ad Corinthios
15 64

Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam ad Ephesios
635–636 120–21

Stromata
318

Orosius

Apologeticum
1 309

Ovid

Metamorphoses
8.526–527 252

***Papyrus Vindobonensis Graeca* 29456**
19
I.8–9 195
I.12 195
I.15a 195
I.26 195
IV.3 195
VI.4 209
IX.4 194
XIV.7 195
XVI.1–2 194

Passio Perpetuae
11.2–8 214
12.1–7 214

Pausanias

Graeciae descriptio
1.9.5 128

Pelagius

Expositio in I Corinthios
xv,35–39 323
xv,38 314
xv,45 313

Expositio in Ephesios
i,4 320

Expositio in Philippenses
ii,6–7 312

Libellus fidei
308–9
9 323
11–13 323
13 311–12, 314
13–16 310
14 311
15 311–13
16 311
20 320

Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna

Sermones
113.4 371, 376
113.5 350

Phaedrus

Fabulae
563 117

Philo

De confusione linguarum
160 112

Pistis Sophia
87

Plato

Apologia
40c–41d 256

Phaedrus
67e 260
81a 260
81b–82a 256
82e 264

Respublica
2.377b–379 291
3.376–398 291
8.566 128

Timaeus
30–32a 298
41 303, 306

Pliny the Elder

Naturalis historia
33.16.53 115

Plotinus

Enneades
II.9 204

Plutarch

Demetrius
27 128

Lucullus
23.1 114

Porphyry

De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda
302

Primasius of Hadrumetum

Commentarius in Apocalypsin
II.5.5 370, 374
V.21.4 375

Pseudo-Cyprian

Adversus aleatores
4 237

Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite

Ecclesiastical Hierarchy
II,3.7 350

Pseudo-Oecumenius of Tricca

Commentarius in epistolam I ad Corinthios
15:54–57 371, 373, 377, 378

Quodvultdeus

De cantico novo
2.23 376

Rhabanus Maurus

Enarratio in epistolam I ad Corinthios
15 (55) 371, 376

Commentaria in Ezechielem
13 (c. 37) 375

Rufinus

Apologia ad Anastasium papam
3 316

Commentarius in symbolum Apostolorum
29 316
38 237

De adulteratione librorum Origenis
1 316

Sedulius Scotus

Carmen Paschale
5:276–77 377

Seneca

De beneficiis
2.19 117, 127

De brevitate vitae
13.6 113

De clementia
1.1.1 128
1.3.3 128
1.25.1 123, 128

De ira
3.17 128

Epistulae morales
70.20 116
70.23 116

Severus of Antioch

Homiliae cathedrales
90 350

Snorri Sturluson

Edda
359, 362, 365

Statius

Thebaid
4.474 377

Strabo

Geographica
2:33 112

Syriac baptismal commentary AR
11 350

Tacitus

Germania
365

Historiae
2.61 117

Tertullian

De anima
55.4 214

De baptismo
1.10 343
20.5 343

De pudicitia
14 115

De resurrectione carnis
47.13 371
51 314
54.4 378
54.5 371

Adversus Marcionem
3.5.4 202
5.10.16 373

Theodore of Mopsuestia

Ad Galates
2:15–16 347

Homiliae catecheticae
341, 352
1.4 347
5.20 347
6.11–12 355
12–14 343, 348
13.14 344
14.2–6 344
14.2 346
14.3 344
14.4 346
14.5 344
14.10 345, 347
14.12 346
14.14 347
14.22 345–46
14.25 344
14.28 345
14.9 344
15.6 344

Theodoret

Interpretatio epistulae I ad Corinthios
15:52–55 373

Explanatio in Ezechielem
37:4–6 375

Explanatio in Osee
13:14 370, 373–75

Theophylact

Commentarius in epistolam I ad Corinthios
15:55 378

Expositio in Oseam prophetam
13:14 369

Thomas Aquinas

Lectura supra primam epistolam ad Corinthios
16.1.1024 154

Thomas of Edessa

Explanations of the Epiphany
342, 349, 352, 356
8 352
9 351
9.2–10 353
9.2 351, 353
9.8 352
9.11 351, 353
9.12 352
9.13 352, 354
9.14 354
9.15 354
10.Introduction 355

Explanations of the Nativity
342

Verecundus of Junca

In canticum Habacuc
12 377

Vergil

Georgica
2.492 377

Walafrid Strabo

Glossa
1 Cor 15:55 373, 378

Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology

1. J.A. Loader, *A Tale of Two Cities, Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament, early Jewish and early Christian Traditions*, Kampen, 1990
2. P.W. Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs. An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 BCB-700 CE)*, Kampen, 1991
3. E. Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer. Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of 1 Kings 8, 14-61*, Kampen, 1993
4. R. Stahl, *Von Weltengagement zu Weltüberwindung: Theologische Positionen im Danielbuch*, Kampen, 1994
5. J.N. Bremmer, *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of A.S. van der Woude*, Kampen, 1992
6. K. Larkin, *The Eschatology of Second Zechariah: A Study of the Formation of a Mantological Wisdom Anthology*, Kampen, 1994
7. B. Aland, *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History: A Discussion of Methods*, Kampen, 1994
8. P.W. Van der Horst, *Hellenism-Judaism-Christianity: Essays on their Interaction*, Kampen, Second Enlarged Edition, 1998
9. C. Houtman, *Der Pentateuch: die Geschichte seiner Erforschung neben einer Auswertung*, Kampen, 1994
10. J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses. The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers*, Kampen, 1994
11. Tj. Baarda, *Essays on the Diatessaron*, Kampen, 1994
12. Gert J. Steyn, S*eptuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum*, Kampen, 1995
13. D.V. Edelman, *The Triumph of Elohim, From Yahwisms to Judaisms*, Kampen, 1995
14. J.E. Revell, *The Designation of the Individual. Expressive Usage in Biblical Narrative*, Kampen, 1996
15. M. Menken, *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel*, Kampen, 1996
16. V. Koperski, *The Knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. The High Christology of Philippians 3:7-11*, Kampen, 1996
17. M.C. De Boer, *Johannine Perspectives on the Death of Jesus*, Kampen, 1996
18. R.D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, Revised edition, Leuven, 1998
19. L.C. Jonker, *Exclusivity and Variety, Perspectives on Multi-dimensional Exegesis*, Kampen, 1996
20. L.V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, Leuven, 1998
21. K. van der Toorn (ed.), *The Image and the Book*, Leuven, 1998
22. L.V. Rutgers, P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World*, Leuven, 1998
23. E.R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint. An Exegetical and Theological Study*, Leuven, 1999
24. R.D. Anderson Jr., *Glossary of Greek Rhetorical Terms*, Leuven, 2000
25. T. Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, Leuven, 2000
26. H. Lalleman-de Winkel, *Jeremiah in Prophetic Tradition*, Leuven, 2000
27. J.F.M. Smit, *About the Idol Offerings. Rhetoric, Social Context and Theology of Paul's Discourse in First Corinthians 8:1-11:1*, Leuven, 2000
28. T.J. Horner, *Listening to Trypho. Justin Martyr's Dialogue Reconsidered*, Leuven, 2001
29. D.G. Powers, *Salvation through Participation. An Examination of the Notion of the Believers' Corporate Unity with Christ in Early Christian Soteriology*, Leuven, 2001
30. J.S. Kloppenborg, P. Hoffmann, J.M. Robinson, M.C. Moreland (eds.), *The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English with Parallels from the Gospels of Mark and Thomas*, Leuven, 2001
31. M.K. Birge, *The Language of Belonging. A Rhetorical Analysis of Kinship Language in First Corinthians*, Leuven, 2004

32. P.W. van der Horst, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem. Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity*, Leuven, 2002
33. P.W. van der Horst, M.J.J. Menken, J.F.M. Smit, G. van Oyen (eds.), *Persuasion and Dissuasion in Early Christianity, Ancient Judaism, and Hellenism*, Leuven, 2003
34. L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *Paul the Missionary*, Leuven, 2003
35. L.M. Teugels, *Bible and midrash. The Story of 'The Wooing of Rebekah'* (Gen. 24), Leuven, 2004
36. H.W. Shin, *Textual Criticism and the Synoptic Problem in Historical Jesus Research. The Search for Valid Criteria*, Leuven, 2004
37. A. Volgers, C. Zamagni (eds.), *Erotapokriseis. Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context*, Leuven, 2004
38. L.E. Galloway, *Freedom in the Gospel. Paul's Exemplum in 1 Cor 9 in Conversation with the Discourses of Epictetus and Philo*, Leuven, 2004
39. C. Houtman, K. Spronk, *Ein Held des Glaubens? Rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studien zu den Simson-Erzählungen*, Leuven, 2004
40. H. Kahana, Esther. *Juxtaposition of the Septuagint Translation with the Hebrew Text*, Leuven, 2005
41. V.A. Pizzuto, *A Cosmic Leap of Faith. An Authorial, Structural, and Theological Investigation of the Cosmic Christology in Col 1:15-20*, Leuven, 2005
42. B.J. Koet, *Dreams and Scripture in Luke-Acts. Collected Essays*, Leuven, 2006
43. P.C Beentjes. *"Happy the One Who Meditates on Wisdom" (SIR. 14,20). Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira*, Leuven, 2006
44. R. Roukema, L.J. Lietaert Peerbolte, K. Spronk, J.W. Wesselius (eds.), *The Interpretation of Exodus. Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman*, Leuven, 2006
45. G. van Oyen, T. Shepherd (eds.), *The Trial and Death of Jesus. Essays on the Passion Narrative in Mark*, Leuven, 2006
46. B. Thettayil, *In Spirit and Truth. An Exegetical Study of John 4:19-26 and a Theological Investigation of the Replacement Theme in the Fourth Gospel*, Leuven, 2007
47. T.A.W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint. Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, Leuven, 2007
48. W. Hilbrands, *Heilige oder Hure? Die Rezeptionsgeschichte von Juda und Tamar (Genesis 38) von der Antike bis zur Reformationszeit*, Leuven, 2007
49. J. Joosten, P.J. Tomson (eds.), *Voces Biblicae. Septuagint Greek and its Significance for the New Testament*, Leuven, 2007
50. A. Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators. Collected Essays*, Leuven, 2007
51. S. Janse, *"You are My Son". The Reception History of Psalm 2 in Early Judaism and the Early Church*, Leuven, 2009
52. K. De Troyer, A. Lange, L.L. Schulte (eds.), *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, Leuven, 2009
53. C.M. Tuckett (ed.), *Feasts and Festivals*, Leuven, 2009
54. M. Labahn, O. Lehtipuu (eds.), *Anthropology in the New Testament and its Ancient Context*, Leuven, 2010
55. A. van der Kooij, M. van der Meer (eds.), *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*, Leuven, 2010
56. J. Smith, *Translated Hallelujehs. A Linguistic and Exegetical Commentary on Select Septuagint Psalms*, Leuven, 2011
57. N. Dávid, A. Lange (eds.), *Qumran and the Bible. Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Leuven, 2010
58. J. Chanikuzhy, *Jesus, the Eschatological Temple. An Exegetical Study of Jn 2,13-22 in the Light of the Pre 70 C.E. Eschatological Temple Hopes and the Synoptic Temple Action*, Leuven, 2011

59. H. Wenzel, *Reading Zechariah with Zechariah 1:1–6 as the Introduction to the Entire Book*, Leuven, 2011
60. M. Labahn, O. Lehtipuu (eds.), *Imagery in the Booky of Revelation*, Leuven, 2011
61. K. De Troyer, A. Lange, J.S. Adcock (eds.), *The Qumran Legal Texts between the Hebrew Bible and Its Interpretation*, Leuven, 2011
62. B. Lang, *Buch der Kriege – Buch des Himmels. Kleine Schriften zur Exegese und Theologie*, Leuven, 2011
63. H.-J. Inkelaar, *Conflict over Wisdom. The Theme of 1 Corinthians 1-4 Rooted in Scripture*, Leuven, 2011
64. K.-J. Lee, *The Authority and Authorization of Torah in the Persion Period*, Leuven, 2011
65. K.M. Rochester, *Prophetic Ministry in Jeremiah and Ezekiel*, Leuven, 2012
66. T. Law, A. Salvesen (eds.), *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*, Leuven, 2012
67. K. Finsterbusch, A. Lange (eds.), *What is Bible?*, Leuven, 2012
68. J. Cook, A. van der Kooij, *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom. On the Provenance of Translators and their Books in the Septuagint Version*, Leuven, 2012
69. P.N. De Andrado, *The Akedah Servant Complex. The Soteriological Linkage of Genesis 22 and Isaiah 53 in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Writings*, Leuven, 2013
70. F. Shaw, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of* Ιαω, Leuven, 2014
71. E. Blachman, *The Transformation of Tamar (Genesis 38) in the History of Jewish Interpretation*, Leuven, 2013
72. K. De Troyer, T. Law, M. Liljeström (eds.), *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes. Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, Leuven, 2014
73. T. Do, *Re-thinking the Death of Jesus. An Exegetical and Theological Study of Hilasmos and Agape in 1 John 2:1-2 and 4:7-10*, Leuven, 2014
74. T. Miller, *Three Versions of Esther. Their Relationship to Anti-Semitic and Feminist Critique of the Story*, Leuven, 2014
75. E.B. Tracy, *See Me! Hear Me! Divine/Human Relational Dialogue in Genesis*, Leuven, 2014
76. J.D. Findlay, *From Prophet to Priest. The Characterization of Aaron in the Pentateuch*, Leuven, forthcoming
77. M.J.J. Menken, *Studies in John's Gospel and Epistles. Collected Essays*, Leuven, 2015
78. L.L. Schulte, *My Shepherd, though You Do not Know Me. The Persian Royal Propaganda Model in the Nehemiah Memoir*, Leuven, 2016
79. S.E. Humble, *A Divine Round Trip. The Literary and Christological Function of the Descent/Ascent Leitmotif in the Gospel of John*, Leuven, 2016
80. R.D. Miller, *Between Israelite Religion and Old Testament Theology. Essays on Archaeology, History, and Hermeneutics*, Leuven, 2016
81. L. Dequeker, *Studia Hierosolymitana*, Leuven, 2016
82. K. Finsterbusch, A. Lange (eds.), *Texts and Contexts of Jeremiah. The Exegesis of Jeremiah 1 and 10 in Light of Text and Reception History*, Leuven, 2016
83. J.S. Adcock, *"Oh God of Battles! Steal My Soldiers' Hearts!" A Study of the Hebrew and Greek Text Forms of Jeremiah 10:1-18*, Leuven, 2017
84. R. Müller, J. Pakkala (eds.), *Insights into Editing in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East. What Does Documented Evidence Tell Us about the Transmission of Authoritative Texts?*, Leuven, 2017
85. R. Burnet, D. Luciani, G. van Oyen (eds.), *The Epistle to the Hebrews. Writing at the Borders*, Leuven, 2016
86. M.K. Korada, *The Rationale for Aniconism in the Old Testament. A Study of Select Texts*, Leuven, 2017
87. P.C. Beentjes, *"With All Your Soul Fear the Lord" (Sir. 7:27). Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira II*, Leuven, 2017
88. B.J. Koet, A.L.H.M. van Wieringen (eds.), *Multiple Teachers in Biblical Texts*, Leuven, 2017

89. T. Elgvin, *The Literary Growth of the Song of Songs during the Hasmonean and Early-Herodian Periods*, Leuven, 2018
90. D.C. Smith, *The Role of Mothers in he Genealogical Lists of Jacob's Sons*, Leuven, 2018
91. V.P. Chiraparamban, *The Manifestation of God's Merciful Justice. A Theocentric Reading of Romans 3-21-26*, Leuven, 2018
92. P. Paul, *Beyond the Breach. An Exegetical Study of John 4:1-42 as a Text of Jewish-Samaritan Reconciliation*, Leuven, 2021
93. I. Fröhlich, *David in Cultural Memory*, Leuven, 2019
94. M. Langlois, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Leuven, 2019
95. A. Livneh, *Studies on Jewish and Christian Historical Summaries from the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods*, Leuven, 2019
96. M. Rotman, *The Call of the Wilderness. The Narrative Significance of John the Baptist's Whereabouts*, Leuven, 2020
97. O. Lukács, *Sabbath in the Making. A Study of the Inner-Biblical Interpretation of the Sabbath Commandment*, Leuven, 2020
98. J.J. Spoelstra, *Life Preservation in Genesis and Exodus. An Exegetical Study of the* Tebâ *of Noah and Moses*, Leuven, 2020
99. T. Havukainen, *The Quest for the Memory of Jesus: a Viable Path or a Dead End?*, Leuven, 2020
100. K. De Troyer, *The Ultimate and the Penultimate Text of the Book of Joshua*, Leuven, 2018
101. R. Egger-Wenzel, *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira with a Synopsis of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, Leuven, 2022
102.1 D. Candido, *Synopsis of the Book of Esther. Masoretic Text, Old Greek, Alpha Text, Old Latin, Vulgate, Jewish Antiquities*, Leuven 2023.
102.2 D. Candido, *Studies on the Old Latin of the Book of Esther*, forthcoming
103. A.K. Harkins, B. Schmitz (eds.), *Selected Studies on Deuterocanonical Prayers*, Leuven, 2021
104. T. Plitt, *Wachstumsgesetz oder Kürzungstendenz? Gedächtnispsychologische Erkenntnisse zu den inhaltlichen Überhängen in den synoptischen Paralleltraditionen*, Leuven, 2021
105. I. Wilson, *Praying to the Temple: Divine Presence in Solomon's Prayer*, Leuven, 2022
106. P.D. Foster, *The Semantics of* רע *(bad) in Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew*, Leuven, 2022
107. P.G.R. de Villiers, A.B. Merz (eds.), *Power in the New Testament*, Leuven, 2022
108. E. Tijsseling, *The Sources of Celsus's Criticism of Jesus*, Leuven, 2022
109. R. Hakola, J. Orpana, P. Huotari (eds.), *Scriptures in the Making*, Leuven, 2022
110. N.O. Meyer, *The Real Israel Disembarked*, Leuven, 2022
111. A.K. Harkins, *Experiencing Presence in the Second Temple Period*, Leuven, 2022
112. J.A.L. Lee, *Collected Essays on the Greek Bible and Greek Lexicography*, Leuven, 2022
113. M. Klinker-De Klerck, A. den Heijer, J. van Nes (eds.), *Troubling Texts in the New Testament*, Leuven 2022
114. B.J. Koet, A.L.H.M. van Wieringen (eds.), *Asking Questions in Biblical Texts*, Leuven, 2022
115. Phillip S. Marshall, John D. Meade, and Jonathan M. Kiel (eds.), *Like Nails Firmly Fixed (Qoh 12:11). Essays on the Text and Language of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Presented to Peter J. Gentry on the Occasion of His Retirement*, Leuven, 2023
116. H. Lammers, *"Have You Not Read this Scripture?" Memory Variation and Context-Based Modification in the Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of Mark*, Leuven, 2024

117. J. Rath, *PsSal 9 im Kontext der sogenannten Psalmen Salomos*, Leuven, 2024
118. M. Rastoin, *Jesus, with Style. Luke's Literary and Theological Genius*, Leuven, 2023
119. M.C.A. Korpel, P. Sanders (eds.), *Meaningful Meetings with Foreigners in the World of the Bible. Essays in Honour of Klaas Spronk on the Occasion of His Retirement*, Leuven, 2024
120. A. Potgieter, J. Schorr, K. De Troyer (eds.), *From Worshipping, Sacrificing and Mourning to Praising and Praying. Key Concepts of the Greek Bible*, Leuven, 2024
121. J.C. Poirier, *Aseneth and the Honeycomb. Apicultural Keys to Joseph and Aseneth*, Leuven, 2024

PRINTED ON PERMANENT PAPER • IMPRIME SUR PAPIER PERMANENT • GEDRUKT OP DUURZAAM PAPIER - ISO 9706
N.V. PEETERS S.A., WAROTSTRAAT 50, B-3020 HERENT