



BENJAMIN L. GLADD

Revealing the *Mysterion*

The Use of *Mystery* in Daniel
and Second Temple Judaism
with Its Bearing on First Corinthians

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Benjamin L. Gladd
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List of Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	Anchor Bible Dictionary
<i>AB</i>	Anchor Bible
<i>AGJU</i>	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>Alleg. Interp.</i>	<i>Allegorical Interpretation</i>
<i>ANE</i>	Ancient Near East
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3d ed. Princeton, 1969
<i>Animal Apoc.</i>	<i>Animal Apocalypse</i>
<i>A.J.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AOS</i>	American Oriental Series
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Apoc. Ab.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
<i>Apoc. El.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i>
<i>Apoc. of Weeks</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Weeks</i>
<i>Apoc. Sedr.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i>
<i>Apoc. Zeph.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>

ASV	American Standard Version
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
<i>b. ʿErub.</i>	<i>Babylonian (Talmud) ʿErubin</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
BDAG	Danker, F. W., et al. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3d. ed. Chicago, 2000
BDF	Blass, F. A., et al. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago, 1961
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zu historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIWL	Bibliographies and Indexes in World Literature
<i>B.J.</i>	<i>Bellum judaicum</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BRS	Bible Resource Series
<i>BSac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament

BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CANE	<i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . Edited by Jack M. Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CHANE	Culture & History of the Ancient Near East
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim</i>
<i>Contempl.</i>	<i>De vita contemplative</i>
DBSup	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i> . Edited by L. Pirot and A. Robert. Paris, 1928—
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst. Leiden, 1995
<i>Deo</i>	<i>De Deo</i>
diss.	dissertation
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DPL	<i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i> . Edited by G. F. Hawthorne and R. P. Martin. Downers Grove, 1993
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls

ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDNT	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. Grand Rapids, 1990-1993
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
En.	<i>Enoch</i>
EQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
ERE	<i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> . Edited by J. Hastings. 13 vols. New York, 1908-1927
ESV	English Standard Version
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. Oxford, 1910
GTJ	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HB	Hebrew Bible
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Her.	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit.</i>
Hist. Rech.	<i>History of the Rechabites</i>
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKNT	Herder's theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchung zur Theologie
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
IDB	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962.
IVPNT	The IVP New Testament Commentary Series
JANESCU	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>Jos. Asen.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KB	Koehler, L., et al. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . 5 vols. Leiden, 1994-2000
L.A.B.	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i>
LNTSS	Library of New Testament Studies Supplement Series
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
<i>Mart. Ascen. Isa.</i>	<i>Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah</i>
<i>Midr. Ps.</i>	<i>Midrash Psalms</i>
<i>Midr. Tanḥ</i>	<i>Midrash Tanḥuma</i>
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MT	Masoretic Text
MThSt	Marburger theologische Studien
NA ²⁷	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by Barbara Aland, et al. 27th rev. ed. Stuttgart, 2001
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NET	New English Translation
NETS	A New English Translation of the Septuagint

NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDNTT	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> . Edited by C. Brown. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, 1975-1985
NIDOTTE	<i>The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> . Edited by W. A. VanGemeren. 5 vols. Grand Rapids, 1997
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NIVAC	NIV Application Commentary
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NLT	New Living Translation
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Odes Sol.</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>
OG	Old Greek
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>

<i>OPTAT</i>	<i>Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
OT	Old Testament
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>Pesiq. Rab.</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>
<i>Pirq R. E.</i>	<i>Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer</i>
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
PTMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
<i>QE</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum</i>
<i>QG</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin</i>
<i>Rab. Deut.</i>	<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i>
<i>Rab. Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>Rab. Gen.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Rab. Lev.</i>	<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>
<i>Rab. Song.</i>	<i>Song of Songs Rabbah</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature Source for Biblical Study
SBLStBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SDSSL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SHANE	<i>Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Simil. of En.</i>	<i>Similitudes of Enoch</i>
<i>Sipre Deut.</i>	<i>Sipre Deuteronomy</i>
SMTMS	Society for New Testament Monograph Series
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra pagina
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>
SRB	Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-Biblica
Str-B	Strack, H. L. and P. Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash</i> . 6 Vols. Munich, 1922-1961

Sukenik	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University.</i> Edited by E. L. Sukenik. Jerusalem, 1955.
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testament pseudepigraphica
Sym	Symmachus
<i>T. Ab.</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>T. Gad</i>	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
<i>T. Iss.</i>	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
<i>T. Levi.</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Mos.</i>	<i>Testament of Moses</i>
<i>T. Zebu.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
<i>Tanḥ</i>	<i>Tanḥuma</i>
<i>Tan. Debe</i>	<i>Tanna Debe Eliyyahu</i>
<i>Targ. Neo</i>	<i>Targum Neofiti</i>
<i>Targ. Onq</i>	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>
<i>Targ. Ps-J</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.</i> Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964-1976
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.</i> Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, et al. 12 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964-2001
<i>Them</i>	<i>Themelios</i>
Theo	Theodotion
THE	Theologische Existenz heute

THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TNIV	Today's New International Version
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neues Testament.</i> Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Stuttgart. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1932-1979
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UBSHS	UBS Handbook Series
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>Vis. Ezra</i>	<i>Vision of Ezra</i>
VR	<i>Vox reformata</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>Vulg</i>	<i>Vulgate</i>
WBC	Word Bible Commentary
WD	<i>Wort und Dienst</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

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Chapter One

Introduction

Those encountering the Apostle Paul's discussion of "mystery" for the first time probably understand the term according to its English usage—something beyond comprehension.¹ The biblical concept of "mystery" is, however, far different. The term is commonly understood to refer to wisdom that was previously hidden but has been revealed. Moreover, *μυστήριον* in the NT is connected to important issues such as the nature of the kingdom (Matt 13; Mark 4; Luke 8), the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (Rom 11; Eph 3; Col 1; 2), and the gospel itself (Rom 16; Eph 6; Col 4; 1 Tim 3) to name a few.

Though mystery is often found in scholarly discussions, the term has yet to receive adequate treatment in the book of Daniel and the DSS. Since most Qumran scholars contend that mystery stems from the book of Daniel, surveys abound; however, such discussions are too brief and restricted, failing to analyze the term holistically and in the light of Daniel's narrative. Furthermore, though many have engaged Qumran's understanding of mystery, no one has sufficiently interacted with all of the available texts, especially, the somewhat recently discovered Book of Mysteries, 4QInstruction, and Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice.

Surveys of the term *μυστήριον* in the NT are commonplace. My purpose is not simply to rehearse the work of previous scholars; rather, I desire to *further* their analysis. As just noted, these sketches remain abbreviated without a thorough investigation of the surrounding context. As far as I am aware, Caragounis and Reynier are the only scholars to restrict analysis to a particular book (*μυστήριον* is found six times in Ephesians). First Corinthians is the only other epistle that em-

1 Cf. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary* (20 vols.; 2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 10:173.

plays mystery to the same extent (the term occurs six or five times depending on the variant in 2:1) and has yet to receive sufficient attention.

Another shortcoming of these previous studies is the lack of focus on mystery in connection to OT quotations and allusions in their immediate NT context; a few scholars have suggested that *μυστήριον*, at times, relates to OT quotations, but have not thoroughly investigated the links. Thus, we will attempt to tease out this relationship, if one even exists. Lastly, no one has tried to examine all of Paul's uses of mystery in 1 Corinthians in order to see how these contribute to the rhetorical argument of the entire epistle.

1.1. Methodology

Intertextuality in the NT is an exciting venture, particularly in Paul, but if a proper methodological foundation is not laid, the use of the Old in the New becomes problematic. Difficulties arise when terms and methods are ill defined, so I will restrict myself to two definitions of influence: quotation and allusion.²

Quotation:³ an intentional, high degree of verbal correspondence between the NT and OT that may or may not contain a formal (e.g., "it is written") introductory feature.⁴

2 As with most literary features, the terms "quotation" and "allusion" can be somewhat superficial, so I do allow for some overlap and flexibility between these labels. Moisés Silva adds, "The distinction between citation and allusion is not hard-and-fast, and the NT writers ... appear to have been quite unconcerned about the issue" ("Old Testament in Paul," *DPL* 634).

3 Though seemingly straightforward, defining a quotation can be difficult in the eyes of some. (See Udo J. Hebel, *Intertextuality, Allusion, and Quotation: An International Bibliography of Critical Studies* [BIWL 18; New York: Greenwood Press, 1989], 1-5, for a survey of definitions and debates concerning the category of quotation.) For example, Christopher Stanley attempts to define a quotation using three criteria: The existence of an introductory formula, an interpretive gloss connected to the quotation, and syntactical tension between the quotation and the immediate context (*Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literatures* [SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992], 37; see D. -A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* [BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1986], 11-23). Stanley E. Porter, after reviewing those who have attempted to define a "direct quotation," remarks that even quotations or citations are difficult to define, so he prefers to broaden the definition of a quotation: "The focus would be upon formal correspondence with actual words found in antecedent texts" ("The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*

Allusion:⁵ a unique set of words that thematically⁶ correspond⁷ to a previous text and its context.⁸

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- [eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1997], 79-96). On the definition of quotations in the OT and its complexity, see Richard L. Schultz, *The Search of Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1999), 210-39, 330-38.
- 4 Brian J. Abasciano's definition of quotation is similar in this regard. He defines quotation as "the reproduction of an earlier text" (*Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9.1-9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* [LNTSS 301; New York: T&T Clark, 2005], 16). Andrew C. Brunson likewise defines quotation "to refer to passages in which there is more or less verbatim correspondence with an antecedent text, sufficiently long to be recognizable as such" (*Psalms 118 in the Gospel of John: An Intertextual Study on the New Exodus Pattern in the Theology of John* [WUNT 158; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 13; cf. Merrill C. Tenney, *Interpreting Revelation* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957], 102; Jan Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development* [JSNTSup 93; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1994], 63-64).
 - 5 The term "allusion" is much more difficult to define (see Hebel, *Intertextuality*, 5-8). After surveying the current debate, Hebel concludes, "The crucial feature of an allusion ... is its effect to denote a specific relation between a text and an identifiable point of reference and its potential to connote additional associations" (*Intertextuality*, 8; cf. Michael Thompson, *Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1-15.13* [JSNTSup 59; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], 30). Many scholars, who investigate the OT in the NT, use Richard Hays and his definition of echo (note Hays' dependence on the work of John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* [Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981]). Although this project does not use the category of echo, his discussion of the term is helpful. For a critique of Hays, see Craig Evans, "Listening for Echoes of Interpreted Scripture," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (eds. Craig Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1993), 47-51; James A. Sanders, "Paul and Theological History," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, 52-57; William Scott Green, "Doing the Text's Work for It: Richard Hays on Paul's Use of Scripture," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, 58-63; J. Christiaan Beker, "Echoes and Intertextuality: On the Role of Scripture in Paul's Theology," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, 64-69. See also Hays' rejoinder "On the Rebound: A Response to Critiques of Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, 70-96.
 - 6 Porter defines allusion as "the nonformal invocation by an author of a text (or person, event, etc.) that the author could reasonably have been expected to know ("Use of the Old Testament," 95). Similarly, Earl Miner defines the term as a "tacit reference to another literary work, to another art, to history, to contemporary figures or the like" ("Allusion" in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* [ed. Alex Preminger; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965], 18). Miner then goes on to assert that the use of an allusion presupposes four items: 1) an "established literary tradition as a source of value"; 2) the audience "sharing" the author's "tradition"; 3) the allusion contains "familiar" yet "distinctive" traits; 4) a "fusion" occurs between the allusion and the immediate context. In addition, we need to keep in mind the intentionality of allusions by the author in contrast to those who define echoes as "unconscious" intentionality (see John Paulien, "Elusive Allusions: The Problematic Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *BR* 33 [1988]: 37-53).
 - 7 James D. Nogalski, "Intertextuality and the Twelve," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (eds. James W. Watts and

Perceiving and validating allusions can be difficult, so this project will use a two-tiered approach in determining their presence. The first tier determines the presence of OT influence, whereas the second lends further evidence to such a claim.⁹ The proposed allusion is based on the cumulative evidence in these two tiers.¹⁰

1.1.1. Tier One

Syntax and vocabulary. The rarity of the words and their unique syntactical relationship with other words is a crucial determining factor. The greater the amount of shared vocabulary between the NT and OT, the more the probability of OT influence increases.

Corresponding subject matter. The proposed allusion must contain some significant thematic correspondence between the two texts. The allusion must sufficiently refer the reader back to the original and literary context.

Availability. In order for an author to quote or allude to a given text, the source text must be chronologically prior and readily available to the author.

Paul R. House; JSOTSup 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 109, defines allusion as “one or more words whose appearance intends to elicit the reader’s recollection of another text (or texts) *for a specific purpose*” (italics original; cf. Tenney, *Interpreting Revelation*, 102; Thorsten Moritz, *A Profound Mystery: The Use of the Old Testament in Ephesians* [NovTSup 85; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 2; Abasciano, *Paul’s Use*, 16).

8 Hays’ contention that the wider context of the OT needs to be kept in mind is also found in C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1953), 126-38, although Dodd’s work is not focused on “echoes.”

9 My method for validating allusions is generally based upon Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale, 1989), 29-32. For those who likewise use this method, see Roy E. Ciampa, *The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2* (WUNT 102; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 24-25; J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 11-13; Sylvia C. Keesmat, “Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8.14-30,” *JSNT* 54 (1994): 34-35; Abasciano, *Paul’s Use*, 22-24. Note Porter’s critique of this method (“Use of the Old Testament,” 82-84) and Wagner’s response (*Heralds of the Good News*, 11-21n44). See also Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, 30-36, and Kenneth Duncan Litwak, *Echoes of Scripture in Luke-Acts: Telling the History of God’s People Intertextually* (JSNTSup 282; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 61-65, for similar criteria on detecting allusions and echoes.

10 Since allusions will be determined by a case-by-case basis, the following two-tiered criteria will be tailored to each allusion.

1.1.2. Tier Two

The purpose of the second tier is to give further validating evidence for the proposed allusion. Not all of these carry equal weight nor will they all necessarily be pertinent in each case.

Acknowledgment. If others have likewise detected the allusion in the focused text, then there is a higher probability of dependence.

Tradition. How does Second Temple Judaism interpret the allusion? If the allusion is developed, then how does that development affect Paul's use in 1 Corinthians?

Confirmed allusions in 1 Corinthians and in the Pauline corpus. If others have confirmed the allusion to the same OT reference or book elsewhere outside of the focused passage in 1 Corinthians and the Pauline tradition (including the so-called "deutero-Pauline" epistles), then it becomes more understandable why Paul would be making the proposed allusion.

1.2. Determining the Hermeneutical, Theological, and Rhetorical Use of Quotations

Since this project will be integrating a significant amount of intertextuality of quotation and allusion, we will restrict the following hermeneutical method for those quotations deemed integral to the term mystery.¹¹ Once a quotation has been acknowledged, its use will be determined in 1 Corinthians. The following method will be utilized to analyze Paul's understanding of the OT reference and its function in relation to *μυστήριον*.¹²

Analyze the broad NT context. How does the present pericope function in the letter as a whole?

11 Each of these steps will be tailored to the quotation. Therefore, it may not be necessary to add a separate section for every step; rather, we may simply integrate a particular step within the argument or footnote.

12 This method in determining the use of the OT is substantially dependent upon S. L. Johnson, *The Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980).

Analyze the OT context. How does the quotation function both in its immediate and broad literary context of the OT text? Here attention will be paid to the most pertinent elements of Hebrew exegesis.

Survey the use of the OT text elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism. How does Judaism interpret the OT passage? Is the text part of a tradition? Does Paul show awareness of or modify this tradition?

Textual comparisons: NT, LXX, MT, Targum, and pertinent Jewish traditions (e.g., DSS, Pseudepigrapha, etc.). These texts will be compared in chart form, if deemed necessary.

Analyze Paul's textual use. Which text is Paul quoting or freely rendering? How does this bear on the interpretation of the OT passage?

Analyze the NT immediate context. How does the OT reference function in the immediate NT context in light of the foregoing research? Exegesis of the NT text will be executed, focusing on the most relevant aspects of Greek exegesis as they bear upon the OT reference.

Determine the hermeneutical use of the OT in 1 Corinthians. How is Paul employing the OT reference (typology, direct prophetic fulfillment, analogy, etc.)?

Survey the use of the OT reference elsewhere in the NT and in the early Church (ca. 300 A.D.). How do other NT authors employ the OT quotation, and does that affect its use in 1 Corinthians? Does the early church employ the OT reference, and how does it function?

Determine the theological and rhetorical use of the OT in 1 Corinthians. How does Paul's use of the OT contribute to our understanding of NT theology? By referring to the OT, toward what goal is Paul attempting to move the reader?

1.3. *Terminus Technicus*

In any study such as this, certain methodological pitfalls exist. James Barr's protestations concerning *TDNT*, apply, to some degree, to this

study. Generally, Barr criticized that work because it failed to take into account that a single word is unable to grasp the totality of a theological concept.¹³ Such concepts, Barr argues, depend on various interlocking words.¹⁴ But as many have determined either explicitly or implicitly, the word μυστήριον appears to be essentially a *terminus technicus*.¹⁵ If indeed μυστήριον is a technical term and refers to a specific concept or referent, then this type of study is on much more solid ground.¹⁶ Silva notes,

technical or semitechnical terms *refer to or stand for* defined concepts or ideas; ... these concepts are true referents. The recognition of this factor brings to a culmination our repeated emphasis on the distinction between technical and nontechnical terms. Insofar as a word can be brought into a one-to-one correspondence with an extralinguistic object or entity, to that extent the word may be subjected to the concordance-based, word-and-thing, historico-conceptual method typified by *TDNT*. (*italics original*)¹⁷

Furthermore, although mystery seems to be a technical term, we ought to keep in mind the notion of “illegitimate totality transfer”—a word is unable to retain all of its possible semantic meanings in a given context.¹⁸ In other words, we must be careful not to “overload” a word with too much meaning. Therefore, in order for this study to avoid such pitfalls, we must cautiously investigate the *immediate context* of

13 James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1961), 206-62.

14 *Ibid.*, *Semantics*, 235.

15 E.g., Douglas J. Moo, *Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 714; David Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 250; Gerd Luedemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (trans. F. Stanley Jones; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 240; Frederick David Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 213; George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 421.

16 We must also keep in mind that it is possible to have a particular concept in mind without the specific word. Simply, there are places where the concept of mystery exists, but the explicit term is lacking. A few scholars have suggested that this phenomenon exists in Paul's epistle to the Galatians (1:12, 16; cf. D. A. Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” in *Justification and Variegated Nomism: Volume 2—The Paradoxes of Paul* [ed. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004], 424-25; C. Marvin Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* [WUNT 114; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2000], 183-5; James D. G. Dunn, “How New Was Paul's Gospel? The Problem of Continuity and Discontinuity,” in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans* [JSNTSup 108; ed. L. Ann Jervis and Peter Richardson; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994], 376).

17 Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 107.

18 Barr, *Semantics*, 218; cf. D. A. Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 45, who warns that even technical words can become “overloaded” with meaning.

each use of *μυστήριον* or *ἱ* and examine its connection with other words and phrases.

1.4. History of Interpretation

For many years, the term mystery has been the topic of considerable debate as it relates to the NT. A sketch of every published essay or discussion of mystery is impossible, so we will restrict ourselves to major figures. Generally, two streams of interpretation exist: the occurrence of mystery in the pagan environment such as the mystery cults, Gnosticism, magic, and philosophy; and the use of mystery in the OT, particularly, the book of Daniel, Second Temple Judaism, and the NT. Since we are concerned with how mystery has been studied in conjunction with the NT, especially, Paul, we must limit this brief review accordingly.¹⁹

Probably due to a multitude of archaeological discoveries and further research into Hellenistic texts,²⁰ the early part of the twentieth century witnessed an increasing amount of interest in the Hellenistic environment as the backdrop for NT interpretation.²¹ Many parallels between the NT and its pagan environment were drawn. This burgeoning enterprise seemed to have no end in sight. Almost every OT and Jewish background tree was cut down and replaced with an ostensibly stronger, impregnable Hellenistic one. Slowly, but surely, the

19 For a good bibliography and review of the use of *μυστήριον* in paganism in general, see Günter Bornkamm, “*μυστήριον*, *μυσέω*,” *TDNT* 4:802-13.

20 Cf. Stephen Neill and Tom Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University, 1988), 147-204; William Baird, *History of New Testament Research: From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann* (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 2:177-220.

21 Hermann Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (3d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930); Adolf Deissmann, *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History* (trans. William E. Wilson; Magnolia: Peter Smith, 1972), 137-42; Otto Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums* (Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1905); Eng. trans.: *Christian Origins* (trans. Daniel A. Huebsch; New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1906); idem, *Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in Their Historical Connections* (4 vols; trans. W. Montgomery; Clifton: Reference Book Publishers, 1965); Rudolf Bultmann, *Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der Antiken Religionen* (2d ed.; Zurich: Artemis, 1954); Eng. trans.: *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting* (trans. R. H. Fuller; New York: Meridian Books, 1957). Edwin Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (ed. A. M. Fairbairn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1914). It is, however, interesting to note that Hatch argues for a Semitic background of *μυστήριον* in his *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 57-59.

towering forest of Hellenism began to thin out and new interpretative saplings emerged. Perhaps this was engendered by the discoveries at Qumran, coupled with the pioneering work of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer.²² But whatever the case may be, the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* was ultimately eclipsed by an interpretive framework that incorporates *both* Judaism and Hellenism.²³

Accordingly, scholars of this school generally explored the language of mystery along these lines. At the beginning of the twentieth century and following the history-of-religions tendencies, scholars such as Reitzenstein,²⁴ Bousset,²⁵ Gardner,²⁶ Kennedy,²⁷ and Loisy²⁸ generally

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- 22 *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (3d ed.; trans. W. Montgomery; London: A. & C. Black, 1956); *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (trans. W. Montgomery; London: A. & C. Black, 1931).
 - 23 Weiss and Schweitzer were much more successful in their rebuttal that the gospel writers were far more influenced by Jewish apocalyptic than other Pauline scholars. The change from a Hellenistic background has not been as sharp. Several current studies continue to focus on Paul's integration with Hellenism and the Greco-Roman environment (e.g., *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* [ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001]). In recent years, however, and on the whole, the Jewish environment has begun to permeate NT studies (see e.g., W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* [4th ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980]; Ernst Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul* [trans. Margaret Kohl; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971]).
 - 24 Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (3d ed.; Berlin: Teubner, 1927); Eng. trans.: *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance* (trans. John E. Steely; PTMS 18; 1927; repr., Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1978), 389-90, 458; cf. Henry C. Sheldon, *The Mystery Religions and the New Testament* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1918), 75-77. Lucien Cerfaux, *Études d'Exégèse et d'Histoire Religieuse de Monseigneur Cerfaux à l'Occasion de son Soixante-Dixième Anniversaire* (BETL 6-7; Gembloux: Duculot, 1954), 1:65-112, examines how the mystery religions greatly influenced Hellenistic Judaism, particularly, in Philo.
 - 25 William Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913); Eng. trans.: *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970). Though Bousset does not specifically develop the term mystery, as far as I am aware, he does attribute a strong Hellenistic background to Paul's conception of prophecy, visions, and glossolalia (*Kyrios Christos*, 160-72).
 - 26 Percy Gardner, *The Religious Experience of Paul* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 57-101.
 - 27 H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913). Though he believes that Paul was "closely allied to the Mystery-cults" (280), he somewhat resists Reitzenstein's wholesale acceptance of the mystery religions (115-228). To be fair, Kennedy tempers his understanding of mystery by acknowledging the importance of the LXX, particularly Dan 2:18, though he does not develop this idea in any substantial way. See also his article "Mysteries (Christian)," *ERE* 9:73, where he says, "the term [μυστήριον] has a distinctly eschatological outlook. But enough has been said to indicate that St. Paul's use of μυστήριον has no suggestion of an esoteric cult or ritual."

attributed the NT term *μυστήριον* to the pagan environment. Generally, these scholars argued that Paul's epistles reflect a dependence on the Hellenistic environment. The term *μυστήριον* was seen to refer to a body of hidden knowledge shared by those who have been initiated into pagan cults. It was against this background that Paul understood the term.

But despite these initial studies, several key works turned the tide. Hans von Soden's important essay "*ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ* und Sacramentum in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten der Kirche"²⁹ counters the claim made by Reitzenstein that *μυστήριον* in the NT originates from a pagan environment. Instead, he argued that *μυστήριον* is largely eschatological and derives from the book of Daniel, especially, the use of the term in the Synoptics.³⁰ In 1936, D. Deden published the classic work "*Le 'Mystère' Paulinien*" in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*.³¹ After surveying the occurrences of mystery in Paul, he examines the word in the Apocrypha, Daniel, Enoch and other apocalypses, the rabbis, and Philo, comparing his results to Gnosticism and the mystery religions. He concludes that Paul's usage of the term is much more in line with the OT, Apocrypha, and apocalypticism than with paganism.³²

28 Alfred Loisy, *Les Mystères païens et le mystère Chrétien* (Paris: Nourry, 1914).

29 Hans von Soden, "*ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ* und Sacramentum in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten der Kirche," *ZNW* 12 (1911): 188-227.

30 "... die Danielstellen den Ursprung des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs von *μυστήριον* angeben; die ursprüngliche Verbindung *μυστήριον της βασιλειας* stammt ja ebendaher ("*ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ*," 198; see esp. 190-200). Although von Soden is convinced that *μυστήριον* does not stem from Hellenism, he does think that some of Paul's conceptions are indeed tied with pagan thought ("*ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ*," 200n2). See also A. D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background," in *Essays on the Trinity and Incarnation* (ed. A. E. J. Rawlinson; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), who likewise views mystery in the NT originating from the LXX (81-83).

31 D. Deden, "*Le 'Mystère' paulinien*," *ETL* 13 (1936): 405-42.

32 Since his work is exceedingly seminal, I will quote his conclusion at length:

Enfin, la terminologie connexe du mystère paulinien établit une liaison très étroite avec l'Ancien Testament, notamment avec les livres sapientiaux et Daniel. En effet, *ἀποκαλύπτειν*, le terme correspondant à "mystérion", est essentiellement juif. *Σοφία* est, d'après Daniel et Hénoc, l'attribut divin où l'on doit chercher l'origine des mystères de Dieu. La *γνώσις* est pour le judaïsme comme pour Paul la connaissance de l'objet révélé ou son approfondissement avec progrès de la vie spirituelle. Le fait que les deux dons que possèdent les fidèles, la *σοφία* et la *γνώσις*, coïncident si facilement sous la plume de saint Paul, reflète de nouveau l'usage des livres sapientiaux. Les deux premiers termes écartent nettement saint Paul de la langue mystique du paganisme. Le troisième, malgré certaines analogies superficielles, représente des tendances aussi opposées que le monothéisme et le panthéisme. (442)

Other scholars such as Robinson³³ and Prat,³⁴ though denying the influence of mystery religions, are unwilling to situate the term in an exclusive Jewish context, so they opt for a neutral connotation. In terms of breadth of scholarship and erudition, K. Prümm stands head and shoulders above the rest. Through a series of essays, Prümm confronts the debate head-on and concludes that mystery, as it is conceived in the NT, is indebted to the OT and Second Temple Judaism, particularly Daniel and Qumran.³⁵ His most recent essay “Mystères” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément* is probably the most sophisticated work on the technical term to date.³⁶ Spanning roughly two hundred and fifteen pages, this essay covers a wide range of study determining the use of mystery in pagan cults, the OT, Qumran, Philo, the rabbis, and the NT, especially, Paul. Moreover, keeping the background rooted in Daniel and Qumran, his works penetrate deeply into the notion of mystery, for, in one of his later articles, “Zur Phänomenologie des paulinischen Mysteriums und dessen seelischer Aufnahme. Eine Übersicht,” he evaluates not just the meaning of the word μυστήριον in particular contexts but its relationship with believers and Paul—their comprehension of eschatological revelation and its bearing upon faith and ethics.

G. Bornkamm’s classic work on mystery was published in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* in 1942.³⁷ This essay is probably the best thumbnail sketch of the differing usages of μυστήριον, for he touches upon nearly every relevant area: mystery cults, Greek philosophy, magic, Gnosticism, LXX, Apocalypticism, rabbinic Judaism, NT, and the early church. He, like some of his contemporaries, con-

33 J. Robinson, *St Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1904), 234–40.

34 Fernand Prat, *The Theology of Saint Paul* (2 vols.; trans. John L. Stoddard; London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1939), 2:383–90.

35 K. Prümm, “‘Mysterion’ von Paulus bis Origenes,” *ZKT* 61 (1937): 391–425; cf. idem, “‘Mysterion’ und Verwandtes bei Athanasius,” *ZKT* 63 (1939): 350–59. In his “Zur Phänomenologie des paulinischen Mysterion und dessen seelischer Aufnahme. Eine Übersicht,” *Bib* 37 (1956):135–61, Prümm claims,

Die atl Rückverbindung des paulinischen Wortsinnes ist durch die Tatsache der reichen Verwendung des späthebräischen, zunächst aus dem Aramäischen, letztlich aus dem Persischen entlehnten Wortes *ṣr* in den Qumrantexten noch deutlicher geworden; der Sinn dieses bei Daniel ausgiebig vertretenen Wortes liegt in diesen Dokumenten ja ganz auf der Linie des paulinischen *mysterion*. (135)

36 K. Prümm, “Mystères,” *DBSup* 6 (1960): 10–225.

37 G. Bornkamm, “μυστήριον, μυσέω,” *TWNT* 4:809–34=TDNT 4:802–28.

cludes that the NT's use of *μυστήριον* differs from pagan usage and is generally in line with Jewish apocalypticism.³⁸

By far, the most recognized name associated with *μυστήριον* in the NT is Raymond Brown. Under the supervision of William Albright, Brown completed his dissertation, "The Semitic Background of the Pauline *Mystêrion*," at Johns Hopkins in 1958. Three articles were published in 1958-59.³⁹ Finally, in 1968, the dissertation was eventually published under the title *The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament*.⁴⁰ Brown discusses in depth what Prümm, Bornkamm, and Deden had briefly surveyed. For the first time, the evidence from Qumran was thoroughly analyzed along with the Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha. Brown concluded that every occurrence of *μυστήριον* in the NT could be explained through a broad OT or Jewish background. These fresh insights were then applied to the NT.⁴¹

The combination of a growing trend to situate mystery in a Jewish context paired with Brown's new insights sparked a flurry of new studies on mystery in apocalypticism, Qumran, and the NT. Romano Penna's nearly one hundred-page work, although not as thorough and rigorous as his predecessors, further connects, though not at length, the NT with Daniel, 1 Enoch, and Qumran and seeks a synthesis in Paul's use of *μυστήριον*.⁴² Beda Rigaux,⁴³ Pierre Benoit,⁴⁴ Lucien Cerfaux,⁴⁵

38 He argues, "In sum, *μυστήριον* is a rare expression in the NT which betrays no relation to the mystery cults. Where there seem to be connections (e.g., in sacramental passages), the term is not used; where it is used, there are no such connections. In spite of certain analogies, there are thus serious objections against bringing Jesus or Paul under the category of the mystagogue (*μυστήριον*, 824).

39 Raymond Brown, "The Pre-Christian Semitic Concept of 'Mystery,'" *CBQ* 20 (1958): 417-43; idem, "The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mystêrion* (I)," *Bib* 39 (1958): 426-48; idem, "The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mystêrion* (II)," *Bib* 40 (1959): 70-87.

40 Raymond Brown, *The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament* (BS 21; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

41 Brown concludes, "We believe it no exaggeration to say that, considering the variety and currency of the concept of divine mysteries in Jewish thought, Paul and the NT writers could have written everything they did about *mystêrion* whether or not they ever encountered the pagan mystery religions. 'Mystery' was part of the native theological equipment of the Jews who came to Christ" (*Semitic Background*, 69).

42 Romano Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino* (SRB 10; Brescia: Paideia, 1978).

43 Beda Rigaux, "Révélation des mystères et perfection à Qumrân et dans le Nouveau Testament," *NTS* 4 (1958): 237-62.

44 Pierre Benoit, "Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament," *NTS* 7 (1960): 276-96.

45 Lucien Cerfaux, *The Christian in the Theology of St Paul* (trans. Lilian Soiron; New York: Herder & Herder, 1967), 474-513.

Joseph Coppens,⁴⁶ and Franz Mussner⁴⁷ draw parallels between the NT and Qumran's use of רִי , while I. Willi-Plein⁴⁸ discusses the use of the NT term within its Jewish apocalyptic setting. Otto Betz further explores mystery in the DSS and briefly links it to the NT.⁴⁹

The current discussion regarding mystery is largely affected by the aforementioned studies, particularly Raymond Brown's works. The proliferation of Qumran studies combined with a resurgence of interest in apocalypticism add yet another layer of investigation, which has maintained that Qumran's use of רִי is largely indebted to the book of Daniel.⁵⁰ Moreover, virtually every major NT commentator now recognizes that the term $\mu\sigma\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ stems, to some degree, from a Jewish apocalyptic environment.⁵¹

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- 46 Joseph Coppens, "Mystery" in the Theology of Saint Paul and Its Parallels at Qumran," in *Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis* (ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor; Chicago: Priority Press, 1968), 132-58.
- 47 Franz Mussner, "Contributions Made by Qumran to the Understanding of the Epistle to the Ephesians," in *Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis* (ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor; Chicago: Priority Press, 1968), 159-78. Cf. K. G. Kuhn, "Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumrantexte," *NTS* 7 (1961): 334-46.
- 48 I. Willi-Plein, "Das Geheimnis der Apokalyptik," *NovT* 27 (1977): 62-81. Cf. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 2:202-18.
- 49 Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), 87-88.
- 50 E.g., F. F. Bruce, "The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1969): 221-35; Kelvin G. Friebel, "Biblical Interpretation in the Pesharim of the Qumran Community," *HS* 22 (1981): 13-24; G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham, Md.: University Press, 1984), 23-42; Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 47-51; Menahem Kister, "Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 51; ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 13-47; Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (SBM 12; Echter: KBW Verlag, 1971), 124-30.
- 51 E.g., H. Krämer, " $\mu\sigma\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$," *EDNT* 2:446-49; Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, 250-53, 333; Galen W. Wiley, "A Study of 'Mystery' in the New Testament," *GTJ* 6 (1985): 349-60; James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 304n52; F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1977; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 438-40; P. T. O'Brien, "Mystery," *DPL* 621-23; Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 4; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 74-99; Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (trans. John Richard de Witt; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 44-53; Carson, "Mystery and Fulfillment," 393-427; A. E. Harvey, "The Use of Mystery Language in the Bible," *JTS* 31 (1980): 320-36; R. McL. Wilson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Colossians and Philemon* (ICC; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 176; Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Hermeneia; trans. Robert J. Karris; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1971), 74; Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 57; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Ephe-*

Occasionally, some scholars do suggest that Paul's *μυστήριον* and related terms reflect a pagan milieu, but these studies have yet to eclipse the majority.⁵²

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- sians: A Commentary* (trans. Helen Heron; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 58; Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (trans. Brian McNeil; London: T&T Clark, 2000), 85; Tet-Lim N. Yee, *Jews, Gentiles and Ethnic Reconciliation: Paul's Jewish Identity and Ephesians* (SNTSMS 130; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005), 41; Stephen J. Chester, *Conversion at Corinth: Perspectives on Conversion in Paul's Theology and the Corinthian Church* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 286-87. Ernest Best, *The 1st and 2nd Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1972), 292-93; C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon* (CGTC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968), 80-83. Even in synoptic studies, the emerging trend of the last few decades is to attribute a Jewish and apocalyptic background to the term. See George Eldon Ladd, *The Presence of the Future: The Eschatology of Biblical Realism* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 222-25; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (rev. ed.; CGTC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1972), 153; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 196; James R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 131; John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (SP 2; Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2002), 140; David L. Turner, *Matthew* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008), 339; Craig S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 379n22; John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 533; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (3 vols; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 2:389; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke* (2 vols.; BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 1:730; Joel Marcus, "Mark 4:10-12 and Marcan Epistemology," *JBL* 103 (1984): 557-74; Arland J. Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 454-55; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 177-78. Commentators on Revelation also surmise that mystery ought to be placed in a Jewish apocalyptic environment (e.g., Grant Osborne, *Revelation* [BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002], 98; Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* [NICNT; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 63). Some Revelation scholars have long noted the importance of Daniel with the term (e.g., Isbon T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John: Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* [repr.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979], 444; Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apoalypse of St John: The Greek Text with Introduction Notes and Indices* [3d.; London: Macmillan and Co., 1911], 21).
- 52 E.g., H. Wayne House, "Tongues and the Mystery Religions of Corinth," *BSac* 140 (1983): 134-50; Hyam Maccoby, *Paul and Hellenism* (London: SCM Press, 1991), 54-89; Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), 62-84. For a sustained critique of this approach, see Günter Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries: The Problem of the Pauline Doctrine of Baptism in Romans VI. 1-II, in the Light of its Religio-Historical "Parallels"* (trans. J. P. Smith; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1967). The lexicon, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, does not explicitly attribute a Jewish or Hellenistic background to the term *μυστήριον*, though it does list many more examples of Greco-Roman occurrences in the introductory paragraph ([Frederick William Danker, ed.; rev. and 3d ed.; Chicago: Chicago University, 2000], 661-62). It provides two definitions of *μυστήριον* regarding NT usage: "the unmanifested or private counsel of God, (God's) secret, the secret thoughts, plans, and dispensations of God which are hidden from the human reason, as well as from all other comprehension below the divine level, and await either fulfillment or revelation to those for whom they are intended"; "that which transcends normal understanding, transcendent/ultimate reality, secret, with focus on Israelite/Christian experience" (662). This definition differs slightly from the previous editions: "Our literature uses it to mean the secret thoughts, plans, and dispensations of God which are hidden from the human reason, as well as from all

Another relevant work is *The Ephesian Mysterion: Meaning and Content* by Chrys Caragounis.⁵³ After surveying the term in the mystery religions, Plato, LXX, Pseudepigrapha, and the NT, he concludes that “The first and foremost conclusion of this study is that the orig. meaning of μυστήριον was that of the *hard-to-understand*, the *incomprehensible*, the *mysterious*, which meaning it has preserved in all subsequent times to the present day.”⁵⁴ This conclusion has been rightly criticized,⁵⁵ because it fails to account for the usage of a word throughout differing times and cultures since the first century until the present.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Caragounis persuasively shows that mystery, at least in Ephesians, retains a Danielic background and should not be attributed to the mystery religions.⁵⁷

In addition to Caragounis’ work, Chantal Reynier, *Évangile et Mystère: Les enjeux théologiques de l’épître aux Éphésiens* penned a relatively unknown monograph on mystery in Ephesians.⁵⁸ Whereas Caragounis devotes most of his time to issues pertaining to the book of Ephesians and less about the notion of mystery, Reynier’s study is properly balanced between the two. His emphasis on Paul’s *relationship* to mystery along with his evaluating and synthesizing of other Pauline usages of μυστήριον is welcomed and stimulating.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, his work lacks a discussion of mystery outside of Paul, particularly Daniel and the DSS.⁶⁰

son, as well as from all other comprehension below the divine level, and hence must be revealed to those for whom they are intended” (William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957], 531-32; William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [2d. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979], 530-31).

53 Chrys Caragounis, *The Ephesian Mysterion: Meaning and Content* (ConBNT 8; Lund: Gleerup, 1977).

54 Ibid., 32.

55 See Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” 413, and Markus Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 224, for the same critique.

56 As Bockmuehl rightly points out, “This [Caragounis’s conclusion] leads to an emphasis on form rather than content of the mystery: incomprehensibility becomes its *essence*” (italics original; *Revelation and Mystery*, 224).

57 Caragounis, *Ephesian Mysterion*, 117-35.

58 Chantal Reynier, *Évangile et Mystère: Les enjeux théologiques de l’épître aux Éphésiens* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992).

59 Ibid., *Évangile et Mystère*, 90-104.

60 Surprisingly, Reynier only discusses the Jewish background of μυστήριον in a footnote, merely listing its occurrences in Daniel and the OT Apocrypha (*Évangile et Mystère*, 216n6).

One recent study deserves a brief comment. Markus Bockmuehl, in his work, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, which is largely based upon his doctoral dissertation at Cambridge University, examines the function of revelation in Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism and the NT. His study, unlike his predecessors, does not narrowly focus upon the term μυστήριον and ἱ (though it includes much commentary on mystery throughout) but concentrates on the notion of revelation in general. He summarizes the strength of his approach: "We set out to inquire into notions of divine revelation and mysteries, and to show that the latter are profitably studied within the framework of the former."⁶¹ His monograph adequately fills the gap between the technical term mystery and the general conception of revelation in the Jewish-Christian environment, but it is not a thorough analysis of μυστήριον in Paul or in the Danielic and its broader Jewish background.

We have traced the history of interpretation of mystery in the NT, especially in Paul, and have found that in earlier times the purported background was rooted in Hellenistic parallels. The emerging consensus since the middle of the twentieth century is that its primary background is to be sought in the OT and Second Temple Judaism, thus setting the stage for the remainder of this project. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, no one has yet analyzed thoroughly Paul's use of mystery in 1 Corinthians. It is my purpose to determine if Paul's uses bear out the general consensus that his concept of mystery stems from an OT-Jewish background.

61 *Revelation and Mystery*, 225.

Chapter Two

The Use of Mystery in Daniel

2.1. Introduction

As we have seen, for the first half of the twentieth century, the technical term *μυστήριον* in the book of Daniel was not largely deemed integral to the NT. The *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* exclusively situated mystery within a Hellenistic environment,¹ thereby marginalizing the term in Daniel. But this consensus did not last. With the discovery of the DSS, a renewed interest in the book of Daniel emerged. One result of such stimulus is the notion of “mystery” or *ῥ*. Raymond Brown contended that the Qumran community uses the term *ῥ* in accordance with the book of Daniel,² and subsequent scholars accepted and capitalized on his insights.³

1 E.g., Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions*, 389-90, 458.

2 *Semitic Background*, 22-30. D. Deden’s work precedes Brown and even argues for a Danielic influence regarding *μυστήριον* in Paul (“Le ‘Mystère’ paulinien,” 405-42). Furthermore, Günter Bornkamm likewise develops a somewhat Semitic background for *μυστήριον* (“*μυστήριον*,” 809-834). But, obviously, these scholars were unable to connect these insights with the Qumran discoveries in the 1950’s.

3 E.g., Alfred Leane, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 252; Mertens, *Das Buch*, 117-44; M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association: 1979), 231-59; F. F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 59-65; idem, “The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community,” in *Neotestamentica et Semitica* (ed. E. E. Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1969), 221-35; Asher Finkel, “The Peshar of Dreams and Scriptures,” *RevQ* 15 (1963): 357-70; E. Vogt, “‘Mysteria’ in textibus Qumran,” *Bib* 37 (1956): 247-57; Kuhn, “Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumrantexte,” 334-46; B. Rigaux, “Révélation des mystères et perfection à Qumrân et dans le Nouveau Testament,” *NTS* 4 (1958): 237-62; A. Klostergaard Peterson, “Wisdom as Cognition: Creating the Others in the Book of Mysteries and 1 Cor 1-2,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL; ed. C. Hempel et al.; Leuven: Leuven University, 2002), 405-32; Kelvin Frie-

Nevertheless, the list of those who have developed significantly the concept of mystery in the book of Daniel is, however, surprisingly short. Discussions generally are restricted to side comments and brief remarks from other studies (e.g., DSS, Mystery Religions, Paul). Even Bornkamm and Brown's seminal works on the Semitic background of the term dedicate only a single paragraph to this topic,⁴ while Deden devotes a single page⁵ and F. F. Bruce just slightly more.⁶ Recently, Markus Bockmuehl has focused on revelation and mystery in the ancient Jewish and Christian environment, yet spends only a few short paragraphs on mystery in Daniel.⁷ In his early monograph on Daniel in Jewish apocalypticism and Revelation, G. K. Beale analyzed the apocalyptic term mystery in Daniel for ten pages—which appears to be one of the fullest treatments to date.⁸ Therefore, my aim is to further these seminal works and dedicate an entire chapter to the Danielic mystery in an attempt to develop previously unnoted apocalyptic features.

2.2. Apocalypticism

Käsemann's famous line „Die Apokalypik ist ... die Mutter aller christlichen Theologie gewesen,”⁹ propelled scholars to readdress the issue of apocalypticism, a body of literature that had been considerably marginalized.¹⁰ Few areas in biblical studies are as complex and hotly debated as the genre of apocalypticism. My aim, within this brief introduction, is only to paint a brief portrait of the topic, by noting a few key trends and pioneering authors.

Recent scholarship has adopted the term “apocalypse” as a literary genre, “apocalypticism” as a social ideology, and “apocalyptic escha-

bel, “Biblical Interpretation in the *Pesharim* of the Qumran Community,” *HS* 22 (1981): 13-24.

4 *Semitic Background*, 7-8; Bornkamm, “μυστήριον,” 814-15.

5 “Le ‘Mystère’ paulinien,” 429-30.

6 F. F. Bruce, “The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community,” in *Neotestamentica et Semitica* (ed. E. E. Ellis and Max Wilcox; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1969), 225-27.

7 *Revelation and Mystery*, 15-16, 48, 101-2.

8 G. K. Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 12-22; idem, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (JSNTSup 166; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 215-16. In comparing the use of mystery in Eph with Daniel, Caragounis briefly discusses the use of mystery in Daniel (*The Ephesian Mysterion*, 23, 123-26, 134-35 [see also Jean-Noël Aletti, *Saint Paul Épître aux Éphésiens* (Études bibliques 42. Paris: Gabalda, 2001), 182-84]).

9 Ernst Käsemann, “Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie,” *ZTK* 57 (1960): 180.

10 See Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy* (SBT 22; trans. Margaret Kohl; Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1972), 14-15.

tology" as a theological motif,¹¹ so we will adopt these terms accordingly. Collins, in his excellent introduction to apocalypticism, outlines two trends.¹² On the one hand stands the magisterial R. H. Charles, a father in modern-day apocalyptic research who left us with a wealth of critical texts and commentary,¹³ and the famous Hermann Gunkel. Charles approached the text like a paleontologist, scouring every piece of apocalyptic datum and stripping away all the unwarranted redactional layers, leaving us with a "rational" dinosaur that looked nothing like the original.¹⁴ Gunkel, on the other hand, emphasized the "mythological" character of apocalyptic literature and reiterated the need to embrace the complex symbolic imagery.¹⁵ Tensions, repetitions, and the mixture of genres need not point to multivalent authorship. It is this latter stance that has become increasingly popular in modern apocalyptic scholarship.

Moving on to apocalyptic literature as a genre, we are now content to embrace a definition by the Apocalypse Group at the Society of Biblical Literature: "'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."¹⁶ This definition seeks to incorporate the main features of apocalyptic literature, and, thus, separating it from other genres. For our purposes, we need only to discuss a few features with regard to the notion of revelation. Accordingly, revelation has primarily two characteristics: medium and content.¹⁷ Some, such as Daniel, primarily use visions as a vehicle of revelation (though Dan 10-12 is an epiphany),¹⁸ whereas others, most notably the *Book of Watchers* (1 En. 1-36), incorporate otherworldly journeys in addition to visions.¹⁹ But whatever the exact mode, revelation always is mediated by an otherworldly being, distinguishing it from oracular material.

11 John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; BRS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 2; P. D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," *IDB* 1:29-31; Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, 107.

12 *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 14-17.

13 E.g., R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

14 James Barr, "Jewish Apocalyptic in Recent Scholarly Study," *BJRL* 58 (1975): 32.

15 Herman Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895).

16 John J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 9.

17 *Ibid.*, 5-9.

18 Cf. *Animal Apoc.*, *Apoc. of Weeks*, 4 Ezra, and 2 Bar.

19 *Apoc. Ab.*, *Simil. of En.*, 2 En., T. Levi, 3 Bar., T. Ab., and *Apoc. Zeph.*

Just as the mode of revelation varies, so does the content. Several apocalyptic works include prophecy *ex eventu*²⁰ and detailed cosmological insights (probably because of a penchant for spatial dualism), but almost all apocalypses are connected in some way with the afterlife; especially, judgment and resurrection (e.g., Daniel; 2 Bar.; *Book of Watchers*).²¹

With all this variation in apocalyptic literature, one item remains constant—revelation. Journeys, visions, epiphanies, heavenly books, and angelic discourse all accomplish the task of God disclosing secret revelations or mysteries. In fact, scholars are now beginning to grasp that this is indeed the kernel of apocalypses or “fundamental to apocalypticism.”²² Rowland avers,

We ought not to think of apocalyptic as being primarily a matter of either a particular literary type or distinctive subject-matter, though common literary elements and ideas may be ascertained. Rather, the common factor is the belief that God’s will can be discerned by means of a mode of revelation which unfolds directly the hidden things of God. *To speak of apocalyptic, therefore, is to concentrate on the theme of the direct communication of the heavenly mysteries in all their diversity.* (italics mine)²³

Therefore, in order for us to understand the technical term mystery in the book of Daniel, we must analyze the nature of revelation, focusing on medium, content, and function.

2.3. The Term “Mystery” in Daniel

The Aramaic noun ܡܝܫܬܪܐ is a Persian loanword²⁴ and appears a total of nine times in the book of Daniel (2:18, 19, 27-30, 47; 4:9 [MT 4:6]).²⁵ Each

20 *Animal Apoc.*, *Apoc. of Weeks*, *Jubilees* 23, 4 *Ezra*, 2 *Bar.*, *Apoc. Ab.*, and Daniel (depending on one’s dating of the book).

21 See Collins, “Introduction: Towards Morphology of a Genre,” 28, for a comprehensive list of the mode and content of revelation in apocalyptic literature.

22 John J. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 46. Cf. J. Carmignac “Qu’est-ce que l’apocalyptique? Son emploi à Qumrân,” *RevQ* 10 (1979): 20-21; Paul D. Hanson, “Jewish Apocalyptic Against its Near Eastern Environment,” *RB* 78 (1971): 35.

23 Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 14.

24 So Brown, *Semitic Background*, 6; KB V: 1980-81; Shaul Shaked, *From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam: Studies in Religious History and Intercultural Contacts* (VCS; Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 175-213.

25 Unless otherwise noted, all quotations are from NASB-Updated Edition.

time the word רַי is used, both the OG and Theodotion consistently translate it μυστήριον. But the word μυστήριον is slightly more difficult to nuance, for it appears a few times outside of Daniel as a translation of the Hebrew word סֵדֶר (Job 15:8 [Theo, Sym]; Psa 24 [25]:14 [Theo, *Quinta*]; Prov 11:13 [Sym]; 20:19 [Theo]) and perhaps a mistranslation of רַי (from רָחַק “to waste away”) in Isa 24:16²⁶ (Theo, Codex Marchalianus, Sym, *Vulg*).

The word סֵדֶר is a fairly common term (used twenty-one times) often denoting a secular council (e.g., Gen 49:6; Jer 6:11; 15:17; Ezek 13:9; Ps 55:14; 64:2) or secret (Prov 11:13; 20:19; 25:9).²⁷ More pertinently, סֵדֶר refers to the Divine Council—consisting of Yahweh, his angels, and the prophet.²⁸ Within this council, Yahweh and his angels render decisions and the prophet thereby communicates that message to Israel. Why do some Septuagintal translations render μυστήριον for סֵדֶר? The noun סֵדֶר is an intimate—either divine or secular—gathering that declares a verdict or “secret,” so the term μυστήριον²⁹ naturally captures the privacy

26 It is possible that רַי is used instead of רַי in Isa 24:16 (“Woe to me! Woe to me!” [NRSV, NIV, NASB, JPS] or “My secret [רַי] for me! My secret [רַי] for me!”). See Jeffrey Niehaus, “Raz Peshar in Isaiah XXIV,” VT 31 (1981): 376-77; J. F. A. Sawyer, “‘My Secret is with Me’ (Isaiah 24.16): Some Semantic Links Between Isaiah 24-27 and Daniel,” in *Understanding Poets and Prophets* (JSOTSup 152; A. Graeme Auld ed; Sheffield: Sheffield, 1993), 307-17. If this can be established (which is unlikely given the immediate and broader context), the use of רַי in Daniel is significantly different, for it is thoroughly apocalyptic and eschatological.

27 For a discussion of divine council and its relationship to mystery, see Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 15-16, Brown, *Semiotic Background*, 2-6, Bornkamm, μυστήριον, 813-15. See also S. B. Parker, “Council,” DDD 391-98 and H.-J. Fabry, “סֵדֶר,” TDOT 10:171-78, for a general discussion of the divine council.

28 For example, in Jer 23:22 Yahweh denounces the false prophets for not participating in this divine council: “But who has stood in the council (סֵדֶר) of the Lord, that he should see and hear his word?” (see Jer 23:18) and in Amos 3:7, “Surely the Lord God does nothing unless he reveals his secret counsel (סֵדֶר סֵדֶר) to his servants the prophets” (see Ps 89:7). In Ps 25:14 [LXX 24:14] where סֵדֶר is translated as μυστήριον in Theo and Sym, סֵדֶר appears to be a “secret” concerning covenantal instruction “The secret [סֵדֶר/κρᾱταιώμα {OG}] of the Lord is for those who fear him, and he will make them know his covenant” (see 25:12). Proverbs 11:13 is only associated with a secular understanding and adds, “He who goes about as a talebearer reveals secrets [סֵדֶר סֵדֶר], but he who is trustworthy conceals a matter.” Finally, Job 15:8 uses סֵדֶר in a general sense but with reference to God: “Do you hear the secret counsel [סֵדֶר סֵדֶר] of God, and limit wisdom to yourself?” These references are rather general and to some degree vague in describing the content of the סֵדֶר.

29 Though we are unsure, the Greek noun μυστήριον probably derives from the verb μύω (so Bornkamm, μυστήριον, 803). The verb μύω is commonly used in contexts concerning the “shutting” or “closing” of the eyes, ears, and mouth (cf. e.g., “never yet have my eyes closed [μύσαν] beneath my eyelids, since at your hands my son lost his life” [*Iliad* 24.637]; “the mouths of the passages in which the feathers begin to grow become dry and close up, shutting [μύσαντα] in the sprouting feathers” [*Phaedrus* 251 D]). But whatever its derivation, Bornkamm surely is right to remark,

of the event. The book of Daniel, however, only uses the term מִסְתֵּר.³⁰ This distinction between מִסְתֵּר and רִי is significant. For, as we shall see, רִי differs from מִסְתֵּר in that the former term signals *eschatological revelation*. Bornkamm surmises, “In Da. [Daniel] μυστήριον takes on for the first time a sense which is important for the further development of the word, namely, that of an eschatological mystery, a concealed intimation of divinely oriented future events whose disclosure and interpretation is reserved for God alone.”³¹

2.4. Divination

Before we embark on our journey for understanding the nature of mystery, we must first familiarize ourselves with the ANE background of divination and oneiromancy. In one sense, Daniel is just like the Babylonian mantics: he interprets prognostic dreams. On the other hand, Daniel is unlike the Babylonian diviners, for his God really does know the future.

The process of divination is complex but can be summarized quickly.³² The gods reveal future events through omens,³³ sometimes solicited³⁴ or unsolicited.³⁵ The effects of the deities can be discerned

“the etym. of the word is itself a mystery” (μυστήριον, 803). Fortunately, the etymology of the word μυστήριον does not at all affect our work, since we are primarily concerned with how the word is *used* in Second Temple Judaism and the NT.

30 See also my discussion of רִי/דָר in pgs. 52-54.

31 μυστήριον, 814.

32 For a good discussion on omens and divination, see Walter Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *CANE* 3:1895-1909; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel* (Jordan Lectures 1976; London: Athlone Press, 1978); F. H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment: A Socio-Historical Investigation* (JSOTSup 142; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994); T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology Among the Hebrews and Their Neighbours* (New York: Ktav, 1969); Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (SHANE 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996); Ann Kessler, “A Severed Head Laughed: Stories of Divinatory Interpretation,” *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World* (ed. Leda Ciraolo and Jonathan Seidel; Ancient Magic and Divination II, Netherlands: Styx, 2002), 4-40; Daphna Arbel, “Divine Secrets and Divination,” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (ed. April D. DeConick; SBLSymS 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 355-79.

33 Farber, “Witchcraft,” 1899, defines an omen as: “a divine sign given to a person as a warning about a specific danger foreshadowed by an observable fact or as an alert of a propitious development in the future.”

34 A solicited omen is when individuals request insight (e.g., oil on water, smoke, sheep’s liver, etc.).

35 An unsolicited omen is when the gods initiate communication (e.g., earthquake, solar eclipse, deformed birth, etc.).

through natural phenomena, even including humans (e.g., dreams). Deities may use a sheep's liver, dreams, oil on water, smoke from incense, and stars to communicate their solicited message. The diviners would thus consult their records of past omens and compare them to the present situation, trusting that these present omens reveal the future in light of the god's previous activities.

With dreams, diviners were presented with a dream and often consult their "dream book"³⁶ to determine the proper significance of each symbol. These diviners were highly trained³⁷ and readily available for the king. Oppenheim distinguishes between two types of dreams: message and symbolic.³⁸ The message dream includes unambiguous communication, while the symbolic dream is filled with "strange objects and unprecedented activities and happenings, teeming with gods, demons, humans, and beasts."³⁹ Butler even furthers Oppenheim's classic distinction and offers three types of prognostic dreams: message dreams, symbolic-message dreams, and dream omens.⁴⁰ The distinction between symbolic-message dreams and dream omens is significant. According to her, symbolic-message dreams are always "accompanied by their interpretations" originating from "other heroic figures or deities."⁴¹

In the ANE, gods reveal their will through dreams and diviners interpret the content. According to the book of Daniel, the dream and its interpretation originate from God, but this twofold disclosure (the dream and interpretation) is likewise found in the ANE. Lawson convincingly demonstrates that in the ANE, gods not only disclose the content of the dream but its interpretation.⁴²

36 A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1956), 242, notes that the "writing down and collecting of omina ... marks the transition of the mantic practices from the folklore level to that of systematic scholarly activity."

37 Anne Marie Kitz, "Prophecy as Divination," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 35, argues that the receivers of dreams can be anyone, but those who interpret tend to be trained and professionals in the mantic arts.

38 Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 197-217.

39 *Ibid.*, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 206.

40 S. A. L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, (AOAT 258; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 15.

41 Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions*, 19. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is a prime example of this when Gilgamesh's friend, Enkidu, interprets his dream (IV. 1-225).

42 Jack N. Lawson, "'The God Who Reveals Secrets': The Mesopotamian Background to Daniel 2.47," *JSOT* 74 (1997): 69. Contra Kitz who does not see gods inspiring divination but only the initial communication ("Prophecy," 39-40). For example, a ritual text says the following, "11. [...] The secret art of divination 12. which Ea imparted" (H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* [Leipzig: Hinrich's, 1901], 96; cf. Lawson, "God Who Reveals," 69). And again, "53. [In] the bowl

It should not surprise us that Daniel likewise obtains his interpretative skills from God. Both Daniel and the Babylonians are skilled in interpreting dreams and thus rely on the deity for a correct interpretation. Daniel is, therefore, in a very real sense, a mantic. This explains why several texts in Daniel lump the Babylonians together with Daniel and his friends (though Daniel is considered to be greater than the Babylonians). For example, in 1:20 we read, "As for every matter of wisdom and understanding about which the king consulted them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians *and* conjurers" (italics original; cf. 2:13). Yes, Daniel is wiser than the Babylonians, but they have very similar functions. Bauckham adds, "Daniel is the representative of the God of Israel among the magicians and astrologers of the Babylonian court, but he represents him *in the practice of mantic wisdom*" (italics original).⁴³ Thus far, Daniel and the Babylonians have much in common: Both groups have been trained in mantics and both believe that deity(ies) deliver prognostic dreams and their interpretation.

Though there is much in common between Daniel and the Babylonians, one important detail remains: Daniel's God is very different from the Babylonians.' The Babylonians worship a pantheon of deities, while Daniel, on the other hand, serves the one true God. The result: the Babylonian mantics are incompetent idolaters, while Daniel's God comprehensively knows the future.

2.5. Mantic Wisdom

Having discussed the ANE background of divination, we are now in a position to understand better the nature of wisdom in Daniel. Von Rad argued that apocalypticism originates from the wisdom tradition,

of the diviniatory-art with the cedar appurtenance 54. [You] instruct the dream-diviner, the dissolver (of the evil) of dreams" (W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1960], 128; cf. Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 222).

- 43 Richard Bauckham, "The Rise of the Apocalyptic," *Them* 3 (1978): 13; cf. B. A. Mastin, "Wisdom and Daniel," in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in honour of J. A. Emerton* (ed. John Day, Robert P. Gordon, and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1995), 165-69; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 56; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, (CBQMS 16; Washington, D. C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 74-75; Scott B. Noegel, *Nocturnal Ciphers: The Allusive Language of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (AOS 89; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2007), 147-82; Müller, "כִּסְיָהּ," *TDOT* 4:377.

particularly dream interpretation.⁴⁴ Though some still espouse this view,⁴⁵ it has recently come under heavy attack.⁴⁶ Yet, despite these critiques, von Rad was right to link apocalypticism with the wisdom tradition, since the notion of wisdom is ubiquitous in apocalyptic literature.

We have already concluded that Daniel ought to be considered as a mantic or at least functioning in that capacity. It should therefore not surprise us that wisdom in Daniel is also mantic. Mastin continues, "In Mesopotamia, texts which were drawn up by diviners have survived, and mantic wisdom is what is contained in this material, together with an understanding of the principles lying behind the practice of divination which are implicit in it."⁴⁷ Daniel is like the Babylonians in that both attempt to determine the future through the deciphering of enigmatic signs and riddles. It is however the *content* of mantic wisdom portrayed in the book of Daniel that separates it from the ANE.⁴⁸

Pagan mantic wisdom is concerned with revelations about the immediate future, such as an individual's health, weather, and so on; but mantic wisdom in Daniel pertains to the *eschatological* future.⁴⁹ This is highly significant. By far, the content of pagan mantic wisdom often includes references to an individual's personal and immediate future.⁵⁰ The future in these instances never includes any eschatological references, but merely refers to daily living and personal situations with respect to a person's welfare (e.g., "If a man in his dream enters the gate of his city: wherever he turns, [he will (not?) attain his desire]. ... If

44 For a summary and critique of von Rad, see E. W. Nicholson, "Apocalyptic," in *Tradition and Interpretation* (G. W. Anderson ed.; Oxford: Oxford University, 1979), 189-213, and M. A. Knibb, "Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition. Essays in honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R. Coggins, A. Phillips, and M. Knibb; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982), 155-80.

45 E.g., D. Michel, "Weisheit und Apokalyptik," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (BETL 106; ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leuven: University Press, 1993), 413-34.

46 B. A. Mastin, "Wisdom and Daniel," 165-69; Gerald H. Wilson, "Wisdom in Daniel and the Origin of Apocalyptic," *HAR* 9 (1985): 373-81; H.-P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," in *Congress Volume: Uppsala 1971* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972); Willi-Plein, "Das Geheimnis der Apokalyptik," 62-81; Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit* (TEH 157; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1969); K. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy* (SBT 22; trans. Margaret Kohl; London: SCM, 1972).

47 Mastin, "Wisdom and Daniel," 163.

48 VanderKam, *Enoch*, 62.

49 Bauckham, "Rise of the Apocalyptic," 14.

50 See Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions*, 15-42, and Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 197-217, for a description of dream content.

he ascends to heaven: his days will be sh[ort]. If he descends to the netherworld: his days will be long"⁵¹).

Therefore, externally wisdom portrayed in Daniel is mantic (i.e., the dream and its interpretation), but its content is thoroughly eschatological and continuous with previous biblical prophecy.⁵² The content of prophecy has not changed—only its form. McKane rightly suggests, "God no longer declares his 'ēšû plainly through the *dābār* of his prophet, but his communications are hidden in the riddle-like contents of visions and dreams ... The prophet has been replaced by the interpreter."⁵³ Wisdom in Daniel contains mantic features and terminology but possesses the prophetic tradition at its core. The remainder of this chapter will further define and nuance this Danielic wisdom.

2.6. Mystery and Wisdom

Understanding the technical term mystery requires us to determine its relationship with wisdom. Unfortunately, many commentators fail to articulate explicitly the relationship between wisdom and mystery in

51 *Assyrian Dream-Book* IX.1.1-4 in Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*. Cf. *The Epic of Gilgamesh* Tablet I. 245-70 and Tablet I. 278-300.

52 Von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik*, convincingly argues for a prophetic tradition in Daniel, showing the presence of prophetic themes, particularly themes in Isaiah 40-66 (see pgs. 13-33). He offers the most comprehensive and developed study on prophetic themes in the book of Daniel. Bauckham agrees with this assessment of apocalyptic: "So while the [mantic] *form* of their work was stamped by its continuity with pagan oracular literature, its *content* was frequently inspired by OT prophecy ... we can see this in Daniel. His eschatological dream-interpretation in chapter 2 is, if not inspired by, at least congruous with the eschatological hope of the prophets" (italics original; "Rise of Apocalyptic," 15).

53 William McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* (SBT 44; London: SCM Press, 1965), 100. Von der Osten-Sacken also contends that the lack of a prophetic voice is the substantial difference (der wesentliche Unterschied) between the apocalyptic and prophetic tradition (*Die Apokalyptik*, 33). VanderKam is likewise helpful in this instance:

Divination was no stranger to ancient Israel ... They clearly practiced various mantic techniques, forbade others, and placed all permissible ones within the framework of their monotheistic theology. Opposition to pagan divination centered on the fact that it was pagan, not that it was mantic. Dream interpretation ... continued from earlier times into the period when apocalyptic literature arose. As a result, to maintain that divination contributed to the rise of apocalypticism is not to assert an impossibility; this sort of wisdom was in many ways acceptable on Jewish soil (*Enoch*, 75).

the book of Daniel. Therefore, we will analyze mystery and its companion, wisdom, throughout Daniel, especially, ch. 2.

The first two uses of mystery are found in 2:17-19:

Then Daniel went to his house and informed his friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, about the matter, in order that they might request compassion from the God of heaven *concerning this mystery* [עֲלֵי־הַמִּסְתֵּרִים], so that Daniel and his friends might not be destroyed with the rest of the wise men of Babylon. Then the *mystery* [הַמִּסְתֵּרִים] was revealed to Daniel in a night vision.

In v. 18, mystery appears with a demonstrative pronoun “this” (הַזֶּה). The presence of this pronoun refers to the preceding discussion: Nebuchadnezzar demands to know the dream and its interpretation (2:4-6, 9, 16). Daniel calls his inquiry a “mystery.” Furthermore, since Nebuchadnezzar’s request included both the dream and its interpretation, mystery encompasses both of these components.⁵⁴

Thus far, the term mystery includes the dream and its interpretation, but the psalm in vv. 20-23 lends further insight into the relationship between mystery and wisdom. The impetus for this psalm is the disclosure of the mystery to Daniel: “Then [אָז] the mystery was revealed [נִגְלַה] to Daniel in a night vision. Then [אָז] Daniel blessed the God of heaven.” Therefore, the contents of vv. 20-23 should directly relate to the nature of mystery.⁵⁵ Since vv. 20-23 significantly affect Dan 2 and the nature of mystery, we will analyze the passage and then relate it to the immediate and broader context.

2.6.1. The Psalm of Dan 2:20-23

2.6.1.1. The Setting

Chapter 2 describes how Nebuchadnezzar “dreamed dreams,” but with great consternation, for his “spirit was troubled” (2:1). The king sum-

54 According to 2:16, Daniel requests additional time, so that he may disclose “the interpretation to the king.” It is possible that mystery here only includes the dream’s interpretation and not the dream itself. This, however, does not do justice to the surrounding context. The dream and its interpretation are mentioned together in 2:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 26. Nebuchadnezzar desires to know the content of the dream but it must be interpreted. When Daniel requests time to declare the interpretation to the king, he *assumed* that the dream would be part of this disclosure. Therefore, both the dream and its interpretation are a mystery (see Brown, *Semitic Background*, 7; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 13).

55 Mertens likewise notes the connection between 2:20-23 and mystery (*Das Buch Daniel*, 118).

mons the Babylonian diviners and commands them to relate the dream because his “spirit is anxious to understand the dream” (2:3, 5-6, 8-9). But because the Babylonian wise men are unable to relate to the king either the dream or the interpretation (2:4, 7, 10-11), Nebuchadnezzar decrees that all the wise men in Babylon are to be destroyed (2:12-13). After catching wind of this drastic measure from Arioch (2:14-15), Daniel approaches the king and begs for time, so that he may “declare the interpretation” to Nebuchadnezzar.

Following the his plea, Daniel and his friends “request compassion from the God of heaven” concerning “this mystery” (2:17-18), and God subsequently answers their request in Daniel’s night vision (אֲנִי חָזַן; 2:19). Immediately following the reception of the mystery, Daniel blesses God through a hymn.⁵⁶ At this juncture in the narrative, the reader is presented with a *crux interpretum* for understanding the book. Some have noted the prominent place that this hymn has in the flow of the narrative,⁵⁷ several even argue that this psalm is so connected to the overall development of the book that the purported final redactor—the individual who spliced chs. 1-6 with 7-12—produced this psalm.⁵⁸ Towner, after briefly examining the four hymns found in Daniel,⁵⁹ concludes, “All four appear to be created for the same specific purpose, namely, to *function* as theological epitomes of the significance of that experience of the speaker which is recounted in the narrative context”⁶⁰ (italics original). Watts even contends, “Dan. 2.20-23 was created as the benchmark against which the interpretation of the rest of the book should be judged.”⁶¹

56 Most consider the hymn to be some type of insertion into the book (e.g., S. Mowinckel, “Psalms and Wisdom,” in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* [ed. M. Noth and D. W. Thomas; VTSup 3; Leiden: Brill, 1955], 217).

57 W. Sibley Towner, “The Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6,” *CBQ* 31 (1969): 317-26.

58 E.g., A. Lacocque, *Daniel in His Time* (Columbia: South Carolina Press, 1988), 66. See J. W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative* (JSOTSup 139; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1992), 150-52, for a good summary and discussion of this hymn as it relates to the book as a whole.

59 Viz., 2:20-23, 4:1-3, 34-35, and 6:25-27.

60 Towner, “Poetic Passages,” 322. John. J. Collins, *Daniel: with an introduction to apocalyptic literature* (FOTL 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999) concludes, “On one level, the message of the story [Dan 2] is summarized in the doxologies,” 52.

61 Watts, *Psalm and Story*, 153. He goes on to say, “The nature of the psalm’s, and thus the book’s, emphasis is theocentric—God is the source of power and wisdom. Through the psalm, the author made certain that the story pointed first and foremost to God’s actions and control over events, even though God does not appear as a character in the narrative. G.T.M. Prinsloo, “Two Poems in a Sea of Prose: The Content and Context of Daniel 2.20-23 and 6.27-28,” *JSOT* 59 (1993): 100, rightly argues that this psalm is the center of the narrative in ch. 2 and becomes the focal

2.6.1.2. Form and Content

Some consider the hymn to be a psalm of thanksgiving or an imitation thereof.⁶² These psalms share a few distinct characteristics with hymns of thanksgiving (Pss. 18; 30; 31; 32; 40; 52; 66; 92; 116; 118; 120).⁶³ This form features: 1) the deliverance of the individual from peril;⁶⁴ 2) a repetition of the cry of distress; and 3) a call to praise based on this deliverance.⁶⁵ In addition, Kraus argues that thanksgiving songs can contain didactic messages (e.g., Ps 92).⁶⁶ This observation lends insight to our present discussion of Daniel's psalm, for vv. 20-22 uniquely describe the character of God.⁶⁷

20a Let the name of God be blessed forever and ever,

20b For wisdom and power belong to him.

21a And "It is he who changes the times and the epochs;

21b He removes kings and establishes kings;

21c He gives wisdom to wise men

21d And knowledge to men of understanding.

22a "It is he who reveals the profound and hidden things;

22b He knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with him."

The psalm follows typical Hebrew poetry.⁶⁸ Line 20b states the reason for the blessing in 20a: "Let the name of God be blessed ... *for* wisdom and power belong to him" (*italics mine*). Moreover, 20b is defined in

point. He says, "the poetic passage becomes the focal point of the narrative and provides the key to its interpretation. All the wisdom and power resides in God, only through him can insight be attained."

62 Prinsloo, "Two Poems," 96; John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word Books, 1989) 39; Towner, "Poetic Passages," 319-20, 323-24. For a discussion of this genre see A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary* (OTL; trans. Herbert Hartwell; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 83-86.

63 I have drawn these categories from Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (trans. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

64 The deliverance of the individual is central to this genre. Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (trans. Keith R. Crim and Richard N. Soulen; Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), concludes, "The report of God's intervention in declarative praise is likewise in two parts: he heard (inclined to me), and he delivered" (109).

65 Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 102, also contends that the "praise results from God's actions. God's intervention is the source of declarative praise" (109).

66 Kraus, *Psalms*, 51. Goldingay concurs that the psalm has the "fundamental feature of a hymn: it is concerned to acknowledge God's characteristic attributes and actions, rather than confess what God has just now done for the speaker" (*Daniel*, 39). I agree with Goldingay that the psalm acknowledges "God's characteristic attributes"; Daniel, however, "confesses" for what God has done; namely, God has "made known" to Daniel the mystery (2:23).

67 Watts, *Psalms and Story*, 148, notes how the narrator does not describe God in Dan 2, so this description is left to the speeches of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar.

68 For a comprehensive syntactical analysis of this psalm, see Prinsloo, "Two Poems," 95-97.

the following lines (vv. 21a-22b) and appears to be central: Wisdom and power originate from God alone. Lines 21a-21b describe God's power: "He changes the times ... he removes kings and establishes kings." He "changes the times" by "removing kings," whereas lines 21c-22a concern God disclosing his wisdom: "he gives wisdom ... and knowledge. It is he who reveals the profound and hidden things." Line 22b grounds 21c-22a, stating the basis for that disclosure: "He who reveals the *profound and hidden things* ... [because] he knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with him"⁶⁹ (*italics mine*). In sum, Daniel exalts and blesses God because *he is truly powerful and wise*. He exercises his power by removing and establishing kings and discloses his wisdom because he is all knowing.

Moreover, lines 21a-21b ring throughout the book of Daniel. In the immediate context, the interpretation of the statue in 2:28-45 echoes the notion that God "removes" kings and "establishes" his eternal reign (cf. Dan 2:39, 44). The remainder of the book overwhelmingly develops this theme of removing earthly kingdoms and the establishing of the eternal kingdom.⁷⁰ For example, ch. 4 mentions the removal and establishment of Nebuchadnezzar (4:31), while ch. 7 describes the eclipsing power of the eternal kingdom (7:14, 24) over the previous human kingdoms (7:12, 26). The same can even be said for chs. 8-12, since these passages reiterate the rise and fall of nations giving way to the restoration of Israel and God's reign (8:3-26; 9:2, 24-27; 11:2-12:13).

In addition, the second half of the first strophe, lines 21c-22b, ring throughout the book.⁷¹ Wisdom,⁷² wise men,⁷³ knowledge,⁷⁴ understanding,⁷⁵ and revealing⁷⁶ resonate in chs. 1-12. Perhaps lines 21c-22b encapsulate each revelation found in the book of Daniel from chs. 2-12, for every vision is a revelation of God—a disclosure of "profound and

69 Prinsloo, "Two Poems," 97, argues that the two terms "darkness" (אֲדָמָה) and "light" (אֲנִירָה) function as a merism, thus, underscoring God's ability to reveal hidden things.

70 In ch. 3, the use of מֶלֶךְ is striking in regard to the notion of Nebuchadnezzar's statue that represents his kingdom (the word appears thirteen times). Throughout ch. 3, the book of Daniel reiterates the point that Nebuchadnezzar "set up" (קָם) this statue (3:1-3, 5, 7, 12, 14, 18). But Nebuchadnezzar learns that God is the true King over mankind and "He sets over it [מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים] whomever he wishes" (cf. 5:21; 7:2-27; 8:3-25; 11:2-45).

71 Interestingly, 3 En., couches Dan 2:21 in a similar context: "He confers wisdom on the wise, and knowledge on those with wit to discern; to reveal to them the secrets of my word, and to instruct them in the decree of my judgment" (48C:9).

72 1:4, 17, 20; 2:20, 23, 30, 5:14.

73 2:12-14, 18, 24, 27, 48; 4:6, 4:18; 5:7-8, 15.

74 4:34, 36; 5:12.

75 1:20; 8:15; 9:22; 10:1.

76 2:19, 28-30, 47; 10:1.

hidden" things (2:22). The first strophe is thus a window into the overall contours of the book of Daniel.

The second strophe, v. 23, shifts from the third person to second, highlighting God's actions but with reference to Daniel.⁷⁷ Prinsloo contends that the first strophe is more general, while the second strophe has an immediate situation.⁷⁸

23a "To you, O God of my fathers, I give thanks and praise,

23b For you have given me wisdom and power;

23c Even now You have made known to me what we requested of you,

23d For you have made known to us the king's matter."

Daniel's praise to God is clearly exhibited in v. 23 ("To You, ... I give thanks and praise") and grounded by 23b-d. We again detect notions of "wisdom," "power," and "revealing" in 23b. God's deliverance of Daniel from distress can be seen in lines 23b: "You have given me wisdom." Lines 23c-d further unpack God giving Daniel wisdom: "You have made known to me *what we requested of you* [דִּי־בִעֲנֵנָא מִנְּךָ],⁷⁹ for you have *made known to us the king's matter* [דִּי־מִלָּת מֶלֶכָא הוֹדַעְתָּנָא] (italics mine).⁸⁰ The first strophe, lines 20b-22b, is therefore rehearsed in the second strophe, yet narrowly referring to Daniel.

2.6.1.2. Conclusion

Keeping this psalm in mind, we are able to draw a few conclusions. The first strophe (20a-22b) articulates God "removing" and "establishing" kings and giving wisdom to "wise men." In the second strophe (v. 23), God gave Daniel wisdom concerning the rise and fall of kings (i.e., Nebuchadnezzar). To take this one step further, Daniel has already labeled this disclosure a "mystery" in 2:18-19. Therefore, according to 2:23 (which assumes 2:20-22), *mystery is the revelation of God's wisdom to Daniel concerning future events; specifically, the rise and fall of Nebuchadnezzar and the ultimate establishment of God's eternal reign.* In light of this analysis, perhaps it is valid even to apply the situation in ch. 2 with the remainder of the book (further explaining the significance of the psalm). If the mystery is connected to Daniel receiving wisdom con-

77 Prinsloo, "Two Poems," 97.

78 Ibid., "Two Poems," 97.

79 See לִמְכָּנָא in 2:18; cf. 2:13, 16, 49.

80 See מִלָּת in 2:8-11.

cerning future events in ch. 2, then chs. 4, 5, and 7-12 may also conceptually inform our understanding of mystery.⁸¹

We can generally define mystery as *God revealing his wisdom*. Simply, it is a divine revelation.⁸² This accounts for the high appropriation of revealing or disclosing vocabulary throughout the book of Daniel. The verb גלה⁸³ appears eight times, referring to God “disclosing” either “mysteries” (גִּלְיָה; 2:19, 28-30), “deep and hidden things” (עֲמִיקֵהָא וּמְסֻתֵּיהָא; 2:22), or a visionary “message” (רִבְרָה; 10:1). The disclosure of God’s

81 P. R. Davies, “Reading Daniel Sociologically,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (BETL 106; ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leuven: University Press, 1993), 357, contends that the concept of mystery in Daniel is found in both the revelations in chs 1-6 and 7-12 (cf. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 116, and Caragounis, *Ephesian Mysterion*, 123). Collins argues, “If we understand the domain of mantic wisdom to extend to the interpretation of scripture, then it includes, in effect, all the major media of revelation in apocalyptic” (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 56).

82 In order for us to understand the nature of apocalyptic wisdom, or, in this case, mantic wisdom, we should contrast it with proverbial wisdom, often found in large tracts of the OT. Collins, “Court-Tales,” 232, likewise contends,

We must distinguish proverbial wisdom, which makes up most of the OT wisdom books, from mantic wisdom, as practiced by Joseph and Daniel, which includes the interpretation of dreams, signs, and visions. (Proverbial wisdom leaves little trace in apocalyptic. Mantic wisdom, however, especially when concerned with political oracles, is closer to prophecy than to proverbial wisdom.)

Generally, proverbial wisdom concerns God’s wisdom endemic within the created order (though obviously with a divine origin [cf. Job 28:1-28]), and is something that can be determined by observing creation. For example, Prov 30:25 says, “The ants are not a strong people, but they prepare their food in the summer.” The audience is thus commanded to observe how creation behaves and to conduct oneself accordingly (cf., e.g., Prov 30:19; 27-28). In other words, one learns God’s righteous decrees by observation. Apocalyptic wisdom, on the other hand, is not integrated into creation. It is simply revealed from heaven. Such divine wisdom is unattainable, beyond human grasp. It can only be known if God chooses to reveal it (cf. Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 42-51). The term רָא therefore signals a major difference or shift in the nature of wisdom. The word רָא is indeed a *terminus technicus*, since it signals the process of God disclosing apocalyptic wisdom. Goff concludes, rightly, that

Both biblical [proverbial] wisdom and apocalyptic literature claim to contain wisdom ... Yet the epistemology of apocalyptic literature is markedly different from that of biblical wisdom. Whereas the wisdom of Proverbs is produced by human contemplation, Daniel and *1 Enoch* claim to contain revealed wisdom ... The term “raz” represents a crucial difference between biblical wisdom and apocalypticism. It is key for the acquisition of knowledge in Daniel and *1 Enoch* and has no analogue in biblical wisdom (*Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 47).

83 This term is often connected to the opening of eyes and ears during a revelatory event (Num 24:4, 16; 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15), thus explaining its use in a visionary context (see Hans-Jürgen Zobel, “גִּלְיָה,” *TDOT* 2: 476-88).

wisdom is the common denominator of each of these passages.⁸⁴ In ch. 2, the terms גִּלָּה and ἀποκαλύπτω describe the revelation of the mystery to Daniel, while in ch. 4 this vocabulary is lacking; we only have the technical term mystery (רִי; 4:9). But the dreams in chs. 2 and 4 are certainly revelations (hence, the use of רִי in both chapters).

Therefore, although revelatory language is lacking in ch. 4, it is still valid to call Nebuchadnezzar's dream in this chapter a revelation. The same characterization can also be applied to Daniel's visions in chs. 7-12. The only other time גִּלָּה/ἀποκαλύπτω is used is in 10:1: "A message [רִי] was revealed [הִגָּלָה/ἀπεκαλύφθη] to Daniel, ... and the message was true ... he understood the message and had an understanding of the vision [בְּמִרְאָה]" (see 2:45). Yet this revelation is one of four in chs. 7-12, thus explaining the repetition of רִי (9:2, 23; 10:11; 12:4, 9) and מִרְאָה (8:15, 26-27; 9:23; 10:7-8, 16) throughout these chapters. Furthermore, in 7:1 Daniel "saw a dream and visions" (חָלַם וַיִּרְאֶה), likely analogous to Nebuchadnezzar's dreams in chs. 2 and 4.⁸⁵ Just as God delivers his wisdom to Daniel to know and interpret the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar in chs. 2-4, God directly discloses his wisdom to Daniel in chs. 7-12 and furnishes Daniel with wisdom to understand them.

With this proposal in mind, we are able to examine several parts of the book of Daniel. If the technical term mystery encompasses God's disclosure of wisdom, then the revelations found in chs. 2, 4, 5, and 7-12 are *all* included conceptually. Mystery is dynamic both in its form, content, and function. Regarding form, the word refers to the twofold disclosure—symbol and interpretation. Its content pertains to future events, while retaining a polemical function throughout.

2.7. Form of Mystery

A distinctive apocalyptic mark of Daniel is the nature of twofold revelation in contrast to other places in the OT where the prophets directly receive God's revelation. As we have seen, this distinctive mode of revelation is common in the ancient world of divination—the nature of mantic wisdom (e.g., prognostic dreams) is often expressed in twofold

84 Theodotion consistently translates this verb גִּלָּה as ἀποκαλύπτω (2:19, 22, 28-30, 47; 10:1; 11:35), whereas the OG uses a variety of terms such as ἀνακαλύπτω (2:22, 28-29), δείκνυμι (10:1), and ἐκφαινών (2:19, 30, 47; 10:1). Although the verb גִּלָּה is not used, Theodotion rightly saw a connection in 11:33-35 (a text that discusses מִשְׁכִּילֵי עַם and refers back to 2:20-23).

85 See 2:1, 3-7, 9, 26, 28, 36, 45, 4:5-9, 19, and 5:12 where the root חָלַם is used, while הִרְאֶה is found in 2:19, 28, 4:5, 9-10, 13, 7:2, 7, 13, 15, 20.

disclosure. My aim is to outline the basic structure of wisdom in the book of Daniel. This analysis will encompass its two major features: symbol and interpretation, thus adding further insight into the fabric of mystery.

In ch. 2, Nebuchadnezzar dreams and desires to know the interpretation (פֶּשֶׁר; 2:1-13). God reveals both the dream and the interpretation—the mystery—to Daniel in a “night vision” (2:19), outlined in 2:31-45. This disclosure of God’s wisdom is marked by the term *pešer* (פֶּשֶׁר; used thirty-four times in Daniel⁸⁶), serving virtually as a *terminus technicus*. The notion of *pešer* has been greatly discussed, especially in Near Eastern⁸⁷ and Qumran studies,⁸⁸ but for our present purposes, I will only discuss *pešer* as it relates to the book of Daniel. The Aramaic term appears earlier than the Hebrew and is probably connected with the Akkadian *pašāru*,⁸⁹ meaning “to report,” “interpret,” or “loosen.”⁹⁰

The term פֶּשֶׁר is also reminiscent of פִּתְרוֹן in Gen 40-41, where the cupbearer and baker dream and Joseph delivers their interpretations (40:5-19). Likewise, Pharaoh’s dream cannot be interpreted by anyone except Joseph (41:14-32). Just as he delivers the interpretation (פִּתְרוֹן) to the baker, the cupbearer, and Pharaoh, Daniel interprets (פֶּשֶׁר) Nebuchadnezzar’s dreams.⁹¹

In ch. 2, Daniel receives both the dream and the interpretation from God, but in ch. 4 only the interpretation is revealed to Daniel. Nevertheless in ch. 4, God *reveals* the dream to Nebuchadnezzar and *reveals*

86 The only other place in the OT where the root פֶּשֶׁר occurs is in Ecc 8:1.

87 Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 454-56.

88 E.g., W. H. Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *BA* 14 (1951): 54-76; Paul Mandel, “Midrashic Exegesis and Its Precedents,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 149-68; J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament,” in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (ed. J. A. Fitzmyer; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974), 3-58; M. J. Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Peshet Technique,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 30-70; I. Rabinowitz, “Peshet/Pittaron: Its Biblical Meaning and Its Significance in the Qumran Literature,” *RevQ* 8 (1973): 226-30; Finkel, “The Peshet of Dreams,” 383-98.

89 H.-J. Fabry, “פֶּשֶׁר,” *TDOT* 12:152.

90 Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 217-20. Cf. Fabry, “פֶּשֶׁר,” 152.

91 The affinities between Daniel and Joseph have been well documented (see Mastin, “Wisdom and Daniel,” 164-65; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 20-21; E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament* [BZAW 73; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1953]). For our purposes, we only need to underscore two features: Joseph succeeded where the Egyptians failed (see discussion below); Joseph and Daniel receive mantic wisdom, thus, the two-part structure of symbol and interpretation. The main difference, however, between these two figures is that Daniel receives eschatological revelation (cf. VanderKam, *Enoch*, 74-75, and Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 22).

the interpretation to Daniel.⁹² Therefore, mystery still is couched in a two-part formula—symbolic revelation (Nebuchadnezzar) and interpretative revelation (Daniel). This interpretation differs somewhat from the previous revelation, for Daniel delivers a two-tiered interpretation of the king's dream. He begins the initial interpretation in 4:20-22: "The tree that you saw ... it is you, O king." But then in v. 24, Daniel expands on this interpretation: "*This is the interpretation* [רְאֵה פֶשֶׁרָא], O king, and this is the decree ... which has come upon my lord the king: that you will be driven away from mankind." It is not clear why we see a two-tiered approach,⁹³ but at least we can detect a formal interpretative marker in 4:24 with the word "interpretation."

The narrative in ch. 5 slightly differs, since Daniel does not deliver an interpretation for a dream. Though the previous accounts include wisdom in the form of a dream, ch. 5 should be considered analogous. Even here in ch. 5 a twofold pattern of cryptic revelation and interpretation surfaces (5:7-8, 15-17, 24-28). The cryptic revelation (like the dreams) is the inscription on the wall (5:5-9). Only Daniel has the ability to give an accurate interpretation. In 5:25-28, Daniel outlines this two-part revelation: "'Now this is the inscription that was written out: 'MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.' This is the *interpretation of the message* [פֶּשֶׁר־מִלְּהָא].'"⁹⁴ In this passage, although we do not have the

92 Contra Beale who argues that the mystery in ch. 4 is not twofold but only includes the interpretation (*Use of Daniel*, 14-15). He concedes that this communication to Nebuchadnezzar is, however, "divinely inspired." This position does not take into account the parallel structure of the dreams in chs. 2 and 4 along with the overall revelatory nature of dreams and visions in the book of Daniel. It seems that the simple disclosure of God's wisdom to Nebuchadnezzar (in this case a description of the king himself) is a rehearsal of 2:20-23 (see above discussion) and therefore a mystery.

93 Note that a similar two-tiered interpretation is given by an angel in 7:17-27.

94 Berrin points out that the interpretation of the cryptic writing depends not solely on revelation but also on the "sense of the words" ("Qumran Pesharim," 127). This observation furthers our understanding of the visions: The visions/ writing contain encoded revelation that must be decoded. It is not as though the initial revelation is completely devoid of meaning but that its interpretation elucidates that which is already present. To put it another way, the message is hidden and requires an additional revelation that unlocks the meaning. Furthermore, this reasoning may explain why Qumran developed the *pešer* method (Lou H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher (1 Qp Hab.)," *RevQ* 11 (1961): 323-64).

technical term רָז ,⁹⁵ it nevertheless encapsulates the cryptic writing and its interpretation.⁹⁶

As in chs. 1-6, the disclosing of wisdom in chs. 7-12 is couched in the typical two-part structure. This time, however, Daniel is on the "hot seat," while an *angelus intepres* emerges.⁹⁷ Chapter 7 has long been considered to be linked with ch. 2, for the four beasts are likened unto the four kingdoms.⁹⁸ In addition to this thematic tie, cryptic revelation and its interpretation closely resembles chs. 2, 4, and 5. In 7:16, Daniel, like Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, seeks an interpretation in 7:16: ("So he told me and made known to me the *interpretation* [רְשָׁפָה] of these things") and 7:19 ("Then I desired to *know the exact meaning* [לְדַעַת מְעַתָּה] of the fourth beast"). The word "interpretation" is found at a critical point in the chapter.⁹⁹ Thus, we can see a pattern emerging in ch. 7, similar to chs. 2, 4, and 5: A cryptic revelation is given in a dream (7:1-14), followed by divine interpretation (7:17-17, 23-27).¹⁰⁰

Similar to the previous vision, ch. 8 appears to be analogous to chs. 2, 4, and 5 at key junctures. The chapter begins with a date formula (8:1; cf. 2:1; 7:1) and proceeds to describe Daniel's reception of a vision in 8:2-14, which is likened unto the beasts of ch. 7.¹⁰¹ As with ch. 7, Daniel desires to receive an interpretation in vv. 15-17: "'And it came about when I, Daniel, had seen the vision, that I sought to understand it; ... I heard a voice of a man between the *banks of Ulai*, and he called out and said, 'Gabriel, give this man an understanding of the vision'" (italics original; cf. 8:18-19). Like the preceding episodes, this cryptic revelation is interpreted through an angelic messenger in 8:19-26.

95 In 5:12, the variant $\text{συγκρίνων μυστήρια}$ in ms 62 of Theo indicates that part of the Greek OT tradition considers the enigmatic writing to constitute a mystery (cf. Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 16).

96 F. F. Bruce, "The Book of Daniel," 225-26 and Mertens, *Daniel*, 118, also make the same connection.

97 Fishbane connects the *angelus intepres* in Daniel 7-12 with Zech 1:9; 2:2; 4:5; 6:4 (*Biblical Interpretation*, 448).

98 See Rainer Albertz, "The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (VTSup 83; ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 177-78; David W. Gooding, "The Literary Structure of the Book of Daniel and Its Implications," *TynBul* 32 (1981): 60; Reinhard Kratz, "The Visions of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (VTSup 83; ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 94-97.

99 Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 78, states that "The essential connection between the media of revelation in chs. 1-6 and those in 7-12 is confirmed by the use of the word *peshet*. ... The visions of Daniel 7 and 8 are followed by interpretation which relate them explicitly to eschatological events, and in Daniel 9 a scriptural passage is similarly interpreted" (cf. Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 17).

100 F. F. Bruce, "Book of Daniel," 225-26, argues for the presence of mystery in ch. 7.

101 See Gooding, "Literary Structure," 62; Kratz, "Visions of Daniel," 100.

Chapter 9 differs from chs. 7-8, since Daniel does not receive an initial vision (cf. 9:22-23); instead, Daniel reads from Jeremiah¹⁰² concerning the “70 years” (Jer 25:11-12; 29:10). But it is worthy to note that Jeremiah received the prophecy “according to the word of the Lord” (דְּבַר־יְהוָה; Dan 9:2). Thus, Daniel is reading what God *revealed* to Jeremiah. Not only does Daniel “observe” (בִּינְהוּ) [a term that connects chs. 2, 8-9 together]) what God revealed to Jeremiah, but God delivers an interpretation to Daniel in a vision (9:22-23) concerning “Jeremiah’s revelation” and, again, through an angel.¹⁰³ Gabriel says, “O Daniel, I have now come forth to give you insight with understanding [לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ בְּיָנְהוּ] ... I have come to tell you, for you are highly esteemed; so give heed to the message and gain understanding [וְהָבֵנָה] of the vision” (italics original; 9:23-24; cf. 2:1). The interpretation of the seventy years is thus given in vv. 24-29.

Thus far, the book of Daniel has outlined three sets of revelation that subsequently have been interpreted by an angel. It is therefore significant that Jeremiah’s prophecy parallels the form of chs. 2, 4, 7, and 8. According to the book of Daniel, even this portion of written prophecy needed further illumination.¹⁰⁴

Chapters 10-12 constitute the final vision of Daniel. This visionary experience further develops the themes found in chs. 7-8.¹⁰⁵ But unlike the previous visions, this one does not explicitly use the two-tiered approach (cryptic then revealed revelation). It may however imply this distinction, for in 10:21 the angel is not delivering direct revelation: “I will tell you *what is inscribed in the writing* [אֲתֵּן-לְךָ שׁוֹמֵר בְּכַתֵּב] of truth.” The notion of “inscribing” and “writing” strongly allude to ch. 5 with the writing on the wall (5:24-25)¹⁰⁶ and may suggest that the angel is functioning in an interpretative role.

102 Davies, “Reading Daniel,” 353-55, argues for a “book” theme in Daniel. The book begins with earthly books (1:4, 17) and ends with a heavenly book of “secrets” (12:1, 4). In 7:1, Daniel had a vision and “wrote the dream down,” perhaps alluding to the “writing on the wall” in 5:5 (Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 447). Therefore, that Daniel is “reading” about Jeremiah’s prophecy in 9:2 should not surprise the reader (Davies, “Reading Daniel,” 353).

103 Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 77, also contends that “The literary distinction of vision and interpretation is chs. 7 and 8 is parallel to the real distinction between prophecy and interpretation in ch. 9” (contra Fabry, “בִּינְהוּ,” 157).

104 On the interpretation of the difficult seventy weeks, see Meredith G. Kline, “The Covenant of the Seventieth Week,” in *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis* (ed. John H. Skilton; Nutley, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing Co., 1974), 452-69; Collins, *Daniel*, 348-60.

105 Tremper Longman, *Daniel* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 245; Kratz, “Visions of Daniel,” 105.

106 Cf. Gooding, “Literary Structure,” 68.

Furthermore, in chs. 10-12, there are salient features and motifs that echo previous themes. In 10:1, a “message was revealed” (רָבַר נִגְלָה) to Daniel who “understood the message [תֵּדָבַר] and had an understanding of the vision” (cf. 10:12, 14, 21; 11:2, 33; 12:3). Themes of revealing, message, understanding, and vision have all been significantly developed by ch. 10. The reader ought to keep in mind these prior themes and relate them to this final vision.

Therefore, in our analysis we can surmise that wisdom in Daniel is characterized by a twofold structure: symbolic and interpretative revelation.¹⁰⁷ Revelation has taken the form of dreams, writing, previous prophecy, and visions. It would therefore be a mistake to separate any of these forms of revelation,¹⁰⁸ since each of these modes is an expression of God’s revealed wisdom. Revelation, albeit in several mediums, such as dreams, writing, OT Scripture, is hidden or encoded until the interpretation has been provided. The initial revelation remains incoherent to individuals, even to the seer (i.e., Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel). It is not until the interpretation has been given that the initial, hidden revelation is sensible. In other words, our study affirms the general maxim that *mystery constitutes a revelation that was previously hidden but now has been revealed*.

107 Noegel’s work on dreams and their interpretation in the ANE and HB, affirms our analysis that dreams are closely wedded to their interpretation, thus, furthering our conclusion that the term mystery entails both of these concepts (*Nocturnal Ciphers*, 147-82).

108 Collins broadly comments on the use of פֶּשֶׁר in Daniel and is in agreement with my analysis: “God’s messages are concealed in codes, whether visions, dreams or scriptures. There is a need of a wise interpreter to understand the mysteries” (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 78). Beale concludes that the narratives in chs. 2, 4, 5 and 7 follow a threefold pattern of פֶּשֶׁר (*Use of Daniel*, 18-19). Though he is right in making this connection, this pattern fails in chs. 8-12 (explaining why he does not investigate chs. 8-12). It is preferable, on the other hand, to read chs. 2-7 and 8-12 together through a twofold revelatory lens. Although this twofold structure is not completely obvious, chs. 8 and 9 (and probably 10-12) provide an interpretation of revelation (either visionary or written) without the use of the term פֶּשֶׁר. Therefore, though פֶּשֶׁר is not used in chs. 8-12, its presence is still felt. Furthermore, Beale argues that the term פֶּשֶׁר “appears to be one of the devices by which Daniel denotes the fulfillment of divine prophetic visions, utterances, and inscriptions” (*Use of Daniel*, 19). This conclusion fits well in chs. 2, 4 and 5 but is a bit strained in ch. 7 (Beale provides no examples of fulfillment in ch. 7, although the vision is a recapitulation of ch. 2—where its initial fulfillment occurs in 5:30-31). In addition, if indeed we can detect a presence of פֶּשֶׁר in chs. 8-12, then the concept of immediate fulfillment is also not obvious. Thus, I understand פֶּשֶׁר as denoting the mere interpretation of symbolic revelation. Fulfillment stems not from פֶּשֶׁר but from the *content* of the mystery. The content of revelation is prognostic and mostly eschatological; therefore, the notion of fulfillment will naturally follow.

2.8. Content of Mystery

Above we noted the difference between mantic wisdom in the ANE and mantic wisdom in Daniel. Wisdom, according to the book of Daniel, is eschatological. In 2:28, Daniel delivers one of the most insightful characteristics of mystery: “There is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries, and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will take place *in the latter days* [בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים/ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν {OG and Theo}].” Daniel closely relates to Nebuchadnezzar two concepts: His God is a “revealer of mysteries” (וְנִגְלֵאֵם הַיָּסוּד); and this mystery in ch. 2 specifically pertains to the “latter days.” In v. 29, Daniel further develops this notion: “O king, *while on your bed your thoughts turned to what would take place in the future* [כְּשֶׁעָלְתָּ אֶתְּרִיבָהּ/ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν {OG}¹⁰⁹]; and he who reveals mysteries has made known to you *what will take place* [כְּשֶׁנִּגְלֵאֵם לְךָ/ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι]” (*italics original*). This phrase, בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים (ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν), is highly eschatological and a common OT eschatological expression.¹¹⁰

109 Evidently, the OG considered the phrase to be even more eschatological than Theodotion’s rendering (τί δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα), hence the translation ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν.

110 The phrase “latter days” is eschatological in nature (see John T. Willis, “The Expression *be’acharith hayyamin* in the Old Testament,” *RestQ* 22 [1979]: 54-71) and used throughout the OT, which refers to a time of distress (Deut 4:30; 8:16; Ezek 38:8, 16), restoration of Israel (Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; 30:24; Hos 3:5; Micah 4:1), or a ruler that brings peace and prosperity to Israel (Gen 49:1; Num 24:14). The first use of this phrase is in Gen 49:1, when Jacob prophesies over his sons: “Assemble yourselves that I may tell you what shall befall you *in the days to come* [בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים/ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν].” A few verses later, Jacob describes the future of Judah: “Judah is a lion’s whelp; ... The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet until Shiloh comes, and to him *shall be* the obedience of the peoples” (49:10; *italics original*). Though this verse is plagued with difficulties, we can at least associate “ruling” with Judah in a future era. In Num 24: 14, Balaam relates to Balak Israel’s dominance in the “latter days”: “I will advise you what this people will do ... *in the days to come* [בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים/ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν].” Balaam goes on to deliver the oracle, saying “A star shall come forth from Jacob, and a scepter shall rise from Israel, and shall crush through the forehead of Moab, and tear down all the sons of Sheth. ... One from Jacob shall have dominion” (24:17-19). Like Gen 49, this passage describes a ruler originating from Israel that conquers the surrounding nations (cf. Dan 11). Therefore, by the time that Daniel was written, this phrase had been developed in the prophetic tradition (Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; 30:24; Hos 3:5; Micah 4:1). We are, however, assuming the availability of this term before *terminus ad quem* of Daniel. Those who encourage a late dating of these “latter day” texts in the OT place them in the exilic or postexilic period (e.g., W. Staerk, “Der Gebrauch der Wendung *b’hryt hymym* in at. Kanon,” *ZAW* 11 [1891]: 247-53), but they would also contend that Daniel should be dated deep into the postexilic era. Thus, in either case (an early or late dating of Daniel) the book of Daniel was able to draw upon these eschatological themes. Furthermore, the term בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים in the OT generally

The eschatological terminology in vv. 28-29 is very appropriate given the content of the dream. The colossus represents four kingdoms¹¹¹ that are eventually crushed by a "stone" (2:35, 44-45) and eclipsed by a "kingdom which will never be destroyed, ... but it will itself endure forever" (2:44). In v. 45, Daniel summarizes the climax of the dream, using eschatological terminology: "Inasmuch as you saw that a stone was cut out of the mountain without hands and that it crushed the iron, the bronze, ... the great God has made known *what will take place in the future* [לְהַגִּיד אֶת־הַעֲתִידָהּ] τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν [OG]." The remainder of Daniel touches on this main theme—God's kingdom ultimately will overthrow all others, including Nebuchadnezzar's.¹¹²

Nebuchadnezzar has a second dream in ch. 4 but, *prima facie*, this dream appears to be a bit more personal because it describes the king's demise. Nebuchadnezzar also labels this dream and its interpretation a "mystery" in 4:9 [MT 4:6]: "'Since I know that a spirit of the holy gods is in you and no *mystery* [רִי] baffles you, tell *me* the vision of my dream which I have seen, along with its interpretation" (italics original). Some commentators in their analysis of the term mystery tend to view ch. 4 as non-eschatological and disparate from ch. 2.¹¹³ This position does

refers to a time of conflict and restoration. The book of Daniel continues this eschatological outlook (contra Hans Kosmala "'At the End of the Days,'" in *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 2 [ed. Gillis Gerleman, Gösta Lindeskog, and H. S. Nyberg; Leiden: Brill, 1963], 28-31, who bifurcates the use of בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים/ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν in the OT with Daniel [see also J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Eschatology in the Old Testament," in *Oudtestamentische Studiën* [ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1972], 91). We also need to keep in mind Daniel's use and the LXX's equivalent of קֵץ (8:19), עֶד-כֵּלָה (9:27), לְקֵץ הַיָּמִים (11:13), קֵץ לְמוֹעֵד (11:27), and קֵץ הַיָּמִים (12:13; cf. 11:35; 12:4, 7), for each of these terms contains eschatological connotations.

- 111 The identification of these four kingdoms is heavily debated. We are not primarily concerned with their exact identification; rather, we are more interested in the eschatological character of their fall. For a discussion of the kingdoms' identification, see Goldingay, *Daniel*, 49-52, John H. Walton, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel," *JETS* 29 (1986): 25-36, Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1978), 85-94, and John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 166-70 and bibliography therein.
- 112 Gooding contends, "The total message of the book, then, is nothing less than a survey, part historical and part prophetic, of the whole period of Gentile imperial rule from Nebuchadnezzar's first assault upon Jerusalem and the removal of its Davidic king until the abolition of all Gentile imperial power and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom" ("Literary Structure," 68). Beale argues that the dream, though eschatological, contains an immediate function and application for Nebuchadnezzar (*Use of Daniel*, 14). The implication is that already within the OT, particularly Daniel, there is an already-and-not-yet eschatological framework.
- 113 E.g., Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 116; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 15, although he does indicate that ch. 4 is a "continuing actualization" of ch. 2 (19).

not take into account ch. 4's relationship with ch. 2. According to 2:21, God "changes the times and the epochs; he removes kings and establishes kings." In striking fashion, 4:28-33 is an example/fulfillment of God "removing" a king¹¹⁴ and an immediate fulfillment of the mystery in 4:10-26.¹¹⁵

Nebuchadnezzar's hubris led to his downfall and dethronement (4:30-31; 5:19-20); the king failed to submit to God's sovereignty. This is the core of the mystery in ch. 2: All the kings of the earth will eventually bow to God (2:44-45). Though God's reign will not transpire on earth until the destruction of the fourth kingdom in the "latter days" (2:28, 40-45), God is still the supreme cosmic ruler. In the removal of Nebuchadnezzar and his subsequent restoration, the theme of ch. 2 is rehearsed. This explains the constant reference to God's "eternal kingdom" throughout ch. 4.¹¹⁶

As with ch. 4, the narrative in ch. 5 is framed in accordance with ch. 2. Daniel even recalls Nebuchadnezzar's earlier collapse but eventual restoration (5:18-21). The invasion of Darius signals the fall of the Babylonians and the installment of the Medo-Persian empire—the fulfillment of 2:39 (cf. 7:5; 8:3, 20).¹¹⁷ The inscription on the wall—the mystery in ch. 5—also rehearses this redemptive theme. Each enigmatic term (e.g., *MENE*) is filled with redemptive historical significance alluding to 2:39. Thus, the events in ch. 5 are, in some manner, eschatological according to 2:28. The invasion of the Medo-Persian empire constitutes one more phase in God's timetable for the establishment of his earthly rule.

Scholars have long noted the parallel thought and structure of chs. 7 and 2. Though "latter days" or synonymous terms are not used in ch. 7, these elements are obviously implicit. As in ch. 2, four kingdoms are eclipsed by God's eternal kingdom (7:11-14). The content of mystery in ch. 7 represents four beasts being identified as four kingdoms that are eclipsed by God's reign.

114 Note the repetition of the verb "remove" (עָרַב) in 2:21 and 4:31. *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* attributes the "establishing of kings" in 2:21 with Nebuchadnezzar in 4:34-36 (p. 85).

115 See Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 15.

116 In 4:3, Nebuchadnezzar confesses, "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation." This verse recalls God's eternal kingdom in 2:44-45. Likewise, the angelic figure in 4:13 rehearses this theme in delivering the dream's purpose: "In order that the living may know that the Most High is ruler over the realm of mankind, and bestows it on whom he wishes, and sets over it the lowliest of men" (4:17; see 4:25, 32; 5:21). This is developed further by Nebuchadnezzar's praise in 4:34: "I blessed the Most High and praised and honored him ... For his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom *endures* from generation to generation" (italics original).

117 Cf. Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 16.

The content of the apocalyptic term mystery in ch. 8 is markedly eschatological. Gabriel delivers the interpretation of the vision in vv. 20-26, but contextualizes this vision with end-time language in vv. 17-19: "So he [Gabriel] came near to where I was standing, ... he said to me, 'Son of man, understand that the vision pertains to the time of the end [עֵת הַסֵּפֶר/εἰς ὥραν καιροῦ τοῦτο {OG}]. ... Behold, I am going to let you know *what will occur at the final period of the indignation* [בְּאַחֲרֵית הַחֲרָה/ἂ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς ὀργῆς {OG}]; for it pertains to the appointed time of the end [עֵת הַסֵּפֶר/εἰς ὥρας καιροῦ συντελείας μενεῖ {OG}]'" (italics original).¹¹⁸ The content of the dream is concerned with the destruction of two kingdoms (8:4-8), Medo-Persia and Greece (8:20-21), and the success and eventual decimation of the "small horn" (8:9-12, 23-25), probably identified as Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

In ch. 9, Daniel does not receive a cryptic vision but seeks to understand the timing of Jeremiah's prophecy that Israel would return from Babylon after seventy years (Jer. 25:11-12; 29:10). An angel comes to Daniel's aid and interprets the prophecy by delivering a message in a vision (9:21-23). The content of this message is the debated "seventy sevens" that describe a number of eschatological events: the termination of sin, forgiveness of sin, installation of righteousness, "sealing up" of prophecy, and the reinstitution of the temple (9:24). This chapter is filled with eschatological language but without the common eschatological temporal markers (e.g., "latter days"). The mystery in ch. 9 is Jeremiah's seventy years and Gabriel's interpretation, while the content of this vision is not a far cry from our previous analyses. The angel outlines similar eschatological events, even further developments of previous eschatological visions.¹¹⁹

Daniel's final vision, chs. 10-12, likewise contains eschatological language. In 10:14, an angelic messenger prefaces the upcoming visionary content: "'Now I have come to give you an understanding of what will happen to your people in the latter days [בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים/ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν¹²⁰], for the vision pertains to the days yet future [עֵת הַסֵּפֶר/εἰς ἡμέρας]' (italics original).¹²¹ Those who have insight will

118 Theodotion reads: "ἔτι γὰρ εἰς καιροῦ ... καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ γνωρίζω σοι τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς ὀργῆς ἔτι γὰρ εἰς καιροῦ πέρας ἡ ὥρασις" (8:17-19).

119 Contra Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 116. The great restoration found in 9:24 could be connected with the establishment of God's eternal kingdom in 2:44-45 and 7:27 (see 8:25), while the opposition and persecution of God's elect and anointed in 9:25-27 recall 7:21, 25, 8:10-12, and 23-25.

120 Both LXX translations are identical.

121 Synonymous eschatological language is also found in 11:20, 27, 35, 12:4, 7, 9, and 13 (cf. 11:13). Though these verses do not use the term "latter days," they use terms such as "end" and "appointed time." For example, 11:35 says, "'And some of those

further illuminate “the many”¹²² and be refined during a time of affliction (11:33-35). In 12:1, a great persecution will set in—“a time of distress such as never occurred.” But in the midst of this tribulation, a remnant will remain and “be rescued” (12:1). They will eventually be resurrected, and those who have “understanding” (הַמְּשֻׁבָּלִים) will “shine brightly” (12:2-4). Therefore, the eschatological events in chs. 11-12 comprise the rise and fall of kings and the antagonism of Antiochus IV and an end-time opponent. A remnant will remain despite this affliction and will eventually be vindicated at the resurrection. Broadly speaking, this vision is similar to the previous visions, for the rise and fall of kings rehearses 2:21a (“He removes kings and establishes kings”) and those with “understanding” also recalls 2:21b (“He gives wisdom to wise men and knowledge to men of understanding.”)

In sum, the content of the mystery pertains to events that take place in the latter days. These eschatological events primarily include the establishment of God’s end-time kingdom, the rise and fall of Israel’s antagonists, and, finally, the vindication of Israel’s righteous.

2.10. Function of Mystery

Up to this point, I have been in general agreement with those who have previously discussed the notion of mystery in Daniel, but there still remains one more crucial question: What is the narrational aspect of wisdom in the book of Daniel? Previous studies on mystery have sought to determine the content and form of wisdom, but as far as I am aware, none has developed the *function* of the technical term.

Scholars have noted the significance of the court narratives in the book of Daniel, and appear to have achieved some consensus.¹²³ They

who have insight will fall, in order to refine, purge, and make them pure, until the end time [עַד-עֵת / ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας {OG}]; because *it is still to come* at the appointed time [כִּי-עוֹד לְמוֹעֵד / ἔτι γὰρ καιρὸς εἰς ὥρας {OG}]” (italics original).

122 These men of “understanding” (הַמְּשֻׁבָּלִים) function in a similar capacity as Daniel himself. Perhaps they too will “understand” and perceive great revelations and mysteries. This observation is possible given the repetition of key vocabulary between Daniel and the *הַמְּשֻׁבָּלִים* (viz., שָׂבַל [1:4, 17; 7:8; 8:25; 9:13, 22, 25; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10]; בִּין [1:4, 17; 8:5, 16-17, 23, 27; 9:2, 22-23; 10:1, 11-12, 14; 11:30, 33, 37; 12:8, 10]). For those who make a similar connection, see Philip R. Davies, “The Scribal School of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (VTSup 83; ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 252.

123 Some have labeled these court narratives as *Märchen*, legend, court tale (the most accepted term), romance, midrash, and didactic wisdom tale (Collins, *Daniel*, 42). For most developed discussion on this genre, see Lawrence M. Mills, *The Jew in the*

claim that the court narratives in the book of Daniel, similar to Joseph and Esther, tell the story of a wise courtier whose wisdom far exceeds all others. This success story stands in direct opposition to the wisdom of their opponents.¹²⁴

My aim is not to review all of the particular components of this literary genre, but to target the polemical nature of wisdom in the book of Daniel as it relates to the concept of mystery. These court narratives do not function independently of the book, but are part of the overall structure and theme of the book.¹²⁵

In ch. 1, the term “wisdom” is used to characterize the young men exiled from Jerusalem: “youths ... showing intelligence in every *branch* of wisdom, endowed with understanding, and discerning knowledge, and who had the ability for serving in the king’s court” (Dan 1:4; italics original).¹²⁶ It also appears once again in 1:17,¹²⁷ describing Daniel and

Court of the Foreign King (HDR 26; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); W. Lee Humphreys, “A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel,” *JBL* 92 (1973): 211-23; S. Niditch and R. Doran, “The Success Story of the Wise Courtier: A Formal Approach,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 179-93; John J. Collins, “The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic,” *JBL* 94 (1975): 218-34; Idem, *Daniel* (Hermeneia), 38-52; Tawny L. Holm, “Daniel 1-6: A Biblical Story-Collection,” in *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative* (ed. Jo-Ann A. Brant, Charles W. Hedrick, and Chris Shea; SBLSymS 32; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 149-66. The court narratives found in Daniel are similar to those in the Joseph story, Esther, and Abikar (see Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia), 38-41, Wills, *Jew in Court*, 39-70). Humphreys distinguishes two subgenres: court conflict and court contests (“Life-Style,” 219). The former term describes Daniel chs. 3 and 6, while court contests are found in chs. 2, 4, and 5. He argues that in the court contests the “hero succeeds where all others fail” (“Life-Style,” 220).

- 124 Mills, *Jew in Court*, 23-38, outlines the significance of wisdom in the court narratives and notes that in the Jewish court the protagonists triumph because of their wisdom (33). In addition, Mills rightly argues for a contextual reading of the genre of wisdom in each court narrative: “Corresponding to the various provenances of wisdom are different conceptions of wisdom and particular literary and oral forms in which the conceptions are couched” (e.g., sapiential wisdom, courtly wisdom, and mantic wisdom). This is significant for our purposes, since we need to keep in mind that wisdom in the book of Daniel is mantic; therefore, the court narratives will reflect this assumption (see Mills, *Jew in Court*, 83). Although the court narratives in Daniel may reflect adherence to a literary genre (Joseph, Esther, etc.), they must be examined on their own terms. But the book of Daniel closely resembles the Joseph story (both are couched in a mantic setting), so these two accounts deserve to be analyzed together. Oppenheim, in comparing Joseph and Daniel, argues that in both contexts the “wise men” and the “magicians” fail precisely in the same way (*Interpretation of Dreams*, 210).

125 For a brief discussion of this complexity, see Goldingay, *Daniel*, 6-7.

126 The notion of “wisdom” (שִׂכְלָה/חָכְמָה) is highly concentrated in chs. 1-2 (1:4, 17, 20; 2:20-23, 30).

127 In addition, it ought to be noted that the wisdom in 1:17 is probably not the same sort of wisdom in 1:4. In the present verse (1:17), this wisdom is in the context of

company, but here, God is the source of such wisdom: “God gave them knowledge and intelligence in every *branch of literature and wisdom*”¹²⁸ (*italics original*). This verse is paradigmatic for the book of Daniel and preparing the reader for Daniel’s role in ch. 2.¹²⁹ In addition, Daniel is much wiser than the Babylonians: “He [Nebuchadnezzar] found them [Daniel and friends] ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in his whole kingdom” (1:20).¹³⁰

In ch. 2, verses 2-13 constitute the longest discourse on the futility of “Babylonian wisdom.” It is no coincidence that Daniel and friends have received surpassing “knowledge” and “intelligence” in 1:17-20, a passage that immediately precedes the embarrassing situation of the Babylonian mantics.

Babylonian training and culture, while 1:4 speaks of wisdom in the sense of proverbial and empirical knowledge (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 20).

- 128 The OG of 1:17 attributes God giving wisdom specifically to Daniel, while the MT and Theodotion attribute wisdom to all four individuals: καὶ τῷ Δανιηλ ἔδωκε σύνεσιν ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι καὶ ὁράματι καὶ ἐνυπνίοις καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ. This could be a further emphasis on Daniel’s wisdom or harmonization of 2:23. The OG in verse 20 again follows suit with its addition of οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς ὅμοιος τῷ Δανιηλ καὶ Ανανια καὶ Μισαηλ καὶ Αζαρια (see OG 5:11). In 1:20, the OG also heightens the comparison between Daniel and the other wise men of Babylon, using more sophistic vocabulary unlike the MT and Theodotion:

καὶ ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ ὅσα ἐζήτησε παρ’ αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς σοφωτέρους δεκαπλασίως ὑπὲρ τοὺς σοφιστάς καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἀνέδειξεν αὐτοὺς σοφοὺς παρά πάντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν πράγμασιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

The same can be said in the OG of 2:10 (οὐκ ἐπερωτᾷ πάντα σοφὸν καὶ μάγον καὶ Χαλδαῖον) and 2:25 (εὗρηκα ἄνθρωπον σοφὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας). In 4:18, according to the OG, the king calls Daniel the ruler of the wise men: ἐκάλεσα τὸν Δανιηλ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν σοφιστῶν (see OG 4:37χ, where there is a very similar use of σοφιστῆς). Therefore, in light of these observations, the OG certainly emphasizes Daniel’s superior wisdom.

- 129 Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia), 144.

- 130 Longman, *Daniel*, 55, rightly claims that Israelite wisdom is not superior to Babylonian by a matter of degree but kind. Babylon is characterized by idolatry and false religion, while Daniel represents the epitome of Israelite piety (1:8-16). He is not inculcated with their religion but uses their training and instruction as a means to receiving God’s wisdom. Longman concludes, “God uses Daniel’s specialized knowledge as an instrument for the revelation he gives him later in the book” (*Daniel*, 55). It is important to note that Daniel is never portrayed as using any form of magic (magic attempts to manipulate the deity [see Ann Kessler Guinan, “A Severed Head Laughed: Stories of Divinatory Interpretation,” in *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World* (ed. Leda Ciraolo and Jonathan Seidel {Ancient Magic and Divination II; Netherlands: Styx, 2002}, 18)]. Daniel simply receives revelation; he does not attempt to manipulate his God.

Nebuchadnezzar, using his entire arsenal, beckons all of his wise men in 2:2: “The king summoned the magicians, enchanters, sorcerers and astrologers to tell him what he had dreamed” to relay his dream and the interpretation. The range of wise men is extensive: magicians,¹³¹ enchanters, sorcerers,¹³² and astrologers,¹³³ certainly representing the epitome of Babylonian wisdom.

The Babylonian wise men are left helpless. Unless they have dream data, they will not be able to issue an interpretation (they plead twice for the king to relate the dream [2:4, 7]). A somewhat paradigmatic passage is 2:10-11 when the diviners cry out: “There is not a man on earth who could declare the matter for the king, inasmuch as no great king or ruler has *ever* asked anything like this of any magician, conjurer or Chaldean. ... there is no one else who could declare it to the king except gods, whose dwelling place is not with *mortal* flesh” (italics original). In other words, the wise Babylonians declare that they are not privy to direct revelation. They are incapable and ill-equipped to relate the dream.

Babylonian deities simply do not divulge such information to the wise men. But Daniel’s God is not like other gods; he is characterized by revealing. In direct contrast to 2:10-11, Daniel states, “As for the mystery about which the king has inquired, neither wise men, conjurers, magicians, *nor* diviners are able to declare *it* to the king. However, there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries, and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will take place in the latter days”

131 The Hebrew term *תַּרְשָׁנִים* is also used in an Egyptian setting with Pharaoh, but again, these magicians are unable to interpret: “He sent and called for all the *magicians of Egypt* [תַּרְשָׁנֵי מִצְרָיִם], and all its wise men. And Pharaoh told them his dreams, but there was no one who could interpret them to Pharaoh” (Gen 41:8; see 41:24; Ex 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14; 9:11).

132 Similar uses of sorcery (*כַּשְׁפִּי*) occur in Jer 27:9, when Jeremiah instructed international kings (27:3) to submit to Nebuchadnezzar’s reign: “But as for you [kings], do not listen to your prophets, your diviners, your dreamers, your soothsayers or your sorcerers who speak to you saying, ‘You will not serve the king of Babylon.’ For they prophesy a lie to you in order to remove you far from the land; and I will drive you out and you will perish” (see Ex 7:11; 22:18; Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 9:22; 2 Chr 33:6; Isa 47:9, 12; Jer 27:9; Micah 5:12; Nah 3:4; Mal 3:5). This passage relates how wise men attempt to persuade kings that “all is well” but to no avail. God will surely humble these nations through his pawn Nebuchadnezzar.

133 The text reads *כַּשְׁדִּים*, which could be rendered “Chaldeans” (see Dan 1:4; 2:2, 4; 9:1, 7). This is a general term for the Babylonian sages, and could be considered as the equivalent of the prophet, priest, and sage of Israel (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 16). Babylonian sages were “guardians of the sacred traditional lore developed and preserved in Mesopotamia over the centuries, covering natural history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, myth, and chronicle” (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 16).

(italics original; 2:27-28; see 2:47¹³⁴). Therefore, these two passages (2:10-11; 2:27-28) are significant for one's overall interpretation of the book, for they establish the polemic between Daniel and Babylon's wise men. The nature of the polemic between these two parties is not primarily about Daniel's method over against Babylonian divination but Daniel's divinely revealed wisdom vis-à-vis the idolatrous wisdom of the Babylonians.¹³⁵

It is impossible for diviners to receive direct revelation to this extent, for omens interpret what is already revealed. But Daniel's God does produce direct revelation: "there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries" (2:28).¹³⁶ Therefore, Daniel is truly wise because Daniel directly receives the wisdom of his God. It can thus be stated that Daniel is not wise on his own accord (2:3) but because of his God.¹³⁷

Not only do we find this polemic in ch. 2, but also chs. 4 and 5. The king had yet another dream and relates the incident to his diviners, but to no avail:

So I gave orders to bring into my presence all the wise men of Babylon, that they might make known to me the interpretation of the dream. Then the magicians, the conjurers, the Chaldeans, and the diviners came in, and I related the dream to them; but they could not make its interpretation known to me. (4:6-7)

Again Nebuchadnezzar summons his wise men, so that they may properly interpret the dream. But this passage differs from ch. 2 in that Nebuchadnezzar *does relate his dream*. Now the Babylonians have their chance—the dream books are open and the interpreters are ready. But to the king's great displeasure, the wise men have failed again, even

134 Collins, "Court-Tales in Daniel," 220, argues that a major point of Daniel 2 is found in 2:47, and I would like to add vv. 2:27-28. Ernest Lucas, *Daniel* (AOTC 20; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 71, says, "Where the Chaldeans, and by implication their gods, fail, Daniel succeeds through the wisdom given by his God."

135 Lawson, "God Who Reveals," 75, sums it up best, "The only real distinction in Daniel is the *identity* and *competence* of the deity doing the revealing, not any doctrine of revelation itself; for in the final analysis, the effective ingredient in Daniel's dream interpretations was divinity, just as it was and always had been in the oneironmancy and other mantic arts of Mesopotamia" (see Longman, *Daniel*, 74).

136 Contra Goldingay who claims that the narrative is not a polemic between the Israelite God and the Babylonian deities; instead, the polemic is the success of Daniel's wisdom and the failure of the Babylonian human wisdom (*Daniel*, 54). This line of interpretation unnecessarily disassociates the Babylonian wise men and their deities. It is more correct to view the Babylonian wise men as representing and embodying the wisdom of their deities, for this is where they derived their wisdom (see discussion on divination).

137 Niditch and Doran, "The Success Story," 191, claim, "The role of the hero, the wise man, is almost superseded by a more important protagonist, God (see also Humphreys, "Life-Style," 221).

after he gave them his dream.¹³⁸ At this point, the narrative points out the utter weakness of the Babylonian diviners. Finally, Nebuchadnezzar calls on Daniel,¹³⁹ “in whom is a spirit of the holy gods” and “chief of the magicians” (רֹבֵד הַמְּכַשְׂפִּים [4:9; {4:6 MT}]), who successfully interprets the dream (4:19-26).

Daniel and the diviners will collide once again in ch. 5 but this time under Belshazzar. The king celebrates a “great feast” with sacred vessels, but suddenly “fingers of a man’s hand emerged and began writing ... on the plaster of the wall” (5:5). Belshazzar beckons the “conjurers, the Chaldeans and the diviners” (5:7), but this enigmatic writing proves too much for them: “All the king’s wise men came in, but they could not read the inscription or make known its interpretation to the king” (5:8). Their wisdom fails once more, but Daniel again succeeds where the Babylonians faltered (5:25-28).

To summarize, the Babylonians are portrayed in the book of Daniel as incompetent, unwise, and idolatrous. Collins agrees, “Daniel 2 pointedly contrasts Daniel and his God with the Chaldean wise men (and implicitly their gods).”¹⁴⁰ They are unable to deliver the dream and its interpretation in ch. 2. After being given the dream in ch. 4, the Babylonian diviners fail to interpret once more. Then in ch. 5 they can neither read nor interpret the writing. These “wise” Babylonians turned out to be unwise and foolish in each case. Daniel, on the other hand, is truly wise because his wisdom is derived from the one true God who has communicated to him both dreams and the writing on the wall.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ See Lucas, *Daniel*, 109.

¹³⁹ In 4:6 [MT 4:3], the king summons Daniel after the Babylonian diviners failure: “*But finally Daniel came in before me* [עַל קִרְבִּי דָנִיֵּאל].” The beginning of this phrase—עַד אֶהְרִיץ—further emphasizes Daniel’s competence over the Babylonians (lit. “at the end”). Although he was last in line, he was the only one to deliver the interpretation.

¹⁴⁰ Collins, “Court-Tales,” 220.

¹⁴¹ Many commentators agree that this polemical theme is prominent in the book of Isaiah and should be read as the background for the book of Daniel. Von der Osten-Sacken even contends that Daniel drew from Deutero-Isaiah (*Apokalyptik*, 23-25). John G. Gammie, “On the Intention and Sources of Daniel I-VI” *VT* 31 [1981]: 282-92, furthers this thesis and even argues that the polemic between Daniel and the Babylonian wise men originates from Deutero-Isaiah. Collins, “Court-Tales,” 223, adds, “Much light is cast on Daniel 2 by a comparison with the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah, which also have a Babylonian setting. The astrologers and the Chaldean wise men are powerless.” (cf. Goldingay, *Daniel*, 37; Ida Frölich, “Daniel 2 and Deutero-Isaiah,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: University Press, 1993), 266-70; Kister, *Sapiential Perspectives*, 26; Reinoud Oosting, “The Counsellors of the Lord in Isaiah 40-55: A Proposal to Understand their Role in the Literary Composition,” *JSTOT* 32 [2008]: 353-82). Though

Isaiah is filled with the theme of God's wisdom *vis à vis* human wisdom, I can only mention a few texts. The first appears in 44:24-28 (cf. Isa 19:11-14):

I, the Lord, am the maker of all things, ... Causing the omens of boasters to fail, making fools out of diviners, causing wise men to draw back and turning their knowledge into foolishness, *It is I* who says of Jerusalem, "She shall be inhabited!" And of the cities of Judah, "They shall be built." And I will raise up her ruins *again*. "*It is I* who says to the depth of the sea, 'Be dried up!'" And I will make your rivers dry. "*It is I* who says of Cyrus, '*He is my shepherd!*' And he will perform all my desire." And he declares of Jerusalem, "She will be built," and of the temple, "Your foundation will be laid." (italics original)

In this text, Yahweh attacks the diviners, making the wise look like fools. These wise men consult their false deities for knowledge of the future, but only Yahweh possesses this power: "*It is I* who says of Jerusalem, 'She shall be inhabited'" (44:26). For our purposes here, it is important to note the failure of the diviners and the mentioning of Yahweh's knowledge of the future. The next passage in 47:1-13 blatantly addresses the Babylonian diviners:

Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans! ... In spite of the great power of your spells. You felt secure in your wickedness and said, "No one sees me," your wisdom and your knowledge, they have deluded you; for you have said in your heart, "I am, and there is no one besides me." But evil will come on you which you will not know how to charm away; and disaster will fall on you for which you cannot atone; and destruction about which you do not know will come on you suddenly. Stand *fast* now in your spells and in your many sorceries with which you have labored from your youth; perhaps you will be able to profit, perhaps you may cause trembling. You are wearied with your many counsels; let now the astrologers, those who prophesy by the stars, those who predict by the new moons, stand up and save you from what will come upon you.

The similarities with the book of Daniel are striking. The prophet delivers an oracle against Babylon, because they "did not show mercy" to Israel during the exile (47:6). In return, God will come upon them in vengeance. In spite of all their efforts to predict the future, Babylon and her diviners will experience judgment. Verse 9 comments, "They [loss of children and widowhood] shall come on you in full measure in spite of your many sorceries, in spite of the great power of your spells." No matter how much the diviners attempt to discover the future, they will not be able to predict Yahweh's pending judgment. Throughout the book of Isaiah, the "wise," according to human standards, are constantly condemned (5:21: "Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes"; 29:14b: "the wisdom of their wise men will perish, and the discernment of their discerning men will be concealed"; cf. 31:2; 47:10), whereas those who depend upon the Lord are truly wise (11:2; 33:6). Even the notion of "counsel" and "counselors" in Isaiah alludes to this polemical theme (Isa 8:10; 19:3, 11-12, 17; 30:1; 36:5; 40:13-14; 41:28; 45:21; 46:10-11; 47:13). For those who perceive a constant theme of wisdom polemic in Isaiah, see J. William Whedbee, *Isaiah and Wisdom* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), 111-48; Joseph Jensen, *The Use of tôrâ by Isaiah* (CBQMS 3; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1973), 51-58; M. Dijkstra, "Lawsuit, Debate, and Wisdom Discourse in Second Isaiah," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah* (ed. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: University Press, 1997), 251-71.

2.10. Overall Conclusion

As we have demonstrated, mystery, a *terminus technicus*, is woven throughout Daniel. Yet this book, unlike all others in the OT, is thoroughly apocalyptic. Integral to apocalyptic thought is an interest in eschatological events, particularly, judgment and the eternal reign of God. The content of the term in Daniel, differing greatly from the ANE, is God's eschatological kingdom and related events (e.g., persecution of the "righteous"). Key phrases such as "latter days" and "the end" are primarily indicators of such eschatological expectation.

Mystery can be defined roughly as God disclosing eschatological wisdom (2:20-23). He primarily communicates his wisdom through dreams and visions mediated by either an individual or angel. In the first half of the book, God gives his wisdom to both Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel, while in chs. 7-12 only Daniel receives God's wisdom (via the *angelus interpretes*). Some apocalypses disclose revelation through heavenly tours (e.g., *1 En.*), whereas the book of Daniel portrays revelation as taking place through dream reports.

The structure of mystery is similar to the ANE structure of symbolic dreams—an individual receives a cryptic dream followed by an interpretation. In the book of Daniel, this structure is found in dreams (2, 4), visions (7, 8, 10-12), writing (5), and previous prophecy (9). The two-tiered component of mystery signals the hidden nature of the term and its subsequent interpretation—hidden but now revealed.

Lastly, God's wisdom in Daniel is polemical, which is the most commonly overlooked aspect of the apocalyptic term in Daniel. The Babylonian wise men, though they appear sophisticated and highly trained, are nothing more than incompetent idolaters. In contrast to these Babylonians, Daniel succeeds where they falter.

Therefore, in light of the aforementioned points, the following is our working definition of mystery based on our study so far in Daniel: *an apocalyptic revelation concerning eschatological events mediated by an angel or human that was previously hidden but has been subsequently revealed.*¹⁴²

142 Note here Bornkamm's definition: "The mysteries are God's counsels destined finally to be disclosed. They are the final events and states which are already truly existent in heaven and may be seen there, and which in the last days emerge from their concealment and become manifest events" (μυστήριον, 816).

Chapter Three

The Use of Mystery in Second Temple Judaism

3.1. The Dead Sea Scrolls

3.1.1. Introduction

As we have seen, the book of Daniel has already supplied us with a copious amount of data. We determined there that the technical term *mystery* is *an apocalyptic revelation concerning eschatological events mediated by an angel or human that was previously hidden but has been subsequently revealed*.

It would be very easy to compose several monographs on the concept of revelation in Second Temple Judaism, and several scholars have done just that.¹ Our goal, however, is to target the term *mystery* and tease out its apocalyptic particularities. Analyzing all related facets of revelation in Judaism (e.g., revelation and *halakhah*, the reception and experience of revelation, etc.) is beyond the scope of this project. Certainly, these issues are important and will be addressed accordingly, but the aim here is to narrow our approach to the notion of *mystery*.

We will begin with the DSS² and progress to other parts of Second Temple Judaism, analyzing and cataloging each occurrence in the DSS, Pseudepigrapha, Targums, Josephus, and Philo. Though the Qumran documents are not apocalyptic literature, they certainly contain apocalyptic features found throughout. Therefore, we will examine all the

1 E.g., Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*; Peter Kuhn, *Offenbarungsstimmen im Antiken Judentum: Untersuchungen zur Bat Qol und verwandten Phänomenen* (TSAJ 20; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989).

2 All quotations and versification are taken from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997-98).

instances of סֵּתֶר in the DSS, paying particular attention to apocalyptic imagery and how the immediate context shapes the meaning in each instance.

Typically, scholars analyze the concept of mystery in Second Temple Judaism and arrange the material into topical categories. For example, Brown's monograph, *The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament*, is one of the most detailed analyses of mystery in the DSS, yet he separates the usages into four categories: mysteries of divine providence, mysteries of the sect's interpretation of the law, cosmic mysteries, and evil mysteries.³ Even in a recent work, Bockmuehl accepts and develops these four categories.⁴ Though very helpful in many regards, these works remain flawed in that they fail to take seriously the immediate context of each occurrence of mystery. Therefore, each use of mystery in the DSS will be analyzed according to occurrence. This approach should provide us with a better understanding of the concept, for it allows us to grasp the term in its immediate context and observe apocalyptic features in close proximity.

3.1.2. The Notoriety of סֵּתֶר

To partly justify my emphasis on the word סֵּתֶר , I will examine briefly other words within the semantic range of סֵּתֶר in the DSS. The most common terms for the Qumran notion of "secret" are the following: סֵּתֶר , סֵּתֶר , סֵּתֶר , סֵּתֶר , and סֵּתֶר .⁵ Briefly, סֵּתֶר occurs approximately one hundred and twenty times in the extant published DSS material⁶ and can be separated into two categories: redemptive-historical/eschatological and less-eschatological or secular.⁷ It seems that approximately one hundred and seventeen occurrences are eschatological, leaving a paltry three secular uses.⁸ Its ubiquity and Qumran's penchant for investing it with eschatological significance flag the term for further inquiry.

3 Brown, *Semitic Background*, 22-30.

4 *Revelation and Mystery*, 54-56.

5 For an OT analysis of these terms (except סֵּתֶר and סֵּתֶר), see Samuel E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980): 137-53.

6 I am not including thirteen fragmented occurrences (1Q20 I, 2-3; 1Q20 XIV, 19; 1Q30 4 1; 1Q36 9 2; 1Q40 1 2; 4Q369 1 I, 2; 4Q385a 3a-c, 8; 4Q464^a 3; 4Q511 63 I, 6; 4Q203 9 3; 4Q545 4 16; 4Q546 12 4).

7 I use the terms "eschatological" and "redemptive-historical" to refer to events and activities that occur within a particular framework in which God, as sovereign Lord, has a particular plan of redemption. The term "less-eschatological" reflects a human perspective and concerns mundane affairs.

8 4Q270 2 II, 12-13: "[Whoever] divulges the *secret of his people* [רִי עַמּוֹ] to the pagans, or curses [his people or preaches rebellion]; 4Q416 2 II, 8: "Do not abandon your regu-

The closest synonym of *סוד* is the common *סוד*, occurring some sixty-two times. In several instances, these two terms appear in synonymous parallelism:⁹

In the mysteries of your insight [ברזי שכלכה] [you] have apportioned all these things, to make your glory known. [However, what is] the spirit of flesh to understand all these matters and to have insight in [your wondrous] and great counsel [בסוד {ה} גדול בטרד]? (1QH^a V, 19-20)

I have listened loyally to your wonderful secret [לסוד פלאכה] through your holy spirit. You have [op]ened within me knowledge of the mystery of your wisdom [ברזי שכלכה]. (1QH^a XX, 12)

Though these two terms can overlap, as above, they are more often conceptually different, for the word *סוד* typically denotes a “counsel.” Often the term is found in the context of a private meeting (e.g., divine¹⁰ and /or human council),¹¹ whereby the group or community convenes issuing its will or verdict:

Community of truth, of proper meekness, of compassionate love and upright purpose, towards each other, in a holy council, associates of an *everlasting society* [סוד עולמים]. (1QS II, 24-25)

For h[e] is the God of gods of all the chiefs of the heights, and king of king[s] of all the *eternal councils* [סודי עולמים]. ... Sing with joy, those of you enjoying [his knowledge, with] rejoicing among the wonderful gods. (4Q4031 I, 34-36)

Eternal [holy ones,] those second among the priests of the inner sanctum, the second council [סוד שני] in the wonderful dwelling among the seven [... among all those having knowledge of] eternal things. (4Q4031 II, 19-20)

She will take a place in the assembly of old men and old wom[en] בסוד [זקנים וזקנות]. (4Q502 24 4)

Succinctly, *סוד* is “‘secret’ communication of the ‘in-group.’”¹² Wewers rightly notes: „In der Bedeutung ‘himmlisches Sonderwissen’ wird ‘ras’ in Qumran zum theologischen terminus technicus. ‘ras’ wird ähnlich

lations, and preserve your secrets [ברזיכה]”; 1QH^a XVI, 5-6: “Trees of life in the secret source, hidden among all the trees at the water.”

9 1QH^a XII, 28; 1QH^a XIX, 4; 1QH^a XIX, 9; 4Q257 V, 3; 4Q259 III, 17; 4Q286 1 II, 6-8; 4Q417 2 I, 8; 4Q417 2 I, 20; 4Q418 43-45 I, 6; 4Q418 43-45 I, 15. Cf. H.-J. Fabry, “סוד,” *TDOT* 10:171-78 (176-77).

10 1QH^a V, 3; 4Q286 1 II, 7; 4Q400 1 II, 9; 4Q403 1 II, 22; 4Q405 8-9 2; 4Q418 69 II, 15; 4Q511 10 11.

11 CD XIV, 10; XIX, 35; 1QS IV, 1; 1QS IV, 6; 1QS VI, 19; 1QS VIII, 5; 1QS XI, 7-10; 1QH^a V, 21; 1QH^a VI, 18, 21; 1QH^a XI, 21; 1QH^a XII, 25; 1QH^a XIII, 24; 1QH^a XIV, 5; 1QH^a XV, 34; 1QH^a XIX, 12; 1Q38 8 1; 4Q180 1 10; 4Q181 1 II, 1; 4Q439 1 I, 2; 4Q443 1 8; 4Q502 19 1; 4Q512 36-38 13.

12 Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 54 (following Gerd A. Wewers, *Geheimnis und Geheimhaltung im rabbinischen Judentum* [RVV 35; Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, 1975], 195).

wie 'sod' gebraucht, hat aber nicht den soziologisch-funktionalen Aspekt dieses Wortes. 'ras' bezeichnet vor allem den göttlichen Heilsplan und die göttliche Heilsordnung."¹³ It does not conspicuously contain an eschatological and apocalyptic topos. Mystery (רִי), on the other hand, is thoroughly apocalyptic and eschatological in that it, according to Daniel and Qumran, is a *revelation* of or related to events occurring in the "latter days." Mystery is not just secret communication between members of a council (סוד), but eschatological revelation from God (רִי).

Another common word that is related semantically to the previous terms is סֵתֶר. Surprisingly, the noun never denotes eschatological insight or wisdom,¹⁴ whereas the verbal form (fem. nifal participle) parallels רִי¹⁵ twice:

Might of his hand sealing up] *mysteries* [רִיִּים] and revealing *hidden things* [נסתרות]. (1QH^a XXVI, 14-15= 4Q427 7 I, 19)

His wondrous *mystery*[s...] [רִיִּי] ... they announce *hidden things* [נסתרות] [...]. (4Q401 14 II, 2-7)

Occasionally, God's wisdom is depicted as being hidden: "My eyes have observed what always is, wisdom that has been *hidden* [נסתרה] from mankind."¹⁶ Despite its rare eschatological usage, the majority of references concern a general sense of hiding or hiddenness (e.g., God hiding his face¹⁷).¹⁸ A few other words that connote secrecy or hiddenness are נִסְתָּן,¹⁹ כֹּהֵד, and עֵלֶם. But these words are rare and unlike the apocalyptic רִי.

Therefore, despite the occasional overlap with רִי, the overwhelming majority of similar terms lack explicit eschatological and revelatory characteristics. Such dissimilarity prompts us to study in depth Qumran's understanding of רִי. In addition, such a study will give us an ex-

13 Wewers, *Geheimnis*, 195.

14 1QS IX, 22; 1QHa XVI, 18; 4Q392 1 4; 4Q426 1 I, 12; 4Q437 2 I, 9; 4Q511 8 6; 11Q19 LIV, 20; 11Q19 LXVI, 4; 11Q20 XVI, 2.

15 Other uses intimate a synonymous use with רִי: 4Q268 1 7-9, 4Q401 17 4, 4Q463 1 4, and 4Q508 2 4.

16 1QS XI, 5-6. Cf. 4Q424 3 6; 4Q375 1 II, 8; 4Q299 6 II, 4. Notice also the use of סֵתֶר in Dan 2:22 as it relates to mystery: "It is He who reveals the profound and *hidden things* [נסתרות]."

17 4Q200 1 I, 5; 2, 6-7; 4Q216 II, 14; 4Q221 1, 2; 4Q266 2 I, 8; 4Q268 1 11; 4Q387 2 II, 9; 2 III, 4; 4Q388 6 2; 4Q389 8 II, 4; 4Q390 1 9-10; 4Q393 1 II-2 4; 4Q437 2 I, 7; 11Q19 LIX, 7; 11Q10 XXV, 5.

18 E.g., CD III, 13; 1QS V, 11; 1QS VIII, 11-12; 1QS IX, 17; 4Q258 VIII, 2; 4Q259 III, 14; 4Q258 VI, 5; 4Q259 III, 2; 4Q416 2 I, 18; 4Q487 2 4; 4Q512 34 15; 11Q13 II, 5; 4Q550e 2; 11Q10 XIII, 2.

19 E.g., "You will not hide my sin" (4Q381 31 6). Cf. 4Q416 2 II, 5; 4Q418 8 4; 4Q527 1; 4Q409 23 6.

amination of the most pertinent background related to Paul's use of mystery outside of Daniel.

3.1.3. *Book of Mysteries*

The *Book of Mysteries* or 1Q27 is one of the earliest translated texts, appearing in the first volume of *DJD*.²⁰ Subsequently, at least two other texts appear to be part of this collection; namely, 4Q299, 4Q300, and possibly 4Q301.²¹ These latter texts were made available only recently, shedding additional light on the use of *רז*.

The work begins with a critique concerning those who, despite their wisdom, did not anticipate the mystery that is to be:

[...] everything in order that they may know (the difference) between good and evil and between falsehood and truth, and they may understand [...] the *mysteries of transgression* [רזי פשע] [...] all *their wisdom* [חוכמתם]. And they did not know the *mystery that is to be/come* [רז נהיה], and the *former things they did not consider* [ויבקרמוניהם לוא התבוננו]. Nor did they know what *will come upon them* [ויבוא עליהם], and their lives they did not save from the *mystery that is to be/come* [מרז נהיה]. (1Q27 1 I, 1-4; cf. 4Q299 3 II, 4-15; 4Q299 3 5; 4Q299 5 2)²²

Whoever this “wise” group might be, they nevertheless are castigated for their inability to discern the times. Here, the “mystery that is to be” (*רז נהיה*) encompasses²³ both future events or “what is going to happen” and “ancient matters.”²⁴ This phrase, *רז נהיה*, occurs approximately forty times in the DSS; twenty-seven of these are located in 4QInstruction (1Q26; 4Q15-18, 423). Though this ubiquitous phrase is often used, many scholars differ on its exact definition. Matthew Goff has carefully

summarized the different translations of *רז נהיה*,²⁵ categorizing them as either past,²⁶ future,²⁷ or atemporal.²⁸ Goff, however, persuasively ar-

20 D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1 (DJD 1)*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 102-7.

21 See E. Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1-4QMysteries” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: University Press, 2003), 70-73.

22 Translation from Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 70-71.

23 Daryl F. Jefferies, *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2002), 65.

24 Rabinowitz comments on this passage: “the transgressors do not know the future because they have not reflected upon the past” (“The Authorship, Audience and Date of the De Vaux Fragment of an Unknown Work,” *JBL* 71 [1952]: 22).

25 Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 33-34.

gues that רז נהיה is a temporal term indicating God's redemptive purposes in the past, present, and future²⁹ and prefers the translation "mystery that is to be."³⁰ We will likewise adopt this translation of the phrase. Briefly, the mystery to be spans all time—from the beginning to the eschaton.³¹

Lastly, I will quote from 4Q300 1 II, 1-4, a disputation³² from the larger *Book of Mysteries*:

[O *magicians* [החזק־טמים]] who teach transgression, say the parable and speak the riddle before it is spoken. And then you will know, if you have looked upon your foolishness. For it has been *sealed up* [החב־] from you. Sealed is the *vision* [החזון], and on the *eternal mysteries* [בר־עד] you have not

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- 26 Roland de Vaux, "La Grotte des manuscrits hébreux," *RB* 66 (1949): 587-609. After admitting that the term originates from Daniel, he construes רז נהיה as "le mystère passé," because of the niph'al stem, which he contends is "accompli, passé" (605-6).
- 27 Milik renders the phrase as "le mystère futur" (*DJD* 1 [102-103]) and רז נהיה as "'futur' et non 'passé'" (104). See also Rabinowitz, "De Vaux Fragment," 22-23. Rabinowitz goes on to suggest that the phrase רז נהיה may allude to Dan 2:28-29 ("There is a God in heaven who reveals *mysteries* [רזין] ... He who reveals *mysteries* [רזין] has made known to you *what will take place* [מִהְיֵה לְעוֹלָם]"). Unfortunately, he comments on this allusion only in passing without any further discussion. I am, however, less inclined to recognize an allusion to Dan 2:28-29, because of the lack of verbal agreement and its rather formulaic use in the DSS.
- 28 Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls* 1: 97, translate it as "mystery of existence." Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 91-91, translates it as "Geheimnis des Werdens."
- 29 Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 34. Close to this view is Torleif Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1998), 113-50, who says, "It follows from these passages that *raz nihyeh* is a comprehensive word for God's mysterious plan for creation and history, his plan for man and for redemption of the elect. It is 'salvation history' in a wider meaning" (135). See also Otto Piper, "The 'Book of Mysteries' (Qumran I 27): A Study in Eschatology," *JR* 38 (1958): 95-106; Klaus Koch, "Das Geheimnis der Zeit in Weisheit und Apokalyptik um die Zeitenwende," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: University Press, 2003), 54-60; Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, 84.
- 30 Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 34. See also John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: WJKP, 1997), 121. Daniel J. Harrington, "The Raz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415-418)," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 549-53, translates the phrase as "mystery that is to be/come" (551).
- 31 For those who see the "mystery to be" as pertaining to redemptive and eschatological events in 1QMyseries, see Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 71-73, Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 35; L. H. Schiffman, "4QMyseries^b, A Preliminary Edition," *RevQ* 62 (1993): 214.
- 32 So Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly," 78-85 (see also Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 100).

looked, and *you have not come to understand knowledge* [בְּבִינָה לֹא הִשְׁכַּלְתֶּם].³³ [...] for you did not look upon the root of *wisdom* [הַיִּסְדָּה]. And if you *open the vision* [הִפְתַּחוּ הַחֹזֶן], it will be hidden from you [...] all your wisdom for yours is the [...] his name, for what is wisdom.³⁴

This passage taunts the “magicians”³⁵ (whoever they might be³⁶) to give an interpretation for the riddle or parable *before* the interpretation. But any attempt is feeble—the revelation or “riddle/parable” has been “sealed.”³⁷ Those who “teach transgression” are hardly able to comprehend such prophetic revelations and are unable to determine the “signs of the times.” As many have suggested, this language is strikingly similar to Dan 2.³⁸ Both Daniel and the book of *Mysteries* castigate

33 As we have previously argued, these two terms [בֵּן, שֹׂכֵל] are prominently situated throughout the book of Daniel and refer to understanding of God’s eschatological wisdom, concealed in mystery (e.g., Dan 1:4, 17; 7:5, 8; 9:22; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10).

34 Cf. 4Q301 1 2-3: “[...] pa]rable and riddle, and searchers of roots of wisdom together with those who rely [...] ... those who walk in foolishness.”

35 The noun תַּרְגָּם occurs three other times in the DSS (4Q365 2 3-4; PAM 43.676 23, 1). The former two occurrences are translations from Ex 8:14-15 (MT), the competition between Moses and Aaron and the Egyptians.

36 For a discussion of their identity, see Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly,” 82-83 and Armin Lange “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 406-8.

37 The phrase הַחֹזֶן הַנִּסְתָּר may allude to Dan 9:24 (see Dan 8:26)—“to seal up the vision” [לְסַתְּרָם הַחֹזֶן]; see Schiffman, *DJD*, 102; Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom,” 83; Michael A. Knibb, “The Book of Daniel in Its Context” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* [ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2002], 1: 33-34; Torleif Elgvin, “Priestly Sages? The Milieu of Origin of 4Q*Mysteries* and 4Q*Instruction*,” in *Scriptural Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [eds. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 73).

38 Harrington, *Wisdom from Qumran*, 72, comments, “The language is reminiscent of Daniel 2 where King Nebuchadnezzar challenges the magicians to tell him both the dream and its interpretation. There Daniel succeeds where the court magicians failed.” Knibb seconds this line of thinking: “This [4Q300] reminds us of one of the themes of the story of Daniel 2, the ability, or rather inability, of the wise men to tell the king his dream and provide an interpretation (“Book of Daniel,” 33; cf. Elgvin, “Priestly Sages?”, 73). The most extensive discussion concerning the polemical nature of the *Book of Mysteries* appears in the recent work of Menahem Kister, “Wisdom Literature,” 13-47. Kister describes the background of “wisdom contests” in the ANE and the OT and then proceeds to discuss the contest between Daniel and the Babylonian mantics (23-26; Kister cites further support in this regard from an unpublished paper—D. Dimant, “Torah and Prophecy at the Eschaton” [paper presented at the international symposium, “Eschatology and Messianism in the Bible and in the Qumran Scrolls,” Hebrew University and Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, Jerusalem, 13 April 2000]). Kister finally argues “Daniel’s wisdom, which is acquired by divine revelation, is superior to the wisdom of the *ḥarṭumim*” (26). Furthermore, he then moves on to suggest that Isa 47:10-14 may likewise be in mind (26), which I argue on pgs. 48-49 to lie possibly behind the Daniel wisdom polemic. Goff argues that the “magicians” in this particular passage, though similar to the “wise” group in the book of Daniel, do not practice mantic wisdom, and thus Dan 2 should not be con-

“magicians” (חֲרָטִים) who are the epitome of human wisdom³⁹ (Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7, 9; 5:11).⁴⁰ Regarding the disputational aspect of this passage, Tigchelaar concludes, “[the book of] *Mysteries* does not deny the wisdom of the opponents, but judges this wisdom negatively, as evil, deficient, or as folly.”⁴¹

In sum, *Mysteries* depicts mystery, specifically, the רִזְ נְהִיָּה, as God’s plan from beginning to the end—the sum of all history. Summarizing the meaning of mystery in *Mysteries*,⁴² Schiffman contends, “in this text it [רִזְ נְהִיָּה] refers to the mysteries of creation, that is, the natural order of things which depends on God’s wisdom, and to the mysteries of the divine role in the processes of history.”⁴³ In other words, those who desire to understand the mystery that will be revealed, which is the order of all things, both spiritual and physical, can only have access to these mysteries through divine illumination.

3.1.4. 4QInstruction

The next body of literature that will be canvassed is commonly called *Sapiential Work A* or 4QInstruction, which probably does not have a Qumran provenance (though it is argued that some themes contained within this literature indeed reflect the apocalyptic fervor found at Qumran).⁴⁴ This corpus consists of several separate fragments—1Q26,⁴⁵ 4Q415-418, and 4Q423. Within this body of sapiential literature, the term mystery and the phrase רִזְ נְהִיָּה⁴⁶ is profound and in accordance

sidered an appropriate background (Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 82-85). Furthermore, Goff asserts that the debate in Daniel is a wisdom contest, but in *Mysteries* the text “goes beyond intellectuals debating one another” (84). Without engaging Goff at every point, we need only to point out one particular: the *Book of Mysteries* is *analogously portraying* the opponents as Danielic “magicians.” The point is that God’s wisdom is superior to their sophistry, which does not necessitate that they were practicing mantic wisdom per se.

39 See pgs. 43-49, for a discussion of the Babylonian mantics.

40 Schiffman even suggests, “The ‘magicians’ of Dan 1:20 and 2:2 are more like soothsayers who foretell the future, a meaning appropriate to this text’s castigation of the purveyors of false wisdom” (*DJD*, 102).

41 Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly,” 85.

42 This text, the *Book of Mysteries*, is found either three or four times at Qumran (1Q27; 4Q299; 4Q300; possibly 4Q301).

43 Schiffman, “4QMysteries^b,” 204. See also Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 37.

44 Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 227.

45 See also 1Q26 (1QInstruction) 1 + 2, 2-5, for two other uses of רִזְ נְהִיָּה but these verses lack contextual interpretative clues.

46 For a detailed analysis of the use of רִזְ נְהִיָּה in the OT and second temple literature, see Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 54-61. His basic argument is that the niphal נְהִיָּה

with the previous uses located in the *Book of Mysteries*. Too many examples exist for a thorough analysis, so I will merely sample some of the most pertinent texts in *4QInstruction*.

[Consider the mystery of] existence [הבט ברזי נהיה] and grasp the birth-times of salvation [יִשְׁעַ] [יִקַּח מוֹלְדֵי יִשְׁעַ], and know who will inherit glory and t[oi]l. (4Q417 1 I, 10-11=4Q416 2 I, 5-6; see 4Q417 2 I, 2)⁴⁷

[... day and night mediate on the mystery of ex]istence [הנה ברזי נהיה], and seek continuously.⁴⁸ And then you will know truth and injustice, wisdom ... in all their paths together with their visitation for all eternal periods, and eternal visitation [לכול קצי עולם ופקודה עד]. And then you will know (the difference) between [goo]d and [evil in their] work[s], for the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth, and through the mystery of existence [ברזי נהיה] he expounded its basis. Its works ... [with all wis]dom, and with all [intelli]gence he formed it, and the dominion of its deeds ... Be constantly intent on these things, and understand [התבונן] [al]l their effects. And then you will know et[ernal] glory [wi]th his wonderful mysteries [רזי פלאי] and his mighty deeds [גבורות מעשיו]. (4Q417 2 I, 6-13=4Q418 43-35 I, 4-10)

Concerning the entry of years and the exit of periods [...] everything which happened in it, why it was, and what will be in it [...] its period which God uncovered to the ear of those who understand the mystery of existence [מבנים ברזי נהיה]. (4Q418 123 II, 1-4)

In light of these texts, we thus are able to observe a few peculiarities of the mystery that is to be. First, רזי נהיה connotes the knowledge of God's redemptive plans, specifically, plans about the past, present, and future. 4Q418 123 II, 2-4 summarizes this well: "concerning the entry of years and the exit of periods [...] everything which happened in it, why it was, and what will be in it [...] its period which God uncovered to the ear of those who understand the mystery of existence [ברזי נהיה]."⁴⁹ The mystery that is to be therefore encapsulates all activities—from beginning to end. In particular, רזי נהיה is often related to eschatological judgment (e.g., 4Q416 2 I, 5-6 =4Q417 1 I, 10-11; 4Q418 77 2-4=4Q416 7 1-3; 1Q27 1 I, 4-8=4Q300 3 2-4; cf. 4Q300 8 5-7).⁵⁰ Even though the

primarily refers to past events in the OT (e.g., Deut 4:32; 27:9; Judg 20:3; Prov 13:19), but the term undergoes development in Second Temple Judaism to denote future events (e.g., 1QM XVII, 4-5). Therefore, *4QInstruction* along with other Qumran texts display a more complete and overarching view of history in its use of נהיה.

47 Cf. 4Q416 2 III, 14; 4Q418 43-45 I, 14-16; 4Q418 77 2-4=4Q416 7 1-3.

48 Likewise see the reconstructed text of 4Q418 fragments 9 + 9a + 9b + 9c (4Q416 and 4Q418 are almost identical) lines 8-15 in DJD 34: 234-35.

49 Cf. 4Q417 2 I, 1-6.

50 4Q416 1 1-17 is a judgment text but without the explicit mention of mystery, though it is most assuredly implied (cf. 4Q416 2 I, 5-6):

In heaven he passes judgment upon the work of iniquity, and all the sons of truth will be favourable [...] its end. And All who have defiled themselves with it will be in dread and cry out, for (the) heavens will fear [...] [s]eas and abyss

phrase encompasses and highlights eschatological notions, eschatology is but a natural extension of the larger category of the *רז נהיה*.⁵¹ In other words, *the mystery that is to be is the entire determined plan of God over the created realm*. Elgvin concludes, “*Raz nihyeh* is a comprehensive word for God’s mysterious plan for creation and history, His plan for man and for redemption of the elect. It is ‘salvation history’ in a wider meaning.”⁵² Secondly, *רז נהיה* appears to include pragmatic issues and not just redemptive-historical matters, thus, including various practicalities such as marriage, poverty, and filial relationships⁵³:

If you are poor, do not long for anything but your inheritance, and do not get consumed by it, lest you displace your boundary. And if he restores you in glory, walk in it, and investigate its origins through the *mystery of existence* [ברז נהיה]. (4Q416 2 III, 8-10=4Q418 9-10; cf. 4Q416 2 III, 13-15; 4Q415 6 3-4; 4Q418 43-45 I, 14-16)

And since he has given them [parents] dominion over you and formed the spirit, thus serve them. And since he had opened your ears to the *mystery of existence* [ברז נהיה], honour them for your own glory, and [...] honour their

are in dread, and every spirit of flesh will be stirred up, and the sons of the heavens [...on the day of] its [judg]ment. And all injustice will end again, and the time of tru[th] will be complete [...] in all periods of eternity, for he is the God of truth and from ancient times (are) [his] years [...] to establish justice between good and ev[il], to ... every judg[ment...] (see also 4Q418 69 II, 1-15).

Another example, 4Q416 2 I, 5-6, aligns the mystery that is to be with “birth-times of salvation” (מולדי ישע) and knowledge of who will receive “glory and toil” (כבוד ועמל). In other words, the *רז נהיה* reflects a knowledge of those who inherit salvation or judgment. See also 4Q416 2 III, 9-10, which says, “investigate its origins through the mystery of existence. Then you will know his inheritance” (Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 60).

- 51 See John I. Kampen, “Diverse Aspects of Wisdom,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1: 229. For further analysis of the mystery that is to be, see Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 54-79, who breaks down the *רז נהיה* into several different categories. He concludes,

4QInstruction presents its teachings as “mysteries.” ... God created the world with the mystery that is to be. This was a mighty act that displays his power and explains the dominion that he exerts over the natural order. Acquiring wisdom entails learning the divine plan that orchestrates reality. By combining teachings on various topics with the mystery that is to be, 4QInstruction urges the addressee to comprehend the deterministic framework of creation in a way that shapes his conduct. (79)

- 52 Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE: The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 235.
- 53 One text that may or may not be pragmatic is 4Q418 172 1-13 which describes the grazing of animals. It may be some sort of legal matter or an allegory (see *DJD* 34, 394-95).

presence, for the sake of your life and the length of your days. (4Q416 2 III, 17-19=4Q418 10 1-3)

If you take a wife in your poverty, take the offspring [...] from the *mystery of existence* [מֵרֵז נְהִיָּה]. When you are joined together, walk with the help of your flesh [...]. (4Q416 2 III, 20-21=4Q418 10 3-4)

If the mystery that is to be contains eschatological insight as well as pragmatic issues, then we may surmise that it is all encompassing. The particulars of daily life are a subset of the overarching divine plan.⁵⁴ In other words, since רֵז נְהִיָּה primarily involves God's activity within the created order (e.g., creation, judgment), then social and moral issues ought to be in congruity with the created order. To put it another way, one must live in accordance with creation's design of the cosmos and of history.⁵⁵

Lastly, the addressee of 4Q*Instruction* is commanded to reflect and meditate upon the mystery that is to be:

Investigate the mystery of existence [רֵז נְהִיָּה דְרִישׁ], and consider all paths of truth, and observe closely all the roots of injustice. (4Q416 2 III, 14)⁵⁶

[*Day and*] *night meditate on the mystery of existence*, [יּוֹם וְלַיְלָה הִנָּה בְּרִז נְהִיָּה]. (4Q418 43-45 I, 4; cf. 4Q418 43-45 I, 1-3=4Q417 2 I, 1-5)

Since the imperatives seem to allude to a corpus of mysteries (the addressee is commanded to "meditate," "grasp," "investigate," and "understand"), Harrington postulates that the mystery that is to be consists of a body of literature, perhaps even the *Book of Mysteries*.⁵⁷ But others

54 F. García Martínez has recently argued that secular or proverbial wisdom, as we see here, is not merely inferential and "worldly"; rather, even this practical wisdom is revelatory or "heavenly" ("Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Biblical Tradition* [BETL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: University Press, 2003], 1-15). This conclusion is a development of Goff's contention that 4Q*Instruction* is worldly and heavenly (*Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 216-19).

55 Harrington rightly argues: "It would appear that the wisdom instructions that follow ... were intended to help the one who is being instructed both to align himself with the correct order of the cosmos ... and to prepare for the divine judgment when the righteous will be vindicated and wickedness will be destroyed forever" (*Wisdom Texts*, 41). See also Koch, "Das Geheimnis der Zeit," 57.

56 Cf. 4Q416 2 III, 9-10; 4Q417 2 I, 1-2, 18-21; 4Q418 9 15; 4Q417 2 II, 3-4; 4Q418 43-45 I, 14-16; 4Q416 2 I, 5-6=4Q417 1 I, 10-11; 4Q416 7 3; 4Q417 2 I, 24-25=4Q418 43-45 I, 14; 4Q418 77 4.

57 *Wisdom Texts*, 49. Armin Lange even suggests that Torah may be in mind (*Weisheit und Prädestination*, 48). Elgvin, however, contends that the mystery that is to be is a "well-known concept" and that meditation on it "is presumably connected to the study of both biblical and sectarian books"—an alternative to Torah (Torleif Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*" in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 135). Goff attempts to pave a middle road between the complete displacement of Torah (Elgvin) and the close identification with it (Lange) by sug-

criticize this view stating that 4QInstruction does not appear to quote from such a source. So how can the addressee meditate upon the mystery that is to be? It seems as though the mystery that is to be is a body of instructions or philosophy⁵⁸ that has been previously revealed to the addressee. Goff suggests, "Contemplation of the mystery that is to be probably involved reflection upon teachings that had already been given."⁵⁹

3.1.5. 1QHodayot^a

As with the *Book of Mysteries* and 4QInstruction, the Hodayot contains an abundance of mystery terminology (approximately twenty-five uses). Examining these uses at length is beyond the scope of this project, so I will merely summarize and list the more prominent examples. We will divide this section into two categories: the content of mystery as portrayed in 1QH^a and Qumran's relationship to them.

The more pertinent passages concerning the content are as follows:

What was there from of old and *creating new things* [ולברוא חדשות], *demolishing ancient things* [להפך קיני קדם] and [erec]ting what would exist for ever. For you [have established them long ago] and you will exist for ever and ever. *In the mysteries of your insight* [ברזי שכלכה] [you] have apportioned all these things, to make your glory known. (1QH^a V, 17-19; see 1QH^a V, 6-8; 1QH^a XXIV, 5; 4Q440 3 I, 23)

You have stretched out the heavens for your glory. Everything [which it contains] you have [es]tablished according to your will, and powerful spirits, according to their laws, before they became h[oly] angels [...] eternal spirits in their realms: *luminaries according to their mysteries* [מאורות לרזיהם], *stars according to th[eir] circuits* [כוכבים לנתיבותם]. (1QH^a IX, 9-12=4Q432 I, 1-3)

I give [you] thanks, [Lord,] because you have set me at the source of streams in a dry land, at the spring of water in a parched land, ... Trees of life *in the secret source* [במעין רז], hidden among all the trees at the water, which shall make a shoot grow in the everlasting plantation, ... However, he who causes the holy shoot to grow in the true plantation hides, not considered, nor known, *its sealed mystery* [החם רז]. But you, [O G]od, you protect its fruit with the *mystery of powerful heroes* [ברזי גבורי כוח], and the spirits of holiness, so that the flame of the searing fire [will] not [reach] the spring of life. (1QH^a XVI 4-12)

gesting that the mystery that is to be refers to *additional* revelation to the Sinaitic tradition, neither replacing nor encapsulating it (*Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 72-73).

58 Jefferies, *Wisdom at Qumran*, 66.

59 Harrington, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 39.

In the first example, 1QH^a V, 17-19, the act of God establishing a new creational environment appears to be the “mysteries of your insight” (ברוי שכלכה). The Lord will first destroy then create anew. “Creating new things” (ולברוא חדשות) and “ancient things” (קמי קדם) may even allude to Daniel⁶⁰ and Isaiah.⁶¹

Whereas the first passage concerns the end-time transformation of the cosmos, the second hints at a “mechanical mystery.” The entire created order is governed by God’s sovereign hand: All of creation has a specific function and conforms to God’s established law. Angels have “laws,” and “stars” follow their allotted “circuits.” So when “luminaries” function according to “mysteries,” they are merely performing their divine prerogative. In other words, mystery in this particular case concerns creation’s apportioned program.⁶²

The last example, 1QH^a XVI 10-12, though highly colorful, is quite enigmatic.⁶³ The larger context suggests that the community is a lush plantation amid the arid desert (4-5). The plantation is accompanied by other “trees” (עץ), which grow alongside of the “true planting” (אמת; 6-9). But outer appearances can be deceiving: The prosperity of the Qumran community, perhaps even the Teacher of Righteousness,⁶⁴ is hidden from the other “trees”—“he who causes the holy shoot to grow in the true plantation hides ... *its sealed mystery* [הודעה רזו]” (10-11). Holm-Nielsen comments, “The illustration would thus simply say that the members of the community, whose secret destiny is hidden from mankind, and who themselves keep the secret of their revealed purpose, are under God’s care.”⁶⁵ Therefore, mystery in this last example is God’s hidden redemptive purpose with the Qumran community.⁶⁶ Outwardly, the group may seem small and inconsequential, but in fact, God’s intention for the community is their apparent demise yet eventual vindication. God ensures the preservation of this elect group with his angelic cohorts or “mystery of powerful heroes” (ברוי גבורי כוח)—a reference to their angelic administration.

60 Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 28.

61 42:9; 43:19; 45:21; 46:10; 48:6-7; 52:15; 65:17 (so Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* [ATD 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960], 215, 217).

62 Cf. Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (SBM 12; Echter: KBW Verlag, 1971), 127.

63 For an in-depth analysis of this passage, see James H. Charlesworth, “An Allegorical and Autobiographical Poem by the *MOREH HAŠ-ŠEDEQ* (1QH 8:4-11)” in “*Ša‘arei Talmon*”: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 295-307.

64 So Charlesworth, “Autobiographical Poem,” 303-7.

65 Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 151.

66 See Brown, *Semitic Background*, 26.

Our last passage concerning the content of mysteries in the Hodayot originates from cave four:

Sing, favoured ones, sing to the king of [glory, rejoice in the assembly] of God, exult in the tent of salvation, praise in the [holy] residence, ... [in all] periods, cause the sound of the shout to be heard, rejoice with everlasting happiness, and unceasingly bow down in the united assembly. Bless the one who does amazing wonders, and shows the might of his hand *sealing up mysteries and revealing hidden things* (לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ וּלְגַלּוֹת נִסְתָּרוֹת), *raising up* (לְהַרְיֵם) those who stumble and those of them who fall, [*chan*]ging (לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ) the behaviour of those who await knowledge and *lowering* (לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ) the exalted meetings of the eternally proud, [con]firming *maj[estic] mysteries* ([רִי הַיּוֹד]). (4Q427/4QHodayot^a 7 + 9 I, 13-21=1QH^a XXI, 14-16)

A series of infinitive constructs describes the manner⁶⁷ by which God “shows the might of his hand” — לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ, לְהַרְיֵם, לְגַלּוֹת, [לְ]הַחַיֵּם, and לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ. Though this text is highly descriptive, located in praise and blessing, we are able to probe and make a few pertinent observations. The notion of “sealing” (הַחַיֵּם) revelation has roots in the book of Daniel,⁶⁸ particularly 8:26, 9:24, 12:4,⁶⁹ and 12:9.⁷⁰ God, in 4Q427, seals mysteries, preventing them from being illicitly known. Conversely, in antithetical parallelism, God then “reveals hidden things” (לְגַלּוֹת נִסְתָּרוֹת) or secrets. Even this phrase may allude to Dan 2:22a: “It is he who reveals profound and hidden things” (הוּא הַגֹּלֵם עֲמִיקוֹתָא וְנִסְתָּרוֹתָא).⁷¹ Lastly, God displays his power by rewarding the humble and punishing the haughty. More precisely, God promotes those who “await knowledge” and demotes the “exalted meetings” or intellectually proud.⁷² This last remark may also reflect a Danielic theme, for throughout Daniel God combats the Babylonian intellectuals with his greater wisdom through his prophet Daniel.⁷³

67 This use of the infinitive construct occurs often in Qumran literature (see Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 608).

68 See also *DJD* XXIX, 104.

69 Daniel 12:4: “But as for you, Daniel, conceal these words and *seal up* [וְהַחַיֵּם] the book until the end of time; many will go back and forth, and knowledge will increase.”

70 Daniel 12:9: “He said, ‘Go *your way*, Daniel, for *these* words are concealed and *sealed up* [וְהַחַיֵּם] until the end time.’” John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: WJKP, 1997), 128, comments that this language in 4Q427 is “reminiscent of Daniel.”

71 This is the only occurrence of the root סָהַר in the book of Daniel, and, given its importance (2:20-23 is a summation of mystery), lends further evidence of an allusion.

72 *DJD* XXIX, 104, suggests that the “raising up” and “lowering” refers to victory hymns (e.g., 1 Sam 2:6-8; 1QM XIV, 11, 15); however, line 20 is in parallelism to the previous line thereby interpreting it. Since line 20 concerns “those who await knowledge,” it is more plausible to suggest that God is “raising up” those who humbly seek after wisdom and “lowering” those who boast in their own self-confidence.

73 See pgs. 43-49.

3.1.5.1. Adamic Transformation

Now that we have briefly sketched the contours of the content of the term mystery in 1QH^a, we will analyze the reception and management of mysteries. The first example, which we have already touched upon, draws a correlation between understanding mysteries and Adamic glory:

In the mysteries of your insight [ברִי שְׁלֵכָה] [you] have apportioned all these things, to make your glory known. [However, what is] the spirit of flesh to understand all these matters and *to have insight in* [your wondrous] and great counsel [לְהַשְׁכִּיל בְּסוֹד פְּלֹאֵךְ הַגְּדוֹל]? What is someone born of a woman among all your awesome works? He is a structure of dust fashioned with water, his counsel is the [iniquity] of sin, shame of dishonor and so[urce of] impurity, and a depraved spirit rules over him ... Only by your goodness is man acquitted, [purified] by the abundance of [your] compa[ssion.] *You embellish him with your splendor* [בְּהִרְדֵּךְ הַפְּאִרְנִי], you install [him over an abun]dance of pleasures, with everlasting peace and length of days. (1QH^a V, 17-24)

The hymnist rhetorically asks who is able to understand such “insight” [לְהַשְׁכִּיל], saying, “[What is] the spirit of flesh to understand all these matters?” (19-20). These lines are grounded in lines 20-22: “He is a structure of dust ... his counsel is the [iniquity] of sin, shame of dishonor.” In other words, individuals are unable to receive to such glorious insight and revelation. The remedy, as the hymnist proclaims, is the restoration of the individual, equipping him for the reception of mysteries: “You embellish him with your splendour, you install [him over an abun]dance of pleasures, with everlasting peace.” In a recent and thorough monograph on the community’s identification with Adam, Crispin Fletcher-Louis comments on this particular text: “There can be no doubt that this text is a fuller form of the statement that to the righteous belongs ‘all the glory of Adam.’”⁷⁴ In order for the members of the community to understand heavenly revelation, they must be transformed into the image of the first Adam.⁷⁵

74 Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 106.

75 We may even summon two other relevant texts that describe the same sort of Adamic phenomenon:

I know that there is hope for someone you *fashioned out of dust* [יִצְרָהָה מִעֶפֶר] for an everlasting community. The depraved spirit you have purified from great offence so that he can take a place with the host of the holy ones, and can enter in communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven. You cast eternal destiny for man with the spirits of knowledge, so that he praises your name in the community of jubilation, and tells of your wonders before all your creatures. (1QH^a XI, 20-23)

Combining two theologically loaded words, the psalmist almost undoubtedly alludes to Gen 2:7: "Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground" (וַיִּצְבֹּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן-הָאָרֶץ). The community, according to an already-and-not-yet eschatology, has begun to enjoy resurrected life, enabling its members to participate in the heavenly realm with the angelic hosts. Fletcher-Louis remarks, "Because the psalmist has been raised from the realm of death (line 19) it would be natural to suppose that he now experiences in this life, by virtue of his entry into the heavenly realm (lines 21-23), the angelomorphic existence for which all Jews waited after death and the general resurrection" (*Glory of Adam*, 105). The last example again explicitly mentions mysteries and resurrection along with the community's participation with the host of heaven:

I will bless your name continually, I will recount your glory among the sons of Adam, and in your abundant goodness my soul will delight....your compassion for all the sons of your approval, for you have taught them the basis of your truth, and have instructed them in your wonderful mysteries [וְבָרִיךְ וּפְלִאכֶה הַשְׂכִּלָתָם]. For the sake of your glory, you have purified man from offence, so that he can make himself holy for you from every impure abominations and guilt of unfaithfulness, to become united wi[th] the sons of your truth and in the lot with your holy ones, to raise worms of the dead from the dust [לְהַרִּים מִן-עָפָר], to an ever[lasting] community and from a depraved spirit, to [your] knowledge, so that he can take his place in your presence with the perpetual host and the spirits [...], to renew him with everything that will exist, and with those who know in a community of jubilation. (1QH^a XIX, 6-14)

Notice the movement from perception of mysteries (line 10) to fellowship within the angelic host. This transfer from the earthly environment to the heavenly involves nothing less than a resurrected spirit. "Raising worms of the dead from dust" may even allude to Isa 26:19 and Dan 12:1-2, further enriching the portrait (see also 1QH^a VII, 19-20; XV, 23-25; XVIII, 27-28). Within DSS scholarship, there is debate as to whether or not the community held to a future bodily resurrection. On the one hand, some suggest that the Qumran community strongly believed in the resurrection (C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1957], 72-75), while others find no such traces (R. B. Laurin, "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran Hodayot," *JSS* 3 [1958]: 344-55). A middle position is more preferable and is advocated by H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), and Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages*, 89. Pertinent to our discussion, George Nickelsburg, after evaluating several proposed resurrection texts in the Hodayot, concludes, "By his entrance into the community, the author — previously alienated from God — has been brought to the knowledge of God and into the communion with the angels. He already shares in the blessings of the *eschaton* and participates in eternal life" (*Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* [HTS 26; London: Oxford, 1972], 156; see also his later essay "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40)" in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* [2 vols; ed. Julio Barrera and Luis Montaner; STDJ 11-12; Leiden: Brill, 1992], 2:49-60). In sum, according to Hodayot, the community at Qumran held that the resurrection has, to some extent, already occurred, establishing themselves as partakers of the heavenly sphere of worship. Their heavenly position therefore enables them to worship and obtain deep mysteries. Fletcher-Louis concludes,

The righteous have been taken upwards from the transient world of dust and clay below to the eternal heights. This is related to the archetypal transfer of the first formed Adam to the glorious Eden. Both of these movements have a con-

3.1.5.2. Mediator and Receiver of Mysteries

A second feature that permeates the Hodayot concerning the reception of mysteries, in addition to the Adamic transformation, is the mediatorial role of the Teacher of Righteousness. Though much debate surrounds the exact identification of this leader, we must sideline this issue and proceed to discover the Instructor's revelatory role. The debate concerning the identification of the Teacher arises from the autobiographical nature of some portions of the Hodayot or *Lehrlieder*. Holm-Nielsen emphatically denies the probability that the Teacher composed the Hodayot, due to the lack of the text's internal unity.⁷⁶ Others, however, hold the more balanced view that the Teacher is responsible for certain portions.⁷⁷

1QH^a X depicts the persecution and opposition launched against the Teacher, as well as his revelatory role:⁷⁸

The wicked is roused against me; ... when their waves beat they spew out slime and mud. *But you have set me like a banner for the elect of justice, like a knowledgeable mediator of secret wonders* [וְתִשְׁמְנִי נֹס לְבַחֲרִי צֶדֶק וּמְלִיץ דַּעַת בְּרִי] [פֶּלֶא]. (lines 12-13)

In the midst of contentious barraging, God preserves the teacher and upholds his faithful servant (lines 27-36). The teacher is commissioned

crete liturgical life-setting in the cult which gives life where there had been death, eternity where there had been mortality, *understanding where there had been ignorance*" (italics mine; *Glory of Adam*, 112).

76 Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 316-331. See also Michael C. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux," *DSD* 9 (1999): 241-42, for an overview of Holm-Nielsen on this particular topic.

77 1QH^a X, 1-19 (Sukenik 2:1-19); 1QH^a XII, 5-29 (Sukenik 4:5-29); 1QH^a XIII, 5-39 (Sukenik 5:5-39); 1QH^a XIV, 1-36 (Sukenik 6:1-36); 1QH^a XV, 6-25 (Sukenik 7:6-25); 1QH^a XVI, 4-40 (Sukenik 8:4-40). See J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und in Neuen Testament* (SUNT 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964); G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963); Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 1966; Douglas "Teacher Hymn Hypothesis," 239-266; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Teacher of Righteousness," *ABD* 6:341; Michael A. Knibb, "Teacher of Righteousness," *EDSS* 2:920; Esther G. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:266-67; Hartmut Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot^a and Some of Their Sections," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 48; ed. Esther G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 220-23.

78 Kuhn notes a very interesting connection between the Teacher's suffering and mediation of revelation. He observes that wherever suffering is found, mediation is there as well and neither are found alone: „*Alle Lieder, die auf diesen zurückgehen dürfen, enthalten neben dem Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers einen individuellen 'Notbericht,' während in allen Liedern, in denen ein solcher Notbericht fehlt, auch das Motiv des Offenbarungsmittlers nicht vorkommt*" (italics original; *Enderwartung*, 22).

as a “banner for the elect of justice” (נֶס לְבַחֲרֵי צֶדֶק), a term that is used only four other times (1QM III, 15; 1QH^a XIV, 34; 4Q163 23 II, 8; 4Q165 1 I, 5)⁷⁹ and possibly could mean a “rallying point.”⁸⁰ In addition, the Teacher also is called a “knowledgeable mediator” (מְלִיץ דַּעַת) or, more aptly, a “mediator of knowledge,” which refers to one of his primary roles within the community.⁸¹

Mediation concerns “wonderful mysteries” (בְּרִי פִלָּא), but what exactly this entails is unclear from the immediate context. Knibb suggests that the content here is “probably the secrets contained within scripture; the psalmist presents himself as a teacher who knows the true meaning of the Old Testament writings.”⁸² But the use of בְּרִי פִלָּא in the Hodayot and elsewhere in the DSS tends to militate against this position, for the phrase refers to redemptive history in general,⁸³ since it is sometimes parallel to the mystery that is to be.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the content of mystery is not primary in this passage; rather, the role of the Teacher is the central focus. Collins, representing the vast majority of scholarship, labels the Teacher as “the official mediator of revelation for the community.”⁸⁵ Several passages within the Hodayot and outside affirm the reception and mediation of mysteries:

79 See also Ex 17:15; Num 21:8-9; 26:10; Isa 5:26; 11:10, 12; 13:2; 18:3; 30:17; 31:9; 33:23; 49:22; 62:10; Jer 4:6, 21; 50:2; 51:27; Ezek 27:7; Ps 60:4.

80 So Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCJCV 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), 167.

81 Sometimes the verb לִיץ in the DSS refers to “scoffers” (e.g., 1QpHab VIII, 6; 1QH^a IX, 32; 1QH^a XI, 4Q416 18-19, 2; 4Q184 1, 2), but the term can also refer to either general mediation (i.e., “mediation of deceit”; 1QH^a X, 14, 31; 1QH^a X11, 7, 9) or special revelation (1QH^a XIV, 13; 1QH^a XXIII, 11-12; 1QH^a 2 I, 6; 4Q427 7 II, 18). The OT commonly uses the verb לִיץ, but only twice in the context of mediating revelation (Gen 42:23; Job 33:23), whereas the term is used typically to mean “scoffers” (e.g., Isa 28:22; 29:20; 43:27; Ps 1:1; Prov 1:22; 3:34; 9:7-8).

82 *Qumran Community*, 167.

83 E.g., “Every [one who has been chosen by the know]ledge of all intelligence will under[stand ...] and the mysteries of the plan and the begin[ning of ...] you have established. [For to y]ou belongs holiness before the [centuries and] for ever and ever. You are [...] holy ones [...] And in your wonderful mysteries [בְּרִי פִלָּא] ... [...] ... your glory, and in the depth of [...] of your knowledge” (1QH^a V 5-8; cf. CD III, 18; 1QS IX, 18; 1QH^a IX, 7-21; 1QH^a XV, 26-27; 1QH^a XIX, 9-10; 1Q35 XXXV 1 I, 1; 4Q256 XVIII, 1-2; 4Q258 VIII, 3-4; 4Q259 III, 17-18; 4Q301 1 2; 4Q417 2 I, 13; 4Q418 43-45 I, 10; 4Q428 9 1; 11Q11 III, 7-8).

84 1QS XI, 5; 1Q27 1 I, 2-7.

85 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 151; cf. his “Teacher and Servant,” *RHPR* 80 (2000): 37-50. For those who view the Teacher as the mediator *qua* mediator of revelation, see James E. Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (2 vols.; ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:371-76; John Yueh-Han Yieh, *One Teacher: Jesus’ Teaching Role in Matthew’s Gospel Report* (BZNTW 124; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 110-37; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 49.

Though you have enlightened the face of the Many, you have increased them, so that they are uncountable, for *you have shown me your wondrous mysteries* [פלאכה הודעתני ברזי]. (1QH^a XII, 27)⁸⁶

And about the mystery which you have concealed in me [יברזי חבהה בי] they go slandering to the sons of destruction. In order to show my [pa]th and because of their guilt you have concealed the source of understanding and the foundation of truth. (1QH^a XIII, 25-26; see 1QH^a XIII, 35-36)

I give [you] thanks, [Lord,] because you have taught me your truth, *you have made me know your wonderful mysteries* [יברזי פלאכה הודעתני], your kindness towards [...] man. (1QH^a XV, 26-27; cf. 1QH^a XVII, 23-24; 1QH^a XXIV, 5-6; 1Q36 16 2)

Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, *to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets* [הודיענו אל את כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים]. (1QpHab VII, 4; see 1Q14 8-10 6-8)

He should lead them with knowledge and in this way *teach them the mysteries of wonder and of truth* [להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת] in the midst of the men of the Community, so that they walk perfectly, one with another, *in all that has been revealed to them* [בכול הנגלה להם]. (1QS IX, 18-19=4Q256 XVIII, 1-3; 4Q258 VIII, 3-4; cf. 1QS IX, 12-14, 20=4Q259 III, 2-17)

To summarize, the Teacher of Righteousness, though his identity is heavily debated and historically elusive, can be described readily as the charismatic leader of the Qumran community—a divinely appointed recipient of revelation. His influence among the *yahad* must have been substantial, as he continually instructed and prodded its members, dispensed mysteries to the elect, and wielded great authority over the interpretation of biblical texts. These promulgated revelations range from special insight into the OT (1QpHab VII, 4) to certain eschatological events (i.e., “wondrous mysteries”; 1QH^a XII, 27).

3.1.6. 1QWar Scroll

One of the most interesting and intact discoveries at Qumran is the *War Scroll*, which depicts the eschatological battle between the “Sons of Light” and the “Sons of Darkness,” culminating in the ultimate defeat of Belial. The term רי, though used only six times in the *War Scroll*, yields some interesting results.

86 See also 1QH^a XIX, 16-17, 27-28; 1QH^a XX, 11-13=4Q427 2-3 II, 12-13; cf. 1QH^a XX, 11-13=4Q427 2-3 II, 12-13; 1QH^a XX, 19-20; 1QH^a XX, 33-34; 1QH^a XXI, 7-8; 1QH^a XXV 10-12.

In column 14, lines 9-10, we read:⁸⁷

All our generations you have wondrously bestowed your mercies to the rem[nant of your inheritance] during the empire of Belial. *With all the mysteries of his enmity* [בְּכֹל רִיזֵי שְׂטֵמְתֵּהוּ], they have not separated us from your covenant. You have chased away from [us] his spirits of [de]struction." (1QM XIV, 9-10=4Q491 8-10 I, 6-7)

Unlike most of the uses of mystery, this particular instance attributes the phenomenon to Belial.⁸⁸ The great enemy of Israel contrives hidden plans or "mysteries of enmity" to thwart God's elect. But despite Belial's malicious orchestrations, God spares the remnant: "They have not separated us from the covenant." God's mysteries are indeed higher than all others, even the mysteries of Belial.⁸⁹ Three other occurrences of mystery in the *War Scroll* further support the superiority of God's plans:

When [Belial] girds himself to assist the sons of darkness, and the slain of the infantry start to fall in accordance *with God's mysteries* [בְּרִיזֵי אֱלֹ], and all those appointed for battle are tested by them, then the priests shall bl[ow] the trumpets. (1QM XVI, 11-12=4Q491 11 II, 8-10; see 1QM XIV, 14-15=4Q491 8-10 I, 12-13)

The High Priest will approach and take up position in front of the line, ... And starting to speak he will say: "[Go]d [has risen, and] the h[ea]rt of his people he has tested in the crucible, and not [...] your slain, for from ancient times you heard the *mysteries of God* [בְּרִיזֵי אֱלֹ]. [You then, be strong]. (1QM XVI, 13-16=4Q491 11 II, 11-13)

Justice will rejoice in the heights and all the sons of his truth will have enjoyment in everlasting knowledge. And you, sons of his covenant, be

87 Another interesting use of רִיז comes from column three: "And on the trumpets of ambush they shall write: 'God's mysteries to destroy wickedness' (רִיזֵי אֱלֹ לְשֹׂחַת רָשָׁעָה) (1QM III, 8-9). This description follows a series of exhortations for the remnant to follow during the course of a military strike. These military devices include: "trumpets of alarm," "trumpets of ambush," "trumpets of pursuit," "trumpets of re-assembly," and so on (see 1QM III, 1-11). Yet it may not be a matter of chance that mystery is inscribed on the "trumpets of ambush," because the notion of "ambush" (מִצָּדָה / מִצָּדִים) alludes to a sudden and surprising martial event (1QM IX, 17; 1QH^a XIII, 10; 4Q184 1 I, 11; 4Q491 1-3 12; Josh 8:9; Judg 9:35; 2 Chr 13:13; Ps 10:8; cf. 4Q299 6 II, 12; cf. Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* [trans. Batya Rabin and Chaim Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University, 1962], 94, 106, 196), i.e., an *unexpected* military operation (Yadin comments that the inscription "mysteries of God" refers to the "nature of the ambush" [*Scroll of the War*, 270]). Secondly, mystery is apropos to "destroying wickedness," a major if not *the* major theme within the War Scroll.

88 The masculine singular pronoun of שְׂטֵמְתֵּהוּ refers to the preceding noun בְּלִיעַל, despite the possibility of אֱלֹ in line 8. Furthermore, except for the clause in line 8, God is addressed in the second person singular throughout the latter half of the hymn (1QM XIV, 8-18).

89 Cf. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 128; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 22-23.

strong in God's crucible until he shakes his hand and finishes his testings, *his mysteries concerning your existence* [רזיו למעמרכב]. (1QM XVII, 8-9)

Struggle, persecution, and apparent defeat permeate these texts as well as the entire body of the *War Scroll*, but appearances can be deceiving. God has decreed that within his eschatological drama true Israel will undergo severe testing and tribulation, but will be righteously vindicated and preserved.⁹⁰

3.1.7. 1QRule of the Community

Of particular import for our general understanding of the Qumranites is the *Rule of the Community* or 1QS. Knowledge of its legal code and theology was required for membership into the sect. This document adds and reinforces the aforementioned observations of mystery within the DSS.

We begin with one of the most thorough judgment texts affiliated with mystery:

God, in the *mystery of his knowledge* [ברוי שכלי] and in the wisdom of his glory, *has determined an end* [נתן קץ] to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time of visitation he will obliterate it for ever. ... until the time appointed for the judgment decided. *Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds* [ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר], and *will purify himself the structure of man* [וזקק לו מבני איש], *ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part of his flesh* [להחט כול רוח עולה מתכמי בשרו], and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deeds [sic]. (1QS IV, 18-21; see 1QS II, 7-8; 1QS X, 10-13; 1QS X, 17-18)

This passage, surrounded by Danielic allusions,⁹¹ presents us with God's judgment upon wickedness and injustice.⁹² This judgment, considered a mystery, appears to involve the abolition of evil on a cosmic and personal level.⁹³ Disclosure or purging man's deeds comes under close inspection on the eschatological Day of the Lord.

90 Beale likewise arrives at the same conclusion and even detects subtle allusions to Dan 11 and 12 (*Use of Daniel*, 29-30).

91 So Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 23-25.

92 1QS III, 21-23 identifies the role of the "Angel of Darkness" with God's overall plan of redemption:

From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts, and their offensive deeds are under his dominion in compliance with the *mysteries of God* [לפי רוי אל], until this moment." In other words, God has sovereignly orchestrated even the role of his opponents at the eschaton (see 1QM XVI, 11-12).

93 Leaney suggests that line 20 ought to read: "will make manifest, all man's deeds" instead of "refining with his truth, all man's deeds" (*The Rule of Qumran*, 156-57; see

The last section under discussion is the final hymn of 1QS, with special emphasis on revelatory perception:

For from the source of his knowledge he has disclosed his light, and my eyes have observed his wonders, and the light of my heart *the mystery of existence* [ברז נהיה]. ... From the spring of his justice is my judgment and *from the wonderful mystery* [מרזי פלאי] is the light in my heart. My eyes have observed what always is, *wisdom that has been hidden* [תושיה אשר נסתרה] from mankind, knowledge and prudent understanding (hidden) from the sons of man, ... fount of justice, well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the assembly of flesh. (1QS XI, 3-7)

We have already discussed the *ברז נהיה*,⁹⁴ so it is not necessary to nuance its meaning here. The hymnist praises God for revelation of such knowledge: "He has disclosed his light, and my eyes have observed his wonders" (line 3).⁹⁵

One more item in this passage is worthy of note, which is the idea of "hidden wisdom" (*תושיה אשר נסתרה*). This notion is reiterated three times in this hymn: 1) "*wisdom* [תושיה] *that has been hidden from mankind* [נסתרה מאנש]; 2) "knowledge and prudent understanding (hidden) *from the sons of man* [מבני אדם]; and 3) "the fount of justice, well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the *assembly of flesh* [מסדר בשר]." The unmistakable emphasis on the hidden nature of God's wisdom is pervasive. As we have seen in the book of Daniel, hidden wisdom is synonymous with the apocalyptic term mystery. This revelatory knowledge is even hidden *from* a distinctive group, referred to as "mankind," "sons of man," and "assembly of flesh" (cf. 1QS IV, 5-6=4Q257 V, 3).⁹⁶

In sum, 1QS highlights the nature of mystery as it pertains to cosmic and personal eschatological judgment. Eventually, God will put an end to evil and eradicate it from the innermost being of the righteous. Secondly, the hymnist venerates God for his disclosure of the *ברז נהיה*, for unlike the "assembly of flesh," this elect individual is privy to God's hidden wisdom.⁹⁷

also Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 124-25). The former translation intimates that the individual's personal actions are unknown until the "appointed time," whereas the latter intimates that one's deeds are already known yet lack "refinement." Though Leaney is somewhat compelling on this point, the immediate context (lines 20-21) and other uses of *בדר* in 1QS seem to favor "refining" (e.g., 1QS I, 12; 1QS V, 11).

94 See pgs. 58-62.

95 See also 1QS XI, 17-20 (=4Q264 5-7): "You have taught all knowledge and all that exists is so by your will. Beyond you there is no-one to oppose your counsel, to understand any of your holy thoughts, *to gaze into the abyss of your mysteries* [להביט בנמוק דייכה], to fathom all your marvels or the strength of your might."

96 For a discussion of these terms, see Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 255-56, and Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 94-99.

97 See Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 124-25.

3.1.8. 1QPesher of Habakkuk

The resurgence of Qumran hermeneutics has stimulated a lively discussion in the *pešarîm*. But this scholarly endeavor has created a voluminous amount of secondary material, so we will attempt to cull from this material the most relevant aspects. Our main purpose is to tease out the relationship between the technical term mystery and the *pešarîm* without getting bogged down with minute details.

The term *רז* appears only three times in the *pešarîm*, yet these occurrences generate significant insight. The first two are found in the famed Habakkuk *pešer*:

And God told Habakkuk to write *what was going to happen to the last generation* [את הבאות על הדור האחרון], but he did not let him know *the consummation of the era* [נמר הקץ]. And as for what he says: "So that may run the one who reads it". Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness [פשרו על מורה הצדק], to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets [הודיעו אל את כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים]. For the vision [הזיון] has an appointed time, it will have an end and not fail. Its interpretation [פשרו]: the final age will be extended and go beyond all that the prophets say [פארזך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול אשר דברו הנביאים], because the mysteries of God are wonderful [רזי אל להפלה]. (1QpHab VII, 1-8)

Even though God spoke to the prophet Habakkuk concerning "*what was going to happen*" (את הבאות),⁹⁸ according to the *pešer*, he did not primarily divulge *when* this would take place.⁹⁹ "He [God] did not let him know the consummation of the era" (את נמר הקץ לוא הודיעו). In other words, the Teacher has received complete revelation previously given to the prophet Habakkuk—an uncanny resemblance to the prophet Daniel.¹⁰⁰ Not only has God revealed the timing and content of Habak-

98 It is probable that Qumran believed that Habakkuk did not fully grasp the content of what was revealed to him in addition to the timing of prophetic fulfillment. William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 110, argues, "It was not mere chronological knowledge which Habakkuk lacked, such as when the consummation would come or how long the period of the last days would last ... but it was an understanding of the specific events. ... The prophets did not know all that the messianic age would contain."

99 See Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis* 9; Gershon Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 271; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 37-38.

100 Some commentators suggest that the Teacher analogously functions like the prophet Daniel (Brownlee, *Pesher of Habakkuk*, 30, 112; Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis*, 16-17; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 36). Otto Betz aptly sums it up „Der Lehrer der Sekte gleicht Daniel. Nur ist der ihm zur Deutung aufgegeben Gegenstand nicht ein Traum, sondern die Schrift" (*Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, 86).

kuk's prophecy to the Teacher but also prophecy *in toto* (!):¹⁰¹ "to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets." This startling and sweeping claim conveys the idea that despite revelation given to the OT prophets, there remained a time when God would issue a second and more complete disclosure. This final revelation is called appropriately "mysteries"—revelation that was previously veiled to the OT prophets but has now been revealed to the Teacher.¹⁰² Mertens rightly suggests, „erst der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit hat von Gott ein besonders Charisma erhalten, wodurch er in der Lage ist, für seine Gemeinde den bisher verborgenen Sinn der Schrift zu deuten.“¹⁰³ This proposal is confirmed by 1QpHab II, 7-10:

They are violator[s of the coven]ant who will not believe when they hear all that is going [to happen t]o the final generation, from the mouth of the Priest whom God has placed w[ithin the Commun]ity, to foretell the fulfillment of all the words of his servants, the prophets [לבו ב[ינ]ה לפשור את כול] נתן אל ב[לבו ב[ינ]ה לפשור את כול] [רברו עברו הנביאים], [by] means of whom God has declared all that is going to happen to his people Is[rael].

Secondly, the *pešer* follows a rather predictable structure that appears to be rooted in the book of Daniel¹⁰⁴: an OT passage is cited (*lemma*) fol-

101 The *pešer* claims, "the final age will be extended and go beyond all that the prophets say" (אירוך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול אשר דברו הנביאים). It appears as though the final era of restoration has been pushed forward to an unexpected redemptive event. The implication is that the Qumran community remain faithful during the time before the consummation of the age (see 1QpHab VII, 11-14; John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [London: Routledge, 1997], 64-66). That the "end" is "extended" is further supported in lines 11-14: "Those who observe the Law, whose hands will not desert the service of truth when the final age is extended beyond them [בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון], because all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established for them in the mysteries of his prudence [בריו ערמתו]." Also note how this prolonged event is also described as mystery.

102 Betz accurately touches upon the continuity between the prophet and the Teacher, since both of these offices complete (*vollenden*) the entire process of revelation:

Mit der Aufgabe, dieses Geheimnis zu deuten, wurde der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit betraut. Er vollendet damit den Dienst des Propheten. Der Prophet und der Lehrer haben den gleichen Auftrag; denn sie sind beide Boten der Endzeit. Zeigt der Prophet, was über das letzte Geschlecht hereinbrechen wird (1 Qp Hab. 2, 9; 7, 1f), so hat Gott den Lehrer zum selben Zweck auf den Plan gerufen (CD 1, 11f; *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, 76)

See also Jeremias, *Der Lehrer*, 140-141; Paul Schulz, *Der Autoritätsanspruch des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit in Qumran* (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anon Hain, 1974), 92-93, 105-6; Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 121-22; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 23-24; B. Rigaux, "Révélation des Mystères," 246.

103 Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 122. See Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis*, 9.

104 George Brooke, "Qumran Peshar: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10 (1981): 483-503, comments,

Out of all this variety and disagreement there does appear, however, to be some small consistency, for it seems that whatever the generic definition of pe-

lowed by the word “interpretation” (פֶּשֶׁר), while the verse subsequently is applied to the local situation.¹⁰⁵ According to Daniel, the initial vision¹⁰⁶ is meaningless without proper decipherment or “interpretation.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, in the same manner, Qumran viewed OT prophetic texts as a “vision” or something that required decoding,¹⁰⁸ for Qumran did not emphasize or undergo revelatory visions.¹⁰⁹ Collins likewise argues, “The affinity with Daniel’s dream interpretation is underlined by the common use of the word *pešer*. In the Qumran *pešarîm* the words of scripture are treated as mysteries that refer not to the time of their au-

sher, there is general agreement that the *pešarim* stand in the tradition of dream interpretation variously represented in *Genesis* and *Daniel* and also in certain rabbinic writings or at least in the broader category of apocalyptic of which *Daniel* is seen to be a part. (*italics original*; 490)

See also Horgan, *Pesharim*, 252-56; Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle,” 326; Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis*, 8; Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 131-32; Rabinowitz, “PESHER/PITTARON,” 219-32; John E. Worrell, “Concepts of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” (PhD diss., The Claremont Graduate School, 1968), 172-73; Armin Lange, “Interpretation als Offenbarung,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: University Press, 2003), 16-33; Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), 157; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 32-38.

- 105 Though the *pešer* structure is nuanced variously by scholars, many agree that *pešer* roughly includes the following: *lemma*, the term *pešer*, and its application to the immediate situation (e.g., Horgan, *Pesharim*, 239-44; Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History*; Shani Berrin, “Qumran Pesharim,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* [ed. Matthias Henze; SDSL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 111-13).
- 106 Revelation in the book of Daniel is primarily visionary (e.g., Dan 2, 4), although the enigmatic “writing on the wall” (5:7-28) and the Jeremiah prophecy (9:2) still required an interpretation. As we have previously contended, these are examples of differing modes of revelation that require a subsequent and final revelation. The *pešer* technique at Qumran similarly reflects the interpretation of Jer 25:11-12 and 29:10 in Dan 9:24-27, though the actual word “interpretation” is not used but implied (see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 255-56).
- 107 Daniel 2:4-7, 9, 16, 24-26, 30, 36, 45; 4:6-7, 9, 18-19, 24; 5:7-8, 12, 15-17, 26; 7:16 (cf. Ecc 8:1).
- 108 Berrin claims, “The community understood the figure of the [OT] prophet as analogous to that of a dreamer, reporting a dream. The agency of an additional select individual was required for the unraveling of the coded predictions” (“Qumran Pesharim,” 124; see Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 123; Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine* [SBLDS 22; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975], 300-8; Betz, *Offenbarung*, 38; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 254-56; Rabinowitz, “PESHER/PITTARON,” 229-30; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 48; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 456-57; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 42).
- 109 Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 52-53. Qumran thus differs from 1 *En.*, Daniel, and other apocalypses on this point. We know very little about actual reception of revelation at Qumran. They do not explicitly speak of experiencing dreams or visions; instead, they merely state that they, especially, the Teacher of Righteousness, receive revelation. The community probably experienced revelation while interpreting the OT and subsequent Halakhah (so Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 44-46).

author but to the end time."¹¹⁰ *Therefore, OT texts, particularly prophecies, according to Qumran, are mysteries,¹¹¹ lacking proper interpretation.*

Lastly, the Qumran *pešarîm*, remarkably close in form, broadly compares to the eschatological outlook of Daniel in that both stress eschatological judgment, advent of a Messiah, persecution and ultimate restoration of Israel, and destruction of pagan nations. Berrin¹¹² divides the content of *pešarîm* base texts into two groups: "strongly eschatological"¹¹³ and texts that emphasize "divine retribution of sinners."¹¹⁴ Although there may be a slight distinction between these two categories, both base texts are *prophetic* in nature.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, not only are the base texts prophetic, but their *application* to the immediate local situation is considerably eschatological.¹¹⁶ OT prophets attributed Israel's tribulation and restoration to a period known as the "latter days."¹¹⁷ For Qumran, this epochal shift had dawned and the community was now to live and interpret the OT accordingly.¹¹⁸

In conclusion, although God spoke to the OT prophets, he did so, albeit incompletely, for only the Teacher possesses a more thorough and second revelatory experience. The *true* meaning of OT prophecy was shrouded in mystery. The word *pešer* or "interpretation" furthers this claim by intimating that the OT text or *lemma* is visionary material requiring decoding, much like the visions of Daniel. Finally, these OT prophetic texts—which the Teacher divinely interpreted—were eschatologically applied to the community's local situation. For the purpose of this project, the most important detail that we gleaned from the

110 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 152.

111 See David Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*; ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 14 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 134.

112 Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 119-20.

113 1QpHab; 1QpZeph (1Q15); 4QpIsa^a (4Q161); 4QpIsa^c (4Q163); 4QpIsa^a (4Q164); 4QpZeph (4Q170).

114 1QpMic (1Q14); 1QpPs (1Q16); 4QpIsa (4Q162); 4QpIsa^c (4Q165); 4QpHos^a (4Q166); 4QpHos^b; 4QpNah (4Q169); 4QpPs^a (4Q171); 4QpPs^b (4Q172).

115 Berrin states, "The use of an eschatologically significant prophetic/poetic *base text* must be viewed as a typical, and perhaps even an essential, feature of *pesharim*" ("Qumran Pesharim," 122; italics original).

116 Cecil Roth, "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis," VT 10 (1960): 64.

117 For a discussion of this phrase in the OT, see pg. 54. See also A. Steudel, "אהרית הימים" in the Texts from Qumran," RevQ 16 (1993): 226-46.

118 See Steudel, "אהרית הימים," 235-36; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the NT* (SBLSBS 5; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1974), 22-23. Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 116-17. She goes on to refine further the eschatological outlook of Qumran into three categories: dualism, historical determinism, and the community's election (117).

pešarîm is the conviction that OT texts are themselves mysteries, awaiting a final interpretation.

3.1.10. 4QBlessing^a

The locus of divine revealed wisdom and insight is found at one location—the throne room. Angels surround the throne, worshipping and joining with the Qumran community in its veneration of God.¹¹⁹ This scene is reminiscent of the biblical accounts of Ezekiel 1:4-28, Isa 6:1-7, and Dan 7:9-11.¹²⁰ Qumran possesses several texts that describe the throne room in terms of praise or blessing.¹²¹ Wisdom emanates from the presence of God. He, as creator, is sovereign over all things and therefore knows all.

One of the clearest texts, in this respect, occurs in 4Q286 or 4QBlessing^a 1 II, 1-10, where wisdom is placed squarely within the throne room:

Your honoured seat and your glorious footstool in your residential [hei]ghts, and your holy dwelling place; and your glorious chariots, their cherubs and their “ophannim” and all [their] councils; fiery foundations, bright flames, honorific splendor, luminous ra[y]s and wonderful luminaries; ... and wonderful works; *foundation of wisdom and structure of knowledge and source of understanding* [סוד הוכמא ותבנית דעה ומקור בינה] ... holy counsel and true foundation, store of intelligence from the sons of justice and residences of upri[gh]tness; great of mercies, and good kindness, and true mercies and eternal kindness, and won[derful] mysteries [ורדי פל אים] [...] in ... [...] and holy weeks in their measures, and the signs of the months ... in their stations, and the glorious festivals in [their] appointed times.

In a wonderful picture of God’s glory, four Hebrew nouns describe the locus of wisdom and knowledge: סוד, תבנית, מקור, איצר. The point is clear: All wisdom stems from God’s throne.¹²²

119 Cf. our discussion of *Song of Sabbath Sacrifice* on pgs. 78-80.

120 See Schiffman, “Merkavah Speculation at Qumran,” 15-47, who argues that Qumran develops the biblical concept of the throne room (e.g., Isa 6; Ezek 1) and incorporates it into liturgical pieces. It seems that one of the areas of development, namely, apocalyptic wisdom, is part of this development undertaken at Qumran.

121 See Bilhah Nitzan, “4QBerakhot (4Q286-290): A Preliminary Report,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings from the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*, Paris 1992 (STDJ 15; ed. George Brooke and F. Garcia Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 63-70.

122 See also 1QH^a V, 5-9; 1QH^a XIX, 3-13; 11Q17 VIII, 2-9.

3.1.10. *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*

The liturgical texts, referred to as the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, have become increasingly well known in recent years. These documents contain some of the most insightful and lucid material concerning early Jewish worship. The heavenly temple, myriads of angels, and angelic communion thoroughly decorate the Shirot.¹²³

Though the word *רז* is only used five times in the Shirot, we have enough evidence to at least make a few preliminary conclusions. The first use of mystery that we will examine comes from 4Q403 1 II, 18-27:

Praise the God of all the august heights, all (you) eternal [holy ones,] those second among the priests of the inner sanctum, the second council in the wonderful dwelling among the seven [... among all those having knowledge of] eternal things. ... And the chiefs of the congregation of the king in the assembly [...] and exalted praises to the king of glory, ... And the offering of their tongues ... [...] *seven mysteries of knowledge in the wonderful mystery of the seven regions of the holy of holies* [שבע רזי דעת ברז הפלא] [לשבעת גבולי קודש קדשים] ... The tongue of the first will be strengthened seven times."

Unfortunately, the text immediately preceding "seven mysteries of knowledge" is missing. Yet, we are still able to make a few suggestions in light of the immediate context. For example, the construct chain *ברז הפלא לשבעת גבולי קודש קדשים* ("wondrous mystery of the seven regions of the holy of holies") refers to the structure of the heavenly temple, surrounded by legions of angels. It is the sanctuary itself that is depicted as a "wondrous mystery" (see 4Q405 20 II, 1-14).¹²⁴ Furthermore, the "seven mysteries of knowledge" appears to be linked to "wondrous mystery" because of the preposition (*ברז דעת* *שבע רזי דעת*). Since the "wondrous mystery" refers to the holy of holies, it would seem only natural for the "seven mysteries" to be something contained *within* the heavenly sanctuary, perhaps even the angels themselves.

Furthermore, Fletcher-Louis argues that angels are not the focus of the Shirot but the community itself. He claims, "*Much of the language within the Songs, though not all, refers to the Qumran community members*

123 Early in her study Carol Newsom argued for a Qumran provenance of the Shirot (*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985], 1-4) but later came to reject this position ("‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran," in *The Bible and Its Interpreters* [ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. Freedman [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 179-85; see also James H. Charlesworth and Carol A. Newsom, *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice 4b* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999], 4-5).

124 Cf. Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 314.

who now have a heavenly, angelic and divine identity" (italics original).¹²⁵ In other words, the community has undergone divine transformation and now sees itself as partaking of the divine glory. This reading of the Shiroṭ comports well with other Qumran literature, especially with regard to understanding the nature of רי. That is to say, the angels are not the only ones pronouncing and possessing deep understanding of divine mysteries, as is commonly held,¹²⁶ but the sect itself enjoys such revelatory benefits. For example, 4Q400 2, 1 says, "to praise your glory wondrously with the divinities of knowledge [בְּאֵלֵי דַעַת], ... And they will recount the splendour of his kingdom, according to their knowledge [יִסְפְּרוּ] הוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ כְּדַעְתָּם" (cf. 4Q401 14 I, 7; 4Q403 1 I, 31; 4Q405 23 I, 8). The members have considerable knowledge of mysteries. According to 4Q401 14 II, 2-8, a greatly fragmented text, the sect is to proclaim mysteries:¹²⁷ "His wondrous mysterie[s] ... [רִי] שִׁוּת [רִי] shout of jubilation [...] [t]he[y] cannot [...] G[od] fortifies [...] princes of [...] they announce hidden things [הַשְׁמִיּוֹת נִסְתָּרוֹת] [...] at what issues from the lips of the king." The close proximity between "wondrous mysteries" and "hidden things" should not be overlooked, further suggesting that the community transmits divine mysteries.

In sum, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* aid us on our journey by illustrating how a community can actually partake and issues forth divine revelation. This lends further support that mysteries are found in the heavenly throne room and that individuals understand and receive such knowledge with divine help—in this particular case by becoming, to some degree, divine. Even if Fletcher-Louis is incorrect about the function of the Shiroṭ,¹²⁸ most still agree that the community, though distinct from angelic ontology, is somehow participating in the angelic liturgy.¹²⁹ If that is the case, then our tentative conclusions regarding

125 Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A Revisionist Reading of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*" in *Society of Biblical Literature 1998 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 1:369.

126 E.g. Newsom, *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, 30.

127 Although we are unsure of its content, one other use of רי in the 4Q405 3 II, 7-9 seems also to intimate this notion:

He will bless all the divinities who approach the knowledge of his truth] with seven words of justice for [his glorious] mer[cy]. The fifth among the chief princes will bless in the name of] his marvelous [majesty] all who know the mysteries of [יִרְדַּעַי רִי] [...purity with seven words of exaltation of his truth].

128 See Ra'anan Abusch, "Sevenfold Hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature: Formalism, Hierarchy and the Limits of Human Participation," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Michael Gilmour; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 236-37.

129 E.g. Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 311; Abusch, "Sevenfold Hymns," 245; P. A. de Souza Nogueira, "Ecstatic Worship in the Self-Glorification

the nature of mystery in the Shirot are not very different from the traditional reading. For the community would still be, in some measure, enjoying and participating in the transmission of heavenly revelations and mysteries. Mystery in the Shirot, therefore, concerns the heavenly revelations that are transmitted to the Qumran community, as they participate in worship.

3.1.11. Related Issues

3.1.11.1. "Fleshly" and "Spiritual"

Receiving and discerning revelation are predicated upon an individual's spiritual condition. An individual of the "flesh" lacks the ability to understand and comprehend, whereas the "spiritual" ascertains deep knowledge. This principle, albeit largely general, roughly spans significant portions of the Qumran literature. Though there is much discussion on the topic of the flesh in Qumran,¹³⁰ as far as I can tell, few have significantly developed the notions of "hearing," "seeing" and "understanding" *alongside* of language of "flesh." In a recent essay, David Seely examines sensory language in a few *Barkhi Nafshi* texts, explaining how this language is found throughout Qumran literature, which has precedence in the OT¹³¹ (e.g., Deut 29:4; Isa 6:4).¹³² We will first list the positive¹³³ texts followed by the negative:¹³⁴

Hymn," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; ed. F. García Martínez; Leuven: University Press, 2003), 385-93.

130 E.g., Jörg Frey, "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts" in *Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL 109; ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Leuven: Leuven University, 2002), 367-404; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 80-126; John J. Collins, "Interpretations of the Creation of Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (SDSSL; ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 29-43; W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. Krister Stendahl; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 157-82.

131 See Appendix B, for a discussion of relevant OT texts that contribute to the theme of sensory obduracy.

132 David Seely, "Implanting Pious Qualities as a Theme in the *Barkhi Nafshi* Hymns," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 322-31. See his earlier article: "The 'Circumcised Heart' in 4Q434 *Barkhi Nafshi*," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 527-35. George J. Brooke, "Body Parts in *Barkhi Nafshi*," 79-94, builds upon Seely's work and attempts to demonstrate that these "body parts" or senses are literal and are part of the physical makeup of the Qumran community. Unfortunately, Brooke does not allow for a more metaphorical reading, which skews

In the mysteries of your insight [וּבְרִי שְׂכִלְכָה] [you] have apportioned all these things, to make your glory known. [However, what is] the *spirit of flesh* to understand all these matters and to have insight in [your wondrous] and great counsel [רוּחַ בָּשָׂר לְהַבִּין בְּכֹל אֱלֹה וּלְהַשְׂכִּיל בְּסוֹד (פְּלֶאֶךְ הַגְּדוֹל)]? (1QH^a V, 19-20)

These things I know through your knowledge, for *you opened my ears* to wondrous mysteries [גִּלְיָתָה אֹזְנִי לְרוּי פֶלֶא] although I am a creature of clay. (1QH^a IX, 21)

[...But you, my God,] have *opened my ears* [to the instruc]tion [גִּלְיָתָה] of those who rebuke with justice. (1QH^a XIV, 3-4)

And now, sons, listen to me and *I shall open your eyes* so that you can see and understand [אֶגְלֶה עֵינֵיכֶם לְרֹאשׁוֹת וּלְהַבִּין] the deeds of God. (CD-A II, 14-15)

He uncovered their e[yes] for hidden things and opened their ears [גִּלְיָתָה וַיִּנְיֶהָ] [they heard profound things] and understood everything that happens before it comes upon them. (4Q268/4QDamascus Document^c 1 7-8)

My eyes are blind [שְׁעֵי עֵינַי] from having seen evil, *my ears* [אֹזְנִי], through hearing the shedding of blood, *my heart* [לִבִּי] is horrified at evil schemes, for Belial is present when their destructive inclination becomes apparent. (1QH^a XV, 2-3)¹³⁵; cf. 4Q418 123 II, 4)

For our purposes, we need only to note a few details: 1) the individual's "eyes," "ears," and "heart" must be altered, in order to receive and understand revelation; 2) the received revelation is often a "mystery" or a synonymous term, containing eschatological components. Seely notes, "The opening of eyes, ears, and heart is also an important metaphor for spiritual perception."¹³⁶ Therefore, *divinely imparted ability* to receive revelation is fundamental to the Qumran literature.

3.1.11.2. The Danielic Mystery and the DSS

Qumran's particular application of the apocalyptic mystery has encouraged many scholars to see some sort of correspondence between

several texts. He is however right to link these obduracy texts together and mention key OT texts (e.g., Deut 29; Isa 6).

133 Cf. 1Q26 1+2 5; 1QS XI, 3-6; 1QH^a XXII, 7-12; 1QH^a XV, 10; 1Q35 1 I, 14; 4Q266 2 I, 5-7; 4Q266 2 II, 2-15; 4Q299 8 6-8; 4Q303 1; 4Q372 3 3; 4Q416 2 I, 5; 4Q416 2 III, 17-18; 4Q417 1 I, 10-11; 4Q417 2 I, 2-25; 4Q418 2 II, 3; 4Q418 9 14-15; 4Q418 10 1-2; 4Q418 43, 44, 45 I, 1-10; 4Q423 3+4 5; 4Q423 5 1; 4Q424 3 3-5; 4Q427 2 II, 12-13; 4Q428 7 6-7; 4Q436 1 I, 5-6; 4Q444 1 3-4; 4Q511 18 II, 8; 4Q511 48, 49+51 1-5; 4Q511 63-64 III, 1-3; MMT 52-57.

134 Cf. 1QH^a XVIII, 6-7; 1QH^a XX, 33-34; 1QH^a XXI, 1-12; 4Q428 11 2.

135 Cf. 4Q418 123 II, 4; 4Q434 1 I, 3-4; 4Q300 1 II, 2; 4Q392 1 7-8.

136 "Implanting Pious Qualities," 326. Cf. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 119; Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, 83; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 26; David R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism* (LSTS 49; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 123-24.

Daniel¹³⁷ and Qumran regarding the concept.¹³⁸ In our own investigation, we have seen the proclivity of the DSS to allude to the book of Daniel within the immediate contexts of the various uses of דָּנִיֵּל (e.g., 4Q300 1 II, 1-4; 4Q427 I, 13-21; 1QpHab VII, 1-8). Perhaps such intertextuality reflects the notion that Qumran viewed itself as a continuation of the Danielic tradition of receiving eschatological revelations. Furthermore, the Teacher of Righteousness as a mediator of revelation and the *pešer* method are rooted in Daniel. The three attributes of mystery that we previously discussed in our analysis of Daniel—the eschatological bent of mystery,¹³⁹ the twofold aspect of revelation, and its polemical nature—also occur at Qumran.

In addition, eight mss. of the book of Daniel have been discovered at Qumran, which reveals the impact and probably authoritative status of the book within the community,¹⁴⁰ and the importance of the term *maškilim* in the DSS further illustrate the influence of the book of Daniel.¹⁴¹ Therefore, because of the aforementioned points, it is likely that the Danielic mystery shaped the Qumran literature and subsequently was taken over and developed. We also need to keep in mind that not all of the literature under discussion has its provenance at Qumran. Some notable texts, namely the *Book of Mysteries* and *4QInstruction*, probably do not. The literature, whether originating from Qumran or

137 Many have noted the relationship between the book of Daniel and the DSS (e.g., Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, *passim*; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 12-43).

138 For those scholars who explicitly make this connection, see Roland de Vaux, "La Grotte des manuscrits hébreux," *RB* 66 (1949): 606; I. Rabinowitz, "The Authorship, Audience, and Date of the de Vaux Fragment of an Unknown Work," *JBL* 71 (1952): 22-23; Piper, "The 'Book of Mysteries' (Qumran I 27)," 96; Jefferies, *Wisdom at Qumran*, 65; Knibb, "The Book of Daniel in Its Context," 33-34; Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 117-119; Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, 86-87; Rigaux, "Révélation des Mystères," 241; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 23-42. Others who intimate that mystery in Qumran stems from Daniel but do not explicitly defend this position are the following: Harrington, "The Raz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text," 549-53; idem, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 48; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: WJKP, 1997), 121; Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 148; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 47-51; Bruce, "The Book of Daniel," 225-27. Some are less convinced about the connection but still maintain the possibility: Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come," 138; John E. Worrell "Concepts of Wisdom" 170.

139 Note especially Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel*, 116-17, 125-26 and Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, 83-86; Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 30-31.

140 See Peter W. Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SDSS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 41-60. Florilegium (4Q174) 1 II, 3 says, "It is [...] as is written in the book of Daniel, the prophet." Thus, the community squarely placed the book of Daniel within the tradition of OT Scripture. Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," 44, concludes, "The large number of Daniel scrolls and allusions in the Qumran corpus indicate that the book of Daniel was viewed as Scripture at Qumran."

141 See Beale, *Use of Daniel*, 25-26.

some other sect, reflects a dependence upon the Danielic mystery. Even the material not originating within the Qumran community certainly circulated within that community and likely influenced the community.

3.1.12. Conclusions

Most scholars who have combed through Qumran, scouring for revelatory clues, tend to restrict their research to the *content* of mystery, e.g., eschatological aspects of רִי , *pešer* method, and the like. While this is obviously very significant, we have attempted not only to focus on the content of the apocalyptic term רִי , but also determine its function within the immediate context and relate it to any traceable apocalyptic features.

In light of recent discoveries, namely the *Book of Mysteries*, *4QInstruction*, and *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, we have been able to make a few important observations that have previously gone unnoticed.¹⁴² For example, according to the book of Daniel, the “wise” Babylonians were, in reality, unwise and foolish. Daniel, on the other hand, was indeed wise, since his wisdom was *truly divine*. Likewise, in 4Q300 1 II, 1-4 (*Book of Mysteries*), we discovered how mystery takes on a similar role (cf. 4Q427 7 + 9 I, 13-21). Analogous to the book of Daniel, the magicians in 4Q300 were unable to grasp God’s hidden or sealed wisdom, for they are the epitome of human boasting. God’s wisdom defeats all human sagacity. We observed this precise theme in the book of Daniel, which leads us to conclude that Daniel probably shaped the *Book of Mysteries* in this regard.

Secondly, the content of רִי in the DSS is packed with meaning and highly eschatological. At times the term refers to redemptive history in general (e.g., 1Q27 1, 1-4). At other places, it is clearly nuanced, e.g., “the birth-times of salvation” (4Q417 1 I, 10-11); “entry of years and exit of periods” (4Q418 123 II, 1); “creating new things” (1QH^a V, 17). We have even noticed a general trend throughout the literature—the rehearsal of eschatological judgment expressed in cosmic, corporate, or personal contexts (4Q416 2 I, 5-6; 4Q418 77 2-4; 1Q27 1 I, 4-8; cf. 4Q300 8 5-7). Theologically, this is a subset of the larger eschatological outlook of the Qumranites, but it is at least worthy to note its emphasis and popularity. Therefore, mystery, particularly, the mystery that is to be (רִי נִהִי), is an all-encompassing term, encapsulating redemptive history

¹⁴² The *Book of Mysteries* and *4QInstruction* have only been readily available since the early 1990’s, and the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* was published in 1985.

in toto. To put it another way, the cosmos and its physical makeup, humanity (esp. Israel), spiritual beings, and everything in between play a specific role in the plan of redemption. *Mystery, according to the DSS, can be a revelation or special insight that is concerned with either the entire process or a specific aspect of redemption, including all related physical and spiritual intricacies.*

Not only do the Scrolls supply ample information concerning redemptive-historical content, they also show awareness of a relationship between mystery and Scripture. Though God revealed his will to the prophets, revelation was, to some degree, unfinished. God entrusted the community's leader, the Teacher of Righteousness, with a more complete and finished form of revelation (1QpHab VII, 1-8). The OT was viewed as a dream or vision that had to be subsequently "decoded" or interpreted (פִּשְׁר)—a clear Danielic notion. Understanding Scripture *as* mysteries implies therefore that a *final* (or more complete) meaning of the prophetic portions of the OT (if not the entire OT itself) is a divine secret, revealed to the Qumran community via the Teacher. Qumran understood OT prophetic texts as visionary material in need of an interpretation, hence, the emergence of the term מִסְתֵּר. Qumran simply applied the concept of dream reports to Scripture. Therefore, the *terminus technicus* still retains its apocalyptic roots despite the application to OT prophetic texts.

Qumran also reinforces the notion that wisdom flows from the presence of God (e.g., 4Q286 1 II, 1-6). Revelations, knowledge, and all wisdom originate from the throne room. Even though wisdom is heavenly, it is not entirely transcendent, for, according to the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, access to such higher wisdom is possible. The Shirot push the boundaries between an individual and God, by asserting that the Qumran community is united, in some way, to the angelic cohort. Such liturgical theology paves the way for individuals enjoying and uttering hidden mysteries.

Lastly, the Scrolls' anthropology is directly related to the reception of revelation. Fleshly individuals are incapable of insight into divine wisdom (e.g., 1QH^a XV, 2-3; 4Q300 1 II, 2); their "eyes," "ears," and "heart" are calloused. The remedy is thus to restore the image of the individual back to the "glory of Adam" (1QH^a V, 17-24), thereby, engendering revelatory acuity.

3.2. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

The Pseudepigrapha are relevant for our study in several ways, for these sources give us insight into several different forms of Judaism.¹⁴³ Yet, as we shall see, some texts are stitched together with similar apocalyptic threads. Like most Jewish texts, there is a mountain of textual uncertainties. My approach primarily is to utilize the extant Greek and Aramaic texts where applicable and simply focus on the key term “mystery” (μυστήριον/ῖν). The brevity of this essay does not allow me to discuss every occurrence of mystery, so I will mainly target the more apocalyptic and germane usages.

3.2.1. *Life of Adam and Eve* (First Century A.D.)

Life of Adam and Eve probably was written in Hebrew, but only Latin and Greek translations remain.¹⁴⁴ In 3:2 (Apoc), we read, “And God said to Michael the archangel, ‘Say to Adam, “*The mystery which you know* [τὸ μυστήριον ὃ οἶδας] do not report to your son Cain, for he is a son of wrath.’” The μυστήριον, in this particular case, is communicated by God to Michael and appears to be Eve’s dream (κατ’ ὄναρ) located in 2:2, the account of Cain killing his brother Abel.

The next use of μυστήριον is found in 21:2 (Apoc), when Eve recounts to “her children” (15:1) her fall and the fall of Adam: “‘And I cried out with a loud voice, saying, “Adam, Adam, where are you? Rise, come to me and *I will show you a great mystery* [δείξω σοι μέγα μυστήριον].”’” The passage goes on to say, “I spoke to him unlawful words of transgression such as brought us down from great glory” (21:2-3). In other words, the promise that the serpent made to Eve—“your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil” (18:3 [Gen 3:5])—seems to be the mystery that Eve relates to Adam.

Finally, μυστήριον appears in 34:1: “And then I, Eve, saw two *great and fearful mysteries* [μεγάλα καὶ φοβερά μυστήρια] standing before

143 Unless indicated otherwise, the dating of these pseudepigraphical works in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983) will be assumed. Also, all translations are from the same work.

144 Cf. John Lawrence, “Prolegomena to the Establishment of the Critical Text of the Greek Apocalypse of Moses” (PhD diss., Duke University, 1969), 146-51.

God.”¹⁴⁵ What these mysteries entail is not readily apparent but two objects are identified in 36:1 as the “sun” and “moon,” bowing down before Adam and, which, implicitly, “stand before God.”

The use of mystery in *L.A.E.* is somewhat consistent with its use in Daniel and the DSS. Mystery, in 3:2, may indeed reflect the usual redemptive aspect of mystery (God’s design for Cain to kill Abel), whereas in 21:2, μυστήριον is less eschatological—the serpent’s “secret” is that Adam and Eve become like gods. That mystery refers to the sun and moon is not uncommon, especially in the light of a few Qumran texts and 1 *En.* (e.g., 1QH^a IX, 9-12).

3.2.2. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Second Century B.C.)

The important work, *T. 12 Patriarchs*, contains many salient uses of the term mystery. As we shall see, these passages are similar to other apocalyptic texts.

3.2.2.1. *Testament of Levi*

Levi narrates to his children a time when he had “fallen asleep” and ascended upon a “high mountain” where the heavens opened up (2:5-7). After entering into the “first heaven,” Levi happens upon an angel who declares to him that he will venture into a more brilliant “heaven” (2:9-10), where he will “be his [the Lord’s] priest and ... shall tell forth his mysteries to men [καὶ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ ἐξαγγελεῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις]. You shall announce the one who is about to redeem Israel” (2:10-11). The passage does not explain what exactly Levi must declare, although he is taken on a tour of the heavenly temple, the cosmos, and hades (3:1-4:6). The heavenly journey is thus the medium of revelation.

145 The text goes on to say, “And I wept from fear and cried out to my son Seth, saying, ‘Rise, ... come to me, that you may see things which eye has never seen [ἴδε ἃ οὐκ εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός ποτε]” (34:2). Although the order varies, this passage is very similar to 1 Cor 2:9a “things which eye has not seen” (ἃ ὀφθαλμός οὐκ εἶδεν [see Isa 64:4]). Also, keep in mind that both texts are describing *perception* of mystery, though *L.A.E.* uses this language as ability, whereas 1 Cor 2 affirms the opposite.

3.2.2.2. *Testament of Judah*

In 12:1-11, Judah recounts his encounter with Tamar, a costly sin that would bring him much anguish:

Upon having intercourse with her, she conceived. ... I called her and heard the words spoken *in a mystery* [ἐν μυστηρίῳ], which I had spoken while I was sleeping with her and intoxicated. Therefore, I was unable to kill her, for it was from the Lord (12:6-7; my trans).

The passage relates how Judah spoke mysteries during his stay with Tamar, but, unfortunately, we have no interpretative clues for determining their content. Though the immediate context of 12:6-7 does not provide much help, a few chapters later Judah rehearses this same event to his children, further articulating the mysteries:

But if you wish to live prudently, abstain completely from drinking in order that you might not sin by uttering lewd words, by fighting, by slander, by transgressing God's commands, ... *The mysteries of God* [μυστήρια θεοῦ] and men wine *discloses* [ἀποκαλύπτει], just as *I disclosed* [ἀπεκάλυψα] to the Canaanite woman *the commandments of God* [ἐντολάς θεοῦ] and *the mysteries of Jacob* [μυστήρια Ἰακώβ], my father, which God had told me *not to reveal* [μὴ ἀποκαλύψαι]. (16:3-4)

Judah admits to his sons the proclivity of wine to bring out the worst, and, specifically, expose hermetically sealed "mysteries of God" (note the iteration of ἀποκαλύπτω). Two hints are available for us to retrieve: the synonymous use of "mysteries of God" and "commandments of God"; and "mysteries of Jacob." The occurrence of ἐντολή in the *T. 12 Patriarchs* is similar to the biblical usage, namely, a reference to Torah and God's decrees.¹⁴⁶ This, therefore, leads us to conclude that mysteries may entail some esoteric teaching concerning the nature of Torah. Furthermore, the "mysteries of Jacob" may be another synonymous term for "commandments of God," because of the *T. 12 Patriarchs'* view of revelation; God revealed Sinaitic law to the patriarchs,¹⁴⁷ thus, explaining the synonymous expressions "mysteries of God," "commandments of God," and "mysteries of Jacob."

147 E.g., *T. Levi* 14:4, 6-7; *T. Judah* 13:1, 7; 14:6; 16:3; 18:6; 23:5; *T. Iss.* 4:6; 5:1; *T. Zeb* 5:1; 10:2.

147 Esther Marie Menn, *Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) in Ancient Jewish Exegesis* (JSPSup 51; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 156.

3.2.2.3. Conclusion of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

Two distinct categories of mystery emerge. On the one hand *μυστήριον* can denote a secret between individuals or parties (*T. Zebul* 1:6; *T. Gad* 6:5), while other occurrences of the term intimate a much more apocalyptic and esoteric function. *Testament of Levi* is couched in a highly apocalyptic setting, and *T. Judah* 12:6-7 and 16:3-4 resonate well with other Jewish documents that speak of hidden teaching (e.g., 4Q416 2 III, 8-10; 4Q416 2 III, 13-15). Therefore, the *T. 12 Patr.* incorporates both a secular and apocalyptic perspective of mystery, which may intimate a sectarian apocalyptic provenance.¹⁴⁸

3.2.3. *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* (Second to Ninth Century A.D.)

The text, though dated later than the NT, illustrates the classic features of apocalyptic literature. The scribe Ezra, or rather the seer, tours the heavenly throne room and hell, learning about the judgment of the wicked and righteous, the end-time opponent, and the fall of Adam and Eve. But before his journey, Ezra pleads with God that he would be privy to such information: "I was in my house and I cried out, saying to the Most High, 'Lord, grant (me) glory so that I may see your mysteries [τὰ μυστήρια]. ... and I fasted twice sixty weeks, and I saw the mysteries of God [εἶδον τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ] and his angels" (1:2-5). Analogous to Qumran, Ezra asks for "glory" or enablement to perceive "mysteries" or visions (e.g., 1QS XI, 3-6; 1QH^a XXII, 7-12). Secondly, the eschatological nature of mystery presumably includes all the various heavenly tours and divine insight that Ezra investigates (e.g., 2:26-32; 5:20-28).

¹⁴⁸ So H. C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (vol 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 799.

3.2.4. *3 Baruch*¹⁴⁹

(First Century B.C. to Third Century A.D.)

Revelatory visions and tours of heaven are typical of apocalyptic literature, and *3 Bar.* is no exception.¹⁵⁰ The very beginning of the book illustrates this: "Narration and Apocalypse of Baruch concerning the secret things he saw by the command of God" (preface). After supplicating to God concerning Israel's exile, an angel visited Baruch saying, "Cease irritation of God, and I will disclose to you other mysteries greater than these [ὑποδείξω σοι ἄλλα μυστήρια τούτων μείζονα]" (1:6).¹⁵¹ We ought to pause here and recognize that the comparative "than these" (τούτων μείζονα) implies "these [mysteries]," which, given the immediate context, refers to God's dealings with Israel in the exile (Baruch does not understand why God has brought them into pagan captivity [1:1-2]). Secondly, the revelation of "greater mysteries"¹⁵² probably alludes to Baruch's journey throughout the various heavens and his understanding of judgment (2:1-3:8), hades (4:1-17), and angels (11:1-9) as constituting mysteries.¹⁵³

3.2.5. *Jubilees*

(Second Century B.C.)

The book of *Jub.*, though originally written in Hebrew, contains some Greek fragments. Within one of these fragments, μυστήριον is used in conjunction with the famed Enoch: "This one [Enoch] first learned writing and taught [it] and was worthy of divine mysteries of revelation" (οὗτός πρῶτος γράμματα μανθάνει καὶ διδάσκει καὶ θεῶν μυστηρίων ἀποκαλύψεως ἄξιονται; my trans.). Unfortunately, the exact text of the Greek fragments is difficult to reconstruct, so we must rely

149 Note also the use of mystery in *4 Bar.* but, unfortunately, it occurs in the midst of a Christian interpolation. The usages of the term μυστήριον in 9:23 and 9:29 still retain eschatological connotations.

150 See also Brown's discussion of mystery in the Syriac version of *2 Bar* (*Semitic Background*, 19-20).

151 The term μυστήριον is found two other times, 1:8 and 2:6, occurring in very similar language to 1:6: "Come and I shall disclose to you the mysteries of God" (Δεῦρο καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ [1:8]); "He said to me, 'Go and I will show you the mysteries'" (Δεῦρο καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι μείζονα μυστήρια [2:6]).

152 The phrase "greater mysteries" (μείζονα μυστήρια) is likewise found in 2:6, which seems to indicate that the content of 2:1-5 is "mysteries."

153 The words ὑποδείκνυμι and δείκνυμι are used throughout the book, appearing to be markers or key words that are linked to the concept of revelation and mystery (2:2, 6; 3:1, 3; 4:1, 3, 5, 8-9; 5:3; 6:2, 16; 7:2; 9:2).

on other translations such as the Ethiopic in order to determine the immediate context. It appears, according to the Ethiopic tradition, that Enoch received revelation “in a vision of his sleep” regarding “what was and what will be.” In other words, this seems to indicate that Enoch was privy to eschatological revelations. The influence of Enoch traditions in *Jubilees* has been well documented,¹⁵⁴ so there is no need to rehearse these conceptual links. We only need to note that the figure Enoch, according to *Jub.*, corresponds to the apocalyptic Enoch who receives end-time visions and revelations.

3.2.6. 1 Enoch (Second Century to First Century B.C.)

3.2.6.1. Book of Watchers (Second Century B.C.)

1 Enoch comprises five works: *Book of Watchers*, *Book of Similitudes*, *Book of Astronomical Writings*, *Book of Dream Visions*, and *Book of the Epistle of Enoch*. The *Book of Watchers* (chs. 1-36) is probably the earliest of the Enochic works. It describes the heavenly journey of Enoch and the egregious sin of the fallen angels. The first use of the technical term mystery occurs in 8:3B: “All these [Watchers] began to reveal mysteries [ἀνακαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια] to their wives and children” (my trans.).¹⁵⁵ In addition, another similar occurrence is located in 9:6: “And they [Azaz’el and the other fallen angels] revealed eternal secrets which are performed in heaven [ἐδήλωσεν τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ αἰῶνος τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἃ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν].” These passages are in the context of the Watchers’ illicit revelations to humans. For example, in 7:1, they showed humankind “magical medicine” and “incantations” (φαρμακείας καὶ ἐπαοιδάς; cf. 8:1-3; 10:7; 65:6; 69:1-16). The Aramaic renders this as: “sor]cery, incanta[tions]” ([להר] שהא ולכש[פהא]; 4Q202 II, 19). The root of the second word, שרר, is found in the OT as referring to “enchanter” or “magician” (e.g., Isa 3:3). Moreover, in his recent commentary, Nickelsburg contends that the second word should read [האשפהא] (“conjurations”) and not [כשפהא] (“incantations”).¹⁵⁶ If he is cor-

154 E.g., J. VanderKam, “Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources,” *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers* (Missoula, Mont.: University of Montana, 1978), 229-57.

155 The Aramaic is very similar to the Greek: “[And all began] [to reveal] secrets [לגלות] ה[ר]ו[ן] to their wives” (4Q202 IV, 5=4Q202 III, 5).

156 George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (2 vols.; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 1:197-99.

rect, which appears likely given the immediate context, then we are once again faced with the a word that may hark back to the book of Daniel, for the root אשך (“conjure”) is exclusively used in Daniel 1-5.¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, in the Aramaic portion of 1 En. 8:3, we have a further description of the identical event: “Hermoni taught (how) to undo magic,] [sor]cery, magic and skill[s]” (כ[שפ]ו והרמנו והוש[ין]; 4Q201 IV, 1-2). The word הרמנו likewise finds a background that is similar to Daniel, for this term is mainly used in Daniel 1-5 along with a few uses in Gen 41¹⁵⁸—a parallel event to the Danielic court tales.¹⁵⁹ All of these references to magicians and incantations create a foil against the authentic or proper mode of revelation given to Enoch. The Watchers were divulging false modes of prognostication, whereas Enoch receives genuine revelation through the medium of an angel (1:2). This polemic or foil can hardly go unnoticed. Nickelsburg rightly remarks,

If the present reference [7:3] is to dream interpretation, this stands in contrast to the dream interpretations that are an important part of the revelations given in 1 Enoch ... This contrast parallels the situation in Genesis 41 and Daniel 1-6, where Joseph’s and Daniel’s divinely given interpretations of dreams are contrasted with the activities of the Egyptian and Babylonian הרמנים.¹⁶⁰

Even Collins agrees: “The understanding of the sin of the Watchers as improper revelation provides the obvious counterpart of the proper revelation of Enoch in the rest of the book.”¹⁶¹ In other words, the Watchers revealed illegitimate divine mysteries, while Enoch is privy to divinely sanctioned mysteries.¹⁶²

157 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7; 5:7, 11, 15.

158 Gen 41:8, 24; Ex 7:11, 22; 8:7, 18-19; 9:11; Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7, 9; 5:11.

159 See pgs. 43-49

160 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 199.

161 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 53. Cf. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 40; Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1993), 25-46; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 14; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 126, 133-34. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 84-85, and Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 109-19, contend that the Watchers in this particular passage are analogous to the “magicians” in the book of Mysteries in 4Q300.

162 The polemical theme of mystery has continually surfaced throughout this study, for we have made very similar conclusions in our analysis of Daniel and the *Book of Mysteries*, but, in this particular case, we have one major difference: In Daniel and the *Book of Mysteries*, the “wise men” were *unable* to understand mystery, whereas in 1 En. the Watchers *are* revealing divine mysteries, yet these mysteries were not for public consumption. See especially 16:2-3: “And so the Watchers on whose behalf you have been sent to intercede—who were formerly in heaven—(say to them), ‘You were (once) in heaven, but *not all the mysteries (of heaven) are open to you* [πάν μυστήριον ὃ οὐκ ἀνεκαλύφθη], and you (only) know the rejected *mystery* [μυστήριον]. Those ones you have broadcast to the women in the hardness of your

Juxtaposed with the Watchers' revelation, Enoch stands as the divinely sanctioned recipient of revelation (1:2). His heavenly journey begins in 14:8, with his first stop at the divine throne room, where he participates in the heavenly temple and receives a commission (14:9-16:3). He will be the official "scribe of righteousness" (12:4; cf. 13:4-6; 14:1-16:4; 82:1) that records and disseminates revelation.¹⁶³ This ascent to heaven—soon to become an apocalyptic tradition—is close to the Qumran participation in heavenly worship that we encountered in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*.¹⁶⁴ Enoch traverses through the ends of cosmos, from the "foundations of the earth" (18:1) to the "pillars" of heaven (17:1-18:16), discovering a "prison house for the stars and the powers of heaven" (18:14) that awaits judgment (19:1-3). He then tours a "chaotic and terrible place" (21:2), a holding tank for all the dead "until the day of their judgment and the appointed time of the great judgment upon them" (22:4; cf. 22:5-14). Leaving the theme of eschatological judgment behind, the journey continues to the outskirts of the earth, encountering various trees (24:1-25:7), mountains (26:1-6), an "accursed valley" or Gehenna (27:1-5), and the four corners of the earth (28:1-36:4). The journey, on which Enoch embarked, would be a standard for later apocalyptic works.¹⁶⁵ Apparently, the entire journey and all that has been revealed to Enoch is one enormous revelatory event or mystery.

In the book of Daniel, revelation is transmitted through "dreams" and "visions," (e.g., 2:3, 19; 4:5). Compared to Enoch, Daniel's revelations are far less cosmological; there are no journeys or visitations. But there are several similarities, namely, focus on eschatology (including end-time judgment), emphasis on the afterlife, throne room, and angels. Yet for this study, we need to note the medium of revelation that undergirds these two apocalyptic works: *revelation or mystery in Daniel primarily manifests itself within the dream reports, whereas Enoch receives penetrating "mysteries" as he ascends to the heavenly throne and tours the cosmos.*

hearts and *by this mystery* [τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦτῳ] the women and men multiply evil deeds upon the earth."

163 See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 104-5, 132-33; Collins, *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages*, 339-43. Note also the revelatory role of Enoch in 1QapGen V, 20-24: "And now, I [Enoch] make known to you [Methuselah] *the mystery* of [בְּרִין] ... [...] your son make known *this mystery* [בְּרִין דִּנְאָ] ... [...] When Methuselah heard [...] and with Lamech, his son he spoke *in secret* [בְּרִין]" (cf. 4Q536 1 I, 8-12). Not only is Enoch considered a visionary but also Noah according to 4Q534 (4QNoah) I, 8: "He will know *the secrets of man* [רִיז אֱנוֹשָׁא]. And his wisdom will reach all the peoples. And he will know *the secrets of all living things* [רִיז כָּל חַיָּא]."

164 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 54.

165 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 102-4.

3.2.6.2. *Book of Similitudes* (First Century A.D.)

The earliest mss. of this particular section of *1 En.* (chs. 37-71) are Ethiopic, so it will be much more difficult for us to interact with the primary texts.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, we are still able to make some significant observations. Much like the *Book of Watchers*, the medium of revelation is Enoch's cosmological travels (39:3; 52:1) intermingled with visionary material (37:1; 39:4; 60:5; 71:1). In 38:1-6, God comes to judge the righteous and the wicked. The wicked will be "driven from the presence of the righteous and the elect," whereas the "secrets of the righteous are revealed" (38:3). Throughout the *Similitudes*, eschatological judgment is pervasive and one particular aspect is often encountered—the unveiling of individual "secrets" or "mysteries":

When the secrets of the righteous are revealed, he shall judge the sinners.¹⁶⁷ (38:3)

He [the Elect One] shall judge the secret things. And no one will be able to utter vain words in his presence. (49:4)

And when he shall lift up his countenance in order to judge the secret ways of theirs. (61:9)

Your power exposes every secret thing from generation to generation and your glory is forever and ever. Deep are all your mysteries. (63:2-3)

It is likely that the term "secrets" refers to the individual's works, even deeds done in private (cf. 38:2; 45:1-6; 50:1-5; 61:5). God will hold each individual accountable for such actions. But what we should keep in mind is the larger scope of the *Similitudes*, for the book largely consists of Enoch's travels through the cosmos and his insight into the inner workings of God. Thus, Enoch discovers that God is not only sovereign over the cosmos (the basis for cosmological revelations) but he is sovereign over the human heart. We learn that there are heavenly *and* human secrets awaiting revelation.

The journey continues to the "ultimate ends of the heavens" where Enoch sees the "dwelling places of the holy ones" (38:3-4). He then learns through a revelation the names of angels and other "hidden things" (40:2); "secrets" of kingdoms "breaking up" and "actions of the people are weighed in the balance" (41:1) are also revealed to him. Furthermore, Enoch probes deeper into the cosmos and learns the "secrets of lightning and thunder, and the mysteries of the winds" (41:3; see

166 For a good linguistic treatment of mystery in the *Similitudes* and the corresponding Ethiopic terms, see Caragounis, *The Ephesian Mysterion*, 24-25.

167 So mss B C and Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 2:125.

52:1, 5; 60:11-23; 71:4-5; cf. 43:1-44:1; 59:1-3). The Son of Man receives much attention (46:3-5; 48:1-10; 62:7-9) and judgment is again rehearsed (50:1-5; 52:7-9; 54:1-55:4; 66:1-67:13) along with the resurrection (51:1-5).

3.2.6.3. *Epistle of Enoch* (Second Century to First Century B.C.)

The term mystery occurs three more times in *1 En.* 103:2, 104:10-13, and 106:19. The first use concerns the nature of the righteous upon death: “For I know this mystery [ἐπίσταμαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο]; I have read the tablets of heaven¹⁶⁸ and have seen the holy writings, and I have understood the writing in them” (103:2).¹⁶⁹ The passage then proceeds to describe the content of mystery: “All good things, and joy and honor are prepared for and written down for the souls of those who died in righteousness. Many good things shall be given to you ... Your lot exceeds even that of the living ... The spirits of those who died in righteousness shall live and rejoice” (103:3-4). The mystery, according to this passage, is a description of the eschatological inheritance of the righteous.¹⁷⁰

In 104:10-13, we find two mysteries. The first describes the rejection and manipulation of Enoch’s revelation: “And now I know this mystery:¹⁷¹ For they (the sinners) shall alter the just verdict and many sinners will take it to heart; ... they will invent fictitious stories and write out my Scriptures on the basis of their own words” (104:10; cf. 104:11). The other mystery is exactly opposite: “Again know another mystery [μυστήριον δεύτερον]!: that to the righteous and the wise shall be given the Scriptures ... So to them shall be given the Scriptures; and they shall believe them” (104:12-13).

Finally, 106:18 depicts the sin and oppression that existed at the time of Noah. But, surprisingly, there will be a second and greater oppression or evil: “After that there shall occur still greater oppression than that which was fulfilled upon the earth the first time; for I do know the mysteries [ידע אנה ברין] ... the Lord, has revealed (them) to me and made me know—and I have read (them)” (106:19; 4Q204 5 II, 26-27).

168 See 81:1-2; 93:2; 108:7-10.

169 Note the reception of mystery: “know” [ἐπίσταμαι], “read” [ἀν[έ]γνων], “seen” [εἶδον], and “understood” [ἔγνων]. These verbs are conceptually very similar to the Qumran notion of understanding revelation.

170 See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 522.

171 Unfortunately, this verse and only the Ethiopic text exists for the beginning of v. 10, including the word mystery.

In conclusion, 1 *En.* grants us a wealth of information regarding the nature of the apocalyptic term mystery. We first discovered that the Watchers are analogous to the “wise men” of Daniel—a constant recurring theme (e.g., 4Q300 1 II, 1-4)—in that their wisdom is contrasted with the wisdom of Enoch. Secondly, just as Daniel gained insight through dream reports, the entirety of Enoch’s journey is revelatory.¹⁷² We have also seen emphasis on eschatological judgment, particularly, personal judgment regarding the nature of mystery.

3.3. Targums

The Aramaic targums are replete with textual complexities which are beyond the scope of this project. Our aim instead is to remain very descriptive in my approach, dependent on the consensus of dating on the various targumic materials.¹⁷³ Our goal is to evaluate how certain sectors of Judaism understood the concept of mystery. The Aramaic term *רז* appears to be once more an eschatologically charged term in some targumic literature.

Genesis 49 has undergone much expansion. Yet, in the midst of this elaboration, the notion of mystery plays a pivotal role.¹⁷⁴ I will quote at length Neofiti’s translation of Gen 49:1:¹⁷⁵

And Jacob called his sons and said to them: “Gather together and I will tell you the concealed secrets [רזייה סתמייה], the hidden ends [קיצייה נגזייה], giving of the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the wicked, and what the happiness of Eden is.” The twelve tribes gathered together and surrounded the bed of gold on which our father Jacob was lying after the end [קינא] was revealed to him and that the determined end of blessing and the consolation might be communicated to them. As soon as the end was revealed to him [ראתגלי ליה קינא], the mystery was hidden from him [רזא אהכסא מינה]. They hoped that he would relate to them the determined end of the redemption and the consolation. As soon as the mystery was revealed to him [ראתגלי ליה רזא], it was hidden from him [אהכסא מנה] and as soon as the door was opened to him, it was closed from him.

172 Cf. Brown, *Semitic Background*, 16-19.

173 On the dating of the targums, see A. Díez Macho, “The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the other Targums” in *Congress Volume: Uppsala 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 222-45; Anthony D. York, “The Dating of Targumic Literature,” *JSJ* 5 (1974): 49-62; P. Wernberg-Møller, “An Inquiry into the Validity of the Text-Critical Argument for an Early Dating of the Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum,” *VT* 12 (1962): 312-30.

174 See Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 94-96, for additional discussion and elaboration of mystery and other revelatory concepts in the targums.

175 Italics represent targumic expansion, and underlining reflects the Aramaic in brackets.

This targumic expansion explicitly connects mystery with several apocalyptic features that we have already discussed at length. First, “mysteries” (רזייה) entail knowledge of the “end” (קיצא), the “rewards of the just,” the “punishment of the wicked,” and the “happiness of Eden.” Each of these is a common eschatological conception, appearing throughout Second Temple Judaism, especially, in apocalyptic literature (e.g., 1 En.; 2 Bar.). Furthermore, the revelation of “mysteries” (רזייה) concerning the “end” (קיצא) or “latter days”¹⁷⁶ probably alludes to to Dan 2:28-29:

Gen 49:1 (Neofiti)	Dan 2:28
“As soon as the <u>end</u> was revealed to him [ראתגלי ליה קיצא], the <u>mystery</u> was hidden from him [אתכסא מינה רזא]. ... As soon as the <u>mystery</u> was revealed to him [ראתגלי ליה רזא].”	“There is a God in heaven <u>who</u> reveals <u>mysteries</u> [גלז רזין], and He has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will take place <u>in the latter days</u> [באתרית יומיא].”

Apparently, the targums perceived a tension in Jacob’s revelation concerning the end and his prophetic blessing upon his children in vv. 2-27, for Jacob received revelation concerning the eschaton but failed to relate the specifics to his offspring. The targums ease the tension by commenting that the mystery—the eschatological specificities—was revealed for a short period of time then subsequently hidden.

Nevertheless, the thrust of the passage is that Jacob received a revelation or mystery concerning end-time events.¹⁷⁷ According to the book of Daniel, we learned that the term “end” (קץ) expresses an eschatological conception, since it is repeatedly located in eschatological contexts throughout and appears to be interchangeable with the phrase “latter days.”¹⁷⁸ Thus, there does appear to be an awareness of the Danielic mystery in Gen 49:1 (Neofiti). Syrén comments in his monograph on the Gen 49:1 targum, “The language seems to be influenced by Dan., e.g., in Dan. 2,28 the events at ‘the end of the days (באתרית יומיא)’ are the

176 The MT of Gen 49:1 explicitly uses the phrase “latter days” (באתרית הַיָּמִים), thus, linking it with other eschatological texts (e.g., Isa 2:2; Dan 2:28; see my discussion on pg. 54).

177 Likewise, in Pseudo-Jonathan of Gen 49:1, “mystery” occurs only one time but in connection with the end: “Jacob called his sons and said to them, ‘Purify yourselves ... and I will tell you the concealed secrets, the hidden times [רזייה סתומיא קיצא גנייא], the giving of the reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, and what the happiness of Eden will be.’”

178 8:19; 9:27; 11:13, 27; 12:13; cf. 11:35; 12:4, 7.

'secrets (רְזִי)' revealed to Daniel by God in heaven."¹⁷⁹ Another targum scholar admits that these features "clearly belong to the apocalyptic genre ... [and] go beyond the distinctive Qumran usage, of God revealing his secrets in relation to the community and their interpretation of Torah, and have their closest affinity with Dan. 2 and other apocalyptic texts."¹⁸⁰

In addition to what we saw in Gen 49, the targum of Num 24:15-17 advances the same thought:

"Says Balaam, the son of Beor, says the man *who is more honored than his father; what was hidden from all the prophets has been revealed to him* [מֶה רֵאָה־כֶּסֶי] מֶן כָּל נְבוֹאִיָּה יִתְגַּלִּי עָלָיו. The utterance of him who heard a Memra from before the Lord and got knowledge from before the Most High, and saw visions of Shaddai. And when he made petition he prostrated himself upon his face, and the mysteries of prophecy were revealed to him [רְזִי נְבוֹאִיָּה מִתְגַּלִּין]¹⁸¹. ... I see him, but he is not here now; I observe him, but he is not nigh. A king is to arise from those of the house of Jacob, and a redeemer and ruler from those of the house of Israel." (cf. 24:18-24)

Very similar to the Habakkuk *pešer* (1QpHab VII, 1-8), mystery is a revelation that was hidden in the prophets. In this particular instance, details concerning the Messianic king and his ruler were not accessible to the prophets;¹⁸² only Balaam is privy to such eschatological insight. Furthermore, this passage contains strong eschatological overtones, features that were exhibited in Gen 49.¹⁸³

179 Roger Syré, *The Blessings in the Targums: A Study on the Targumic Interpretations of Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33* (Abo: Abo Akademi, 1986), 121. Martin McNamara also suggests that the same language "shows dependence on apocalyptic texts, e.g., Dan 2:18, 28, 30, 47f." (*Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* [Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992], 215).

180 Andrew Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim* (TSAJ 14; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1986), 214 (cf. 215).

181 In Num 24:3-4, virtually the exact language is rehearsed: "the one who saw a vision of Shaddai. And when he used to see, he used to prostrate himself upon his face and the mysteries of prophecy were revealed to him [רְזִי נְבוֹאִיָּה מִתְגַּלִּין]."

182 Numbers 24:16 contains a very explicit use of mystery with prophecy. Even the term prophecy is in a construct chain with mystery (רְזִי נְבוֹאִיָּה), merging the two concepts together. Three other targumic uses of רְזִי are in accord with Num 24 in that mystery is related to OT prophets/prophecy: Jer 23:18, 23:22, and Amos 3:7. The Isaiah targum appears to highlight the prophetic theme in 24:16: "From the sanctuary, whence joy is about to go forth to all the inhabitants of the earth, ... The prophet said, 'The mystery of the reward [רְזִי אָגִיד] for the righteous is visible to me, the mystery of the retribution [רְזִי פִּדְיוֹנִי] for the wicked is revealed to me.'"

183 The MT's use of "latter days" in Num 24:14 affirms this (see pg. 39). Targum of Qohelet uses רְזִי with respect to the advent of the Messiah: "Behold, already it eluded man to know everything which was from the days of old and the secret of the day [רְזִי יוֹם] of death and the secret of the day [רְזִי יוֹם] when King Messiah will come" (7:24).

In the targum of Ezek 28:3, a figure named “Daniel” is explicitly linked to the notion of mystery: “Behold, are you [king of Tyre] *wiser than Daniel* [אִתְּךָ מִדָּנִיִּל]?” *Is no secret concealed from you* [כֹּל סֵתוּם (כֹּל-סֵתוּם) מִיָּנֶךְ לֹא אֶתְכַסֵּא מִיָּנֶךְ]?”¹⁸⁴ Some contend that this individual is not the biblical figure but an ancient Near Eastern persona, Danel. Though it is possible that this ANE counterpart could be mind, the more probable referent is the biblical Daniel.¹⁸⁵ But regardless of whom Ezekiel had in mind, the targum’s use of דָּנִיִּל in direct connection to this figure suggests that the Ezekiel targumist had the biblical Daniel in mind. The upshot is, for the targumist, that Daniel truly was a mediator of revelation.

In sum, the Aramaic דָּנִיִּל, though often used non-eschatologically in the targummim, still retains its apocalyptic flavor on some occasions. The coupling of the apocalyptic term with the “end” or “latter days” confirms our earlier conclusion that mystery can be highly eschatological. Furthermore, constant allusion to the book of Daniel, even the figure Daniel, reinforces our position concerning the origin of the term.¹⁸⁶

3.4. Old Testament Apocrypha

For the most part, mystery in the Apocrypha (occurring eleven times) takes on a rather secular usage. For example, Jdt 2:2 says, “He [Nebuchadnezzar] summoned all his ministers and all his nobles and set before them his *secret plan* [τὸ μυστήριον τῆς βουλῆς] and recounted fully, ... all the wickedness of the region”¹⁸⁷ (see also 22:22; 27:21; cf. Tob 12:7, 11; 2 Macc 13:21). Another example is Sir 27:16-17: “Whoever betrays secrets [ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων¹⁸⁸ μυστήρια] destroys confidence, and he will never find a congenial friend. Love your friend ... if you betray his secrets [ἀποκαλύψῃς τὰ μυστήρια], do not run after him.”

184 The Aramaic here could also be read as a declarative statement (Samson H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel* [Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1987]), 83.

185 E.g., Daniel Block, *The Book of Ezekiel* (2 vols.; NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 2:96-97; Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel* (2 vols.; HTKNT; Freiburg: Herder, 2005), 2:241.

186 Not all of the targums’ usage of דָּנִיִּל is as dramatic as Gen 49 and Num 24. In fact, most occurrences are quite “secular” or less eschatological (דָּנִיִּל occurs approximately forty-four times). In some instances, the term דָּנִיִּל means a heavenly “secret/council” (Ps 25:14; 89:8; 91:1; 111:1; Job 15:8; 29:4; Mic 4:12) or simply a mundane “secret” or “counsel” (Gen 49:6 [Onq]; Josh 2:1; Judg 4:21; 9:31; 1 Sam 18:22; 24:5; 2 Kgs 6:11; Ezek 13:9; Ps 55:15; 64:3; 83:4; Job 19:19; Prov 3:32; 11:13; 15:22; 20:19; 25:9; Ruth 3:7).

187 All quotations taken from NRSV.

188 Note also the secular use of ἀποκαλύπτω in vv. 16-17.

Wisdom, however, falls in line with our previous discussions on mystery. For in 2:21-22, we stumble upon a very familiar theme: “They [the ungodly {1:16}] reasoned, but they were led astray, for their wickedness *blinded* [ἀπετύφλωσεν] them, and they did not *know the secret purposes of God* [ἐγνώσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ].” We have rehearsed this identical theme of obduracy throughout this project, especially with reference to revelation.¹⁸⁹ Secondly, μυστήριον here appears to comport with the usual Semitic use, that is, God’s hidden redemptive program.¹⁹⁰

Wisdom 6:22 seems to drift from 2:22 in that μυστήριον appears to refer to secrets in general or deep insight: “I [Solomon] will tell you what *wisdom* [σοφία] is and how she came to be, and *I will hide no secrets from you* [οὐκ ἀποκρύψω ὑμῖν μυστήρια], but I will trace her course from the beginning of creation, and make knowledge of her clear.” In addition, Wis 14:15 and 14:23 explicitly identifies “mystery” with the mystery religions: “A father, consumed with grief at an untimely bereavement, made an image of his child, ... handed on to his dependents *secret rites and initiations* [μυστήρια καὶ τελετάς]; “whether they kill children in their *initiations*, or celebrate *secret mysteries* [τελετάς ἢ κρύφια μυστήρια], or hold frenzied revels with strange customs.”

In sum, the Apocrypha, except for Wis 2:21-22, does not significantly develop the eschatological notion of “mystery.” The apocryphal writers rarely depend or even acknowledge the apocalyptic side of the term.

3.5. Philo

Philo is slightly more complicated because of the goal of his writings, for he has deeply imbibed the world of Hellenism and bathed in the waters of Greek philosophy. These influences no doubt affect his understanding of knowledge, reality, mystery religions, and the like.

Philo only uses the term twice with respect to “man’s secrets” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.104; *Sacr.* 33). Two other occurrences however seem *prima facie* to be congruous with the Semitic use:

for such (souls) as make a quest of *God’s hidden mysteries* [τῶν ἀφανῶν θεοῦ μυστηρίων]—and this is what is meant by “saving males’ lives” or “bringing the males to birth”—build up the cause of virtue, and in this they

¹⁸⁹ See Appendix B.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Brown, *Semitic Background*, 10-12.

elected to have their abode. ... What soul, then, was it that succeeded in hiding away wickedness and removing it from sight, but the soul to which God manifested Himself, and which He deemed worthy of His *secret mysteries* [τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων]? For He says: "Shall I hide from Abraham My servant that which I am doing?" (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.3, 27)

Thus, in both cases, God appears to reveal either "himself" or special insight to those deemed worthy (i.e., the "virtuous"). But only when we evaluate Philo's use of μυστήριον elsewhere do we surmise that his application of the term in the preceding examples is much more Hellenistic. For instance, we read, "For when the mind [ὁ νοῦς] soars aloft and is being *initiated in the mysteries of the Lord* [τὰ τοῦ κυρίου μυστήρια μνηται], it judges the body to be wicked and hostile" (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.71). We know that Philo rejects the Mysteries (e.g., *Spec.* 1.319; 3.40) as a valid religious expression, yet, in this particular passage, the "mind" (νοῦς) is "initiated" (μνηται) into the "mysteries of the Lord" (τὰ τοῦ κυρίου μυστήρια)—the precise wording that is found in the mystery religions.

In addition, in *Cher.* 48-49, Philo expounds upon special insight given to virtuous "initiates" and himself:

These thoughts, ye *initiated* [μύσται], whose ears are purified [κεκαθαρμένοι τὰ ὦτα], receive *into your souls as holy mysteries* [ὡς ἱερὰ ὄντως μυστήρια ψυχαῖς] indeed and babble not of them to any of the profane [τῶν ἀμυήτων]. Rather as stewards guard the treasure, ... the knowledge of the Cause and of virtue, and, besides these two, of the fruit which is engendered by them both. But, if ye meet with *anyone of the initiated* [τινὶ τῶν τετελεσμένων], press him closely, cling to him, lest knowing of some still newer secret he hide it from you; ... I myself *was initiated* [μνηθεὶς] under Moses the God-beloved into his *greater mysteries* [τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια], yet when I saw the prophet Jeremiah and knew him to be not only himself *enlightened* [μύστης], but a worthy *minister of the holy secrets* [ιεροφάντης ἱκανός], I was not slow to become his disciple.

In this passage, there is no doubt Philo is, to some degree, indebted to a Hellenistic worldview. This reference is saturated with mystery cults and pagan religions and filled with philosophical language. Two items ought to be mentioned: Philo, though rejecting the Mystery rituals, seems to empty the pagan content of mystery religions and fill it with knowledge of "the Cause" and "virtue." Gary Lease notes, "The mysteries with which Philo deals and which he ascribes to Jewish thought are indeed allegorical attempts to come to grips with a Diaspora situation, but are not presented in order to achieve a transformation of Judaism into a mystery cult."¹⁹¹ In other words, Philo¹⁹² retains the basic

191 Gary Lease, "Jewish Mystery Cults since Goodenough," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase; Berlin: Walter de

framework of the mystery religions (the notion of “initiation” and “secret knowledge”) but purges it of pagan ritual (see *Alleg. Interp.* 3.100).

Therefore, Philo, as we have seen, employs the concept of mystery in application to the mystery religions, *while* retaining a commitment to Judaism. Philo seeks to combine a Hellenistic worldview and Hebrew “orthodoxy.” We thus get pagan mystery rituals garbed in a cloak of Judaism.

3.6. Josephus

Unlike Philo’s deeply philosophical use of *μυστήριον*, Josephus utilizes the term *μυστήριον* seven times, reserving it for two specific categories: a mundane “secret” (*B.J.* 1.470; 2.133) and a description of the mystery religions. The latter however is more pertinent to our discussion. In *A.J.* 19, Josephus employs *μυστήριον* in the following manner:¹⁹³

Gruyter, 1987), Band II. 20. 2: 858-80. Erwin Goodenough strongly advocated the notion that Hellenistic Judaism, particularly Philo differed from Palestinian Judaism or “normative” Judaism. Hellenistic Judaism, Goodenough argues, is nearly identical to the mystery religions. For example, speaking of Alexandrian Jews, Goodenough claims, “The Jews had early lost their sense of the meaning of the Hebrew original of the Scriptures, and with it the connotations of the Hebrew words of God. They thought of God in Greek language, and must have been linguistic antiquarians to have kept the word God in their own use of it from meaning the Light-Stream” (Erwin R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* [New Haven: Yale University, 1935], 237). It is within this framework that Goodenough places Philo’s understanding of “mystery.” Goodenough’s views have been heavily critiqued (e.g., Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* [2 vols.; rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1948]), and, as Lease avers, Philo’s intent was not to “transform” Hellenistic Judaism into a pagan mystery religion but to contextualize the Jewish scriptures and faith.

192 Philo’s other uses of *μυστήριον* likewise reflect a very philosophical understanding (see *Sacr.* 60-62; *Deo* 61; *Contempl.* 25; *QG* 1.4.8; 1.5.2; *QE* 2.13-14). For a discussion of Philo’s relationship to the Mysteries, see Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2; idem, “Philo of Alexandria. A Critical and Synthesical Survey of Research since World War II” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), Band II. 21. 2:98-154; S. Sandmel, “Philo Judaeus: An Introduction to the Man, his Writings, and his Significance” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), Band II. 21. 2:3-46; Dorothy Sly, *Philo’s Alexandria* (London: Routledge, 1996), 101-5; John R. Levison, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 19-20; John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2d ed.; BRS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 214-16; Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1948), 1:46-55; Cerfaux, *Études d’Exégèse*, 1:65-112.

193 See especially *Ag. Ap.* 2.189 and 2.266 for other similar uses of “mystery.”

Gaius himself was not free from the same taint *in the rites of certain mysteries* [ἐν τινῶν τελεταῖς μυστηρίων] which he had himself contrived. (A.J. 19.30)

Chaera might with a push have sent him [Gaius] falling headlong, for the roof overlooking the forum is high; or again he might have killed him at the performances *of the mysteries* [τῶν μυστηρίων] that Gaius had instituted. (A.J. 19.71)

A troop of them had been dispatched as a choir to sing in the *mysteries* [μυστηρίων] which he was celebrating, and some came to take part in the Pyrrhic dances. (A.J. 19.104)

Josephus, though using the term mystery several times, does not reflect the usual Semitic connotation. Instead, he limits the word to the common Hellenistic usage.

3.6.1. Josephus, a Danielic Figure?

Several passages, however, intimate that Josephus had a penchant for the book of Daniel, which may even reveal that Josephus considered himself to be a Danielic figure.¹⁹⁴ According to B.J. 3.352, Josephus is an interpreter of dreams and familiar with “prophecies”: “He [Josephus] was an *interpreter of dreams* [περὶ κρίσεις ὀνείρων]¹⁹⁵ and skilled in *divining* [συμβάλεῖν] the meaning of ambiguous utterances of the Deity; ... he was not ignorant of the *prophecies* [τὰς προφητείας] in the *sacred books* [ιερῶν βιβλίων].” The notion of “interpreting dreams” in conjunction with “prophecies contained in the sacred books” probably recalls

194 In a private conversation, David E. Garland initially demonstrated to me the connection between Josephus and Daniel.

195 The notion of furnishing an “interpretation” of dreams is, as we have seen, prevalent in the book of Daniel. The word κρίσις is generally a technical word in Daniel (Dan 2:9, 36, 45; 4:25 [4:28[LXX]]; 7:16).

196 Cf. Archelaus who also received a prophetic dream in B.J. 2.112-13.

197 According to Bart J. Koet, “Trustworthy Dreams? About Dreams and References to Scripture in 2 Maccabees 14-15, Josephus’ *Antiquities Judaicae* 11.302-347, and in the New Testament,” in *Persuasion and Dissuasion in Early Christianity, Ancient Judaism, and Hellenism* (eds. Pieter van der Horst et al.; CBET 33; Dudley, Mass: Peeters, 2003), 95, we have evidence that Josephus received fifty dream reports and “experiences.” Josephus, in B.J. 3.352-54 and 3.399-408, claims prophetic inspiration: “Josephus replied that he had *foretold* [προειπεῖν] to the people of Jotapata that their city would be captured after forty-seven days and that he himself would be taken alive by the Romans” (B.J. 3.406); “since thou hast made choice of my spirit to announce the things that are to come, I willingly surrender to the Romans and consent to live” (B.J. 3.354). “Without saying it, the way in which he describes himself suggests that Josephus wants to present himself as a prophet” (Koet, “Dreams and References,” 96). Robert Karl Gnuse also affirms this conclusion, “All [scholars] agree that Josephus attributes prophetic skills to himself and contemporaries” (*Dreams and Dream Reports*

Daniel's "prophecy" of the fourfold kingdom in chs. 2 and 7 (see *A.J.* 266-67). Also, Josephus is here functioning like Daniel by "interpreting dreams" and "giving shrewd conjectures."¹⁹⁶

In addition to interpreting dreams and knowledge of biblical prophecy, Josephus himself often experienced dreams. Again, in *B.J.* 3.353, Josephus goes on to say, "At that hour he [Josephus] was inspired [ἐνθους] to read their meaning, and, recalling the dreadful images of his recent dreams [τὰ φορικώδη τῶν προσφάτων ὀνείρων σπάσας φαντάσματα], he offered up a silent prayer to God." We find another account in *Vita* 208: "That night I beheld a marvelous vision in my dreams. ... I thought that there stood by me one who said: 'Cease, man, from thy sorrow of heart, let go all fear'" (cf. *Vita* 209-10; *B.J.* 3.406).¹⁹⁷

Not only does Josephus function like an apocalyptic seer by both interpreting and receiving dreams, his understanding of Jewish history is also indebted to the book of Daniel. In *A.J.* 10-11, Josephus conceives of Jewish history to be in line with the fourfold kingdom schema of Dan 2 and 7¹⁹⁸: "These misfortunes our nation did in fact come to experience under Antiochus Epiphanes, just as Daniel many years before saw and wrote that they would happen ... Daniel also wrote about the empire of the Romans" (*A.J.* 10.275-76; cf. 11.336-39). It is therefore not surprising that Josephus highly esteems the character of Daniel:

Now it is fitting to relate certain things about this man (Daniel) which one may greatly wonder at hearing, namely that all things happened to him in a marvelously fortunate way as to one of the greatest prophets, ... since his death, his memory lives on eternally. For the books which he wrote and left behind are still read by us even now, and we are convinced by them that Daniel spoke with God. (*A.J.* 266-67)

Josephus and some of his contemporaries consider Daniel to be one of the "greatest prophets" and then affirm that Daniel's prophecies are "still read by us even now."¹⁹⁹ Apparently, the book of Daniel was highly influential and probably shaped Josephus' thinking.

in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis [AGJU 36; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 24; cf. David Aune, "The Use of προφήτης in Josephus," *JBL* 101 [1982]: 419-21.

198 F. F. Bruce, *A Mind for What Matters: Collected Essays* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 19-31; Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 629-69; Paul Spilsbury, "Flavius Josephus on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire," *JTS* 54 (2003): 1-24.

199 In *A.J.* 276-77, Josephus further comments, "All these things, as God revealed them to him [Daniel], he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how they have come to pass must wonder at Daniel's having been so honoured by God."

Since Josephus interprets dreams, experiences dreams, prophesies, and gains his understanding of history from the book of Daniel, it should not surprise us that Josephus considered himself to be functioning as a Danielic figure. After drawing parallels between Josephus and Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Gnuse lists fifteen similarities between the figure Daniel and Josephus.²⁰⁰ The more important comparisons are as follows: 1) both men were thrown into a "pit" or cave (*B.J.* 3.341-42; *Dan* 6:16-24); 2) both predicted that Rome would conquer Jerusalem (*A.J.* 10.276-77; *B.J.* 3.351-54; *Dan* 2:40-43; 7:23-25; 3) they both could interpret dreams (*A.J.* 10.194; *Dan* 1:17); 4) they predicted events before foreign kings (*B.J.* 3.399-408; *Dan* 2; 4). At the end of the comparisons, Gnuse concludes, "The biblical figures of Daniel and Joseph probably fascinated Josephus tremendously, and the remarkable similarities between their experiences and his own led him to stress and augment these parallels in his autobiography and the narration of those biblical personages in the *Antiquities*."²⁰¹

200 Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports*, 29-30.

201 *Dreams and Dream Reports*, 31. Gnuse also affirms, "Dream interpreters, such as Joseph and Daniel, were endowed with prophetic skills, and Josephus attributes this ability to himself" (25). He then goes on to claim, "His additions to the accounts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel show interesting similarities to his own life's experiences. Josephus uses typology to tell his stories, and he projects much into the biblical accounts to demonstrate his parallel experiences as a prophet" (27). Per Bilde, "Josephus and Jewish Apocalypticism," in *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives* (ed. Steve Mason; JSPSup 32; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 35-61, makes several similar conclusions: "They [*B.J.* 3.35-54; 6.312-13] should be seen and interpreted in connection with his [Josephus'] evident attempts to present himself as closely related to earlier great prophets in Jewish history such as Joseph, Daniel, and Jeremiah" ("Josephus and Jewish Apocalypticism," 47). He later claims, "Although Josephus does not use the term *apocalyptein* in the technical 'apocalyptic' sense, he is interested in related verbs, and, consequently, in the 'apocalyptic' idea of divine disclosure of hidden secrets through chosen prophetic mediators" (55). David Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980): 18-36, was one of the first to draw parallels between Josephus and Daniel. Daube suggests that Josephus is similar to Daniel in that both interpret dreams, they descend from a royal lineage, and both men went before the king with a "prophecy" (28). For those who view Josephus as functioning in a similar capacity to Daniel, see also Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 239-62 (esp. 245-46); Arnaldo Momigliano, *Essays on Ancient and Modern Judaism* (ed. Silvia Berti; trans. Maura Masella-Gayley; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 76; Gary Lance Johnson, "Josephus: Heir Apparent to the Prophetic Tradition?" in *Society of Biblical Literature 1983 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent Harold Richards; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1993), 346 (337-46); Rebecca Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 74-77; Marianus de Jonge, "Josephus und die Zukunftserwartungen seines Volkes," in *Josephus – Studien: Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament* (eds. Otto Betz, Klaus Haacker, and Martin Hengel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 207-10; Steve Mason, "Josephus, Daniel, and the Flavian House," in *Josephus and the History*

In addition to Gnuse, C. T. Begg, in a brief essay on the relationship between Josephus and Daniel, argues, “Josephus, ... not only worked over Scripture’s portrayal of Daniel with his own career in view, but also recounted the latter with an eye to the former.”²⁰² Begg then proceeds to tease out several parallels between the two figures.²⁰³ To name a few: they both interpret dreams (*A.J.* 10.194; *B.J.* 3.352; *Dan* 1:17), predict the triumph of one kingdom over another (*A.J.* 10.205-10; *B.J.* 3.401; *Dan* 2; 7-11), characterized by prayer at key moments in their lives (*A.J.* 10.198; *B.J.* 3.354; *Dan* 2:18; 6:10-11, 20), and found “faithful” (*A.J.* 10.251; *Vita* 79-80; *Dan* 6:4).

Therefore, in the light of the preceding discussion, it appears probable that Josephus read the book of Daniel and identified with the figure of Daniel in various circumstances and events. The book of Daniel, and, especially Daniel’s prophecies or “mysteries” largely shaped Josephus’ understanding of history and conduct.

3.7. Overall Conclusion

Our discussion of texts from Second Temple Judaism has reinforced and increased our understanding of mystery. Most notably is the constant allusion to the book of Daniel, specifically (but not exclusively), *Dan* 2. The following is a list of allusions and parallels that surround the technical term mystery:

4Q300 1 II, 1-4: “magicians”/ court narratives, “riddle,” “sealing”	“magicians”: <i>Dan</i> 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7, 9; 5:11; “sealing”: <i>Dan</i> 9:24; 12:4, 9
4Q427 7 + 9 I, 13-21: “sealing,” “revealing hidden things,” “exalted meetings”/ court narratives	“sealing”: <i>Dan</i> 9:24; 12:4, 9; “revealing hidden things”: <i>Dan</i> 2:22; court narratives: <i>Dan</i> 1-5
1QpHab VII, 1-8: <i>pešer</i> , “vision,” and Teacher is a semblance of Daniel	<i>pešer</i> : <i>Dan</i> 2:4-7, 9; 16, 24; 4:6, 9; 5:7, 12; 7:16; “vision”: <i>Dan</i> 2:19; 7:2; 8:1, 13, 15

of the Greco-Roman Period (eds. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers; StPB 41; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 176-77.

202 C. T. Begg, “Daniel and Josephus: Tracing Connections,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: University Press, 1993), 540.

203 *Ibid.*, 540-44.

<i>Book of Watchers</i> : “magicians” / court narratives ²⁰⁴	“magicians”: Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7, 9; 5:11; court narratives: Dan 1–5
Neofiti Gen 49:1: “mystery was revealed,” “end was revealed”	“who reveals mysteries”: Dan 2:28; “latter days”: Dan 2:28
Targum of Ezek 28:3: “Are you wiser than Daniel? Is no mystery concealed from you?”	

These intertextual links are not innovative on my part, since commentators have likewise suggested these allusions and themes. The sheer variety of texts (*pešer*, targum, apocalypse) testifies to the overwhelming influence of Daniel. A few conclusions are therefore needed: 1) The court narratives (chs. 1–5) continually resurface, revealing a strong narrational aspect of mystery; 2) Daniel appears to be the character *par excellence* of receiving eschatological revelations, for the Teacher of Righteousness and Josephus probably view themselves as Danielic figures, and the targum suggests that Daniel is *the* wise man who understands all hidden mysteries; 3) The eschatological overtones of mystery are explicit in a number of cases; 4) Constant allusion to Dan 2 appears, a key chapter in the book of Daniel. Therefore, it seems probable that the book of Daniel was the first to integrate fully the term מִסְתֵּר into an apocalyptic framework, which was then taken over and subsequently developed in later literature.

At the beginning of this chapter, we briefly discussed the nature of apocalyptic literature, noting some of the more prominent details. The following is a summary of the relevant apocalyptic peculiarities of mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism:

- 1) Mystery is eschatological. On the one hand, the eschatological content of mystery can be very general, but more often than not, the term refers to a specific aspect of the eschaton, such as resurrection, judgment, persecution, or a particular feature within the process of redemptive history. We have already significantly developed this aspect of the term throughout this project, that there is no need to rehearse all eschatological nuances. The point is clear: mystery is thoroughly eschatological.

204 The relationship between Daniel and 1 Enoch is quite difficult to determine (see *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* [ed. Gabriele Boccacini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005]). At the very least and in this particular case, Daniel and 1 Enoch may possibly depend on a similar apocalyptic tradition.

- 2) Mystery is a revelation. As previously stated, the revelatory side of mystery is essential. Not every revelation is a mystery (e.g., oracles), but every mystery is a revelation. The role of an intermediary, an established apocalyptic feature, is often seen disseminating revelations and mysteries (Dan 7-12) and leading a heavenly tour (*1 En.*; *3 Bar.*). The vertical or spatial dimension (in addition to the temporal) of mystery must be kept in mind, for mysteries not only include eschatology but information concerning stars, heaven, etc. Revelation can also take the form of dream reports (Daniel) or heavenly journeys (*1 En.*; *3 Bar.*; *T. Levi*).
- 3) Mystery can be polemical. This is probably the most underemphasized aspect of mystery, since it is not often discussed. Yet, this section is included as a distinctive because of the important function we have perceived. The book of Daniel portrays the “wise” Babylonians as unwise and foolish at every point in the narrative. Daniel, on the other hand, was truly wise because his wisdom was *divine*. The persistent allusion to these court narratives in various Jewish sources (*Book of Mysteries*; 4Q427 7 + 9 I, 13-21) and a rehearsal of similar themes (*Book of Watchers*) causes us to reflect on the importance of Daniel’s narrative.

Moving from the Pseudepigrapha into Philo (and to some degree the Apocrypha), we were able to detect a shift—mystery becomes much less apocalyptic and sometimes attached to the Mystery Religions. Obviously, this is dependent on the local situation of both Philo and Josephus. But the contrast could not be clearer—the apocalyptic mystery is very distinct from other secular or pagan uses.

Chapter Four

The Use of Mystery in 1 Corinthians 1-2

4.1. Introduction

Out of all the NT uses of μυστήριον, 1 Cor 1-2, specifically, 2:6-16, has received the most attention. In addition to the swollen amount of secondary literature, this passage is full of exegetical and theological problems. Yet, in the midst of all these complexities, Paul leaves us with a treasure trove of information. As we have seen, mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism is a rich technical term, denoting an eschatological revelation of God's wisdom. Since the term signals a specific form of revelation (i.e., apocalyptic wisdom), a natural corollary is the ability or inability to understand that revelation. Only certain individuals are privy to such information. Sometimes the term concerns a very specific eschatological event such as the resurrection of the righteous or judgment of the wicked. Other times, the eschatological content can have only a general reference. On a few occasions, mystery is found in polemical contexts. We shall attempt to discern whether or not any of this background could inform Paul's uses of mystery.

We must also pay close attention to the overall intention of the epistle, especially, chs. 1-4. The Corinthian community is riddled with strife and division, so Paul commands them to "be made complete in the same mind and in the same judgment" (1:10). As we will contend, the Apostle prescribes the church a healthy dose of apocalyptic wisdom to rid them of their factional behavior.

4.2. Brief Introductory Issues of 1 Corinthians

4.2.1. Destination

The Greek city of Corinth enjoyed a prosperous career until its demolition in 146 B.C. by the Romans.¹ For nearly one hundred years, the city remained scarcely habitable—its temples, roads, and dwellings lay desolate. In 44 B.C., Julius Caesar rebuilt Corinth as an official Roman colony. Corinth even enjoyed the status of the Roman province and the capital for all of Achaëa. Initially, its citizens consisted of freed slaves from many parts of the known world, including Syria, Israel, and Egypt.² Moreover, Corinth's auspicious location next to two ports, Lechaëum and Cenchreae, afforded it a strong influx of merchants, traders, and tourists. The influx of surrounding cultures inevitably led to the prevalence of mystery religions. The archaeological evidence confirms the notoriety of several deities such as Asclepius and Apollo.³

The burgeoning city quickly became a hallmark of new wealth. Entrepreneurial citizens, once slaves, now enjoyed a prodigious amount of money. As with any metropolis, business owners and townspeople competed for fame, wealth, and recognition. Such competitiveness is illustrated with the famed Erastus inscription: "Erastus in return for his aedileship laid [the pavement] at his own expense."⁴ Not unlike the commercial realm, Corinthian rhetors became the benchmark for rhetorical practitioners. These sophists competed with one another, vying for the populace's allegiance. "Orators would ridicule one another and compete for prestige before the crowds, who cheered their favorites like modern Americans cheer their favorite ball teams."⁵

¹ On introductory issues of 1 Corinthians, see David A. DeSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods, and Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 555-66; D. A. Carson and Douglas J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 415-55; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation* (rev ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 295-98; Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 511-15; Ben Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 5-77; Anthony C. Thiselton, *First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1-52.

² Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.6.23c; 17.3.15.

³ See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (3d ed.; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2002), for an excellent treatment of Corinth from an archaeological and ancient literary perspective.

⁴ J. H. Kent, *The Inscriptions, 1926-1950* (Corinth 8.3. Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1966), 232.

⁵ DeSilva, *Introduction*, 557. The sophistic movement at Corinth has garnered much interest in the past several years. Several seminal works have appeared, refining the

4.2.2. Occasion

Such was the climate when Paul arrived at Corinth—political and sophisticated factions, moral compromises, rampant idolatry, and the pursuit of fame and wealth. Some of what can be determined about Paul's ministry at Corinth comes from Luke's account in Acts 18.⁶ According to Luke, Paul arrived at Corinth during his second missionary journey immediately after his ministry at Athens (17:16-34). Luke records Paul's stint at Corinth lasting a lengthy eighteen months (v. 11). When Paul left Corinth and ministered at Ephesus, he wrote to the Corinthians concerning their immoral behavior (1 Cor 5:9). He then received reports from "Chloe's people" and possibly from "Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus" along with a letter from the Corinthians themselves concerning a wide variety of problems within the Corinthian community, particularly divisiveness (1:11; 7:1; 16:17).⁷ Paul thus writes the Corinthians once more, addressing these particulars in what we call "1 Corinthians."

social context of 1 Corinthians (e.g., Bruce Winter, *Philo and Paul Among the Sophists* [SNTSMS 96; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997]; Duane Litfin, *St. Paul's Theology of Proclamation: 1 Corinthians 1-4 and Greco-Roman Rhetoric* [SNTMS 79; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994]; P. Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* [WUNT 23; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr {Paul Siebeck}, 1987]).

- 6 Many claim that Acts is not historically reliable regarding Paul's career and that priority should be given to the undisputed Pauline letters (e.g., Luedemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* [trans. F. Stanley Jones. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984]). There are, however, those who defend Luke's chronological and historical claims about Paul (e.g., Martin Hengel, *Acts and the History of Early Christianity* [trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979]; idem, *The Pre-Christian Paul* [Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991]). Even if Acts does not provide us with accurate historical information regarding Paul at Corinth, our present argument in the immediate section is not readily affected.
- 7 Many consider factions and egotistical behavior to be an impetus, if not the root cause, for Paul's epistle (e.g., David Garland, *1 Corinthians* [BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003], 6-9; Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993], 63; Craig de Vos, *Church and Community Conflicts: The Relationship of the Thessalonian, Corinthian, and Philippian Churches with Their Wider Civic Communities* [SBLDS 168; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999], 179-232; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 28-29); Carson and Moo, *Introduction*, 425-29. Some argue that Paul's relationship with the church is significantly strained, so Paul seeks to mend their broken relationship (e.g., Gordon Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 4-15; cf. Nils A. Dahl, "Paul and the Church at Corinth according to 1 Corinthians 1:10-4:21," in *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox* [ed. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, and R. R. Niebuhr; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1967]). This viewpoint unfortunately reads Paul's apologetic in 2 Corinthians back into 1 Corinthians.

4.2.3. Social Setting

The intended audience of 1 Corinthians appears to be rather mixed. On the one hand, according to Luke, a number of Jews and Gentile God-fearers converted to Christianity (18:7-8). But the majority of the synagogue resisted Paul (18:6), forcing him to concentrate his efforts on the Gentiles. Furthermore, 1 Corinthians provides a number of clues regarding the audience. In 6:9-10, Paul lists several categories of immoral persons: fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, homosexuals, and so on, and then he goes on to say, “such were some of you” (6:11). Obviously, only pagan Gentiles fit this category. The same could be said for Paul’s discussion of marriage (7:1-40), food offered to idols (8:6),⁸ and idolatry (10:7, 14-22). In 12:2, Paul claims, “You know that when you were pagans, you were led astray to the mute idols.” Thus, the majority of the Corinthian community originated from a pagan background.⁹

4.2.4. Overview of Book

Paul received word from “Chloe’s people” that the church is divided (1:11). In response, the apostle uses the first four chapters (1:12-4:21) to discuss the exigent need for unity. This envoy also has informed Paul of sexual immorality and civil disputes within the community (each moral problem is a subset of the wider problem of unity), causing Paul to address these issues in chs. 5-6. Paul then makes a transition

8 Paul says in 8:7, “Not all men have this knowledge; but some, *being accustomed to the idol* until now, eat food as if it were sacrificed to an idol; and their conscience being weak is defiled.”

9 Previously, many have identified, at least by implication, that the Corinthian audience largely consisted of Jews, particularly, Hellenistic Jews (e.g., R. A. Horsley, “Wisdom of Word and Words of Wisdom in Corinth,” *CBQ* 39 [1977]: 224-39; 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* [SBLDS 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1973]; cf. Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 24-28, who, although recognizing a pagan-Gentile presence, argues for a large number of Jews within the Corinthian community). Recently, however, many have argued for a largely pagan audience (e.g., Carson and Moo, *Introduction*, 425; Fee, *First Epistle*, 4). Fee rightly concludes,

the picture that emerges is one of a predominantly Gentile community, the majority of whom were at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder, although there were two or three wealthy families. As former pagans they brought to the Christian faith a Hellenistic worldview and attitude toward ethical behavior. Although they were the Christian church in Corinth, an inordinate amount of Corinth was yet in them, emerging in a number of attitudes and behaviors that required radical surgery without killing the patient. (*First Epistle*, 4)

to the Corinthian communiqué with a discussion of marriage (ch. 7), meat offered to idols (ch. 8), his apostleship (ch. 9), and further dialogue on Christian liberty and idols (chs. 10-11). Chapters 12-14 further respond to questions regarding spiritual gifts; and Paul articulates the resurrection and its influence on the gospel (ch. 15). Chapter 16 concludes with a few personal issues and requests.

4.3. Context of 1 Cor 2

In 1:1-3, Paul begins with the conventional opening of a letter ("to the church of God which is at Corinth" [v. 2]). Then in vv. 4-9 he delivers his thanksgiving. The Corinthians, Paul claims, are "enriched" in "speech" and "knowledge" (v. 5). They are not deficient in any gift and are highly anticipating the return of Christ (v. 7-8). But despite his enthusiasm, Paul transitions into the most important discussion in 1 Corinthians. The Corinthian community was riddled with strife and divisions, so, in 1:10, Paul delivers the main point of the first four chapters in 1:10: "I exhort you ... that you all agree and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be made complete in the same mind and in the same judgment."¹⁰ He is greatly concerned with Corinthian elitism and the resultant factions, which stem from a skewed view of wisdom (1:17-21).¹¹ These factions are utterly ridiculous in Paul's eyes

10 J. T. Sanders, "The Transition from Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus," *JBL* 81 (1962): 49; J. L. White, "Introductory Formulae in the Body of the Pauline Letter," *JBL* 90 (1971): 93-94; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 94-95; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 40.

11 The slogans ("I am of Paul," "I am of Apollos," "I am of Cephas," "I am of Christ") have received a large amount of scholarly attention, especially with regard to F. C. Baur's highly influential piece "Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des paulinischen und petrinischen Christentums in der ältesten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus in Rom" (*TZT* 4 [1831]: 61-206). In this essay, Baur claims that the slogans actually represent two groups: Paul and Apollos in one camp and Peter and Christ in the other. The net result is a division between Jewish Christians and Pauline Christianity. Later on, W. Lütgert suggested that Paul confronted not only a Jewish Christian party but also a libertine Gnostic one (*Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth* [Göttingen: Bertelsmann, 1908]). Dahl postulates that four groups did indeed exist, but these groups were not demarcated by Jewish heritage or Gnostic tendencies; rather, these groups arose out of dissatisfaction with Paul himself, particularly his lack of sophistry and "wisdom" ("Paul and the Church at Corinth," 322-35). Perhaps the so-called slogans in v. 12 may not reflect actual party-line division. Such a claim goes beyond the evidence, especially, the contention for a "Christ party." It would seem that if indeed these parties existed, Paul would have confronted them directly. For example, in chs. 3-4 only he, Apollos, and Cephas are named (3:4-6, 22; 4:6). There is no hint of a Christ party. Furthermore, if these particular factions were present, they would have been drawn around theological lines. But Paul's response to the Corinthian factions militates against such a

("Has Christ been divided?" [v. 13]). After minimizing the importance of his own record of baptizing believers (v. 14-16) but not the act of baptism itself, he claims that his purpose in coming to the Corinthians was to proclaim the gospel: "Christ did not send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel, not in cleverness of speech, so that the cross of Christ would not be made void" (v. 17).

Verses 17 and 18 constitute Paul's thesis statement: The message of the cross permanently transforms believers' behavior and worldview. The only way for the Corinthians to alter their factional conduct is to embrace the message of the cross. Most now, to some degree, admit that the phrase ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου in v. 17 denotes Greco-Roman rhetoric and sophistry.¹² In other words, Paul's proclamation of the gospel is antithetical to the Corinthian worldview. If Paul succumbed to such rhetoric in his ministry, the cross would be emptied of its power (v. 17). The content, not the delivery, of the message delivers people from plight. In contrast to the ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, Paul does preach the ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ in v. 18. To the outsiders, the message of the cross is weak and foolish, but to those who believe the cross is salvation and power. Verses 19-25 ground the proposition in v. 18a: "The message of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing." The world's wisdom, alluring to the Corinthians, is unable to grasp Christ's work on the cross. Moreover, not only is God's wisdom beyond humanity's reach, but also his wisdom *defeats* all human sophistry (Isa 29:14; v. 19), even the wisdom of the élite (vv. 20-21). Both Jews and Greeks alike examine the message of the cross and regard it as absurd (vv. 22-25).

Paul then further interprets vv. 19-25 in vv. 26-28 by explaining that God works contrary to human reason: "God has chosen the foolish things of the world to shame the wise, and God has chosen the weak things of the world to shame the strong" (v. 27). God's purpose is that "no man may boast" (v. 29). True wisdom, Paul claims, is found in Christ: "Let him who boasts, boast in the Lord" (Jer 9:23; v. 31).

In 2:1-5, Paul is an example of preaching in conformity with the content of the gospel (1:18-25). He arrives at the Corinthian church not using sophistic methods and rhetoric (2:1), because he desires "only to

view, for he only targets a single theological problem—the cruciform life is incompatible with worldly wisdom and pride. These slogans in v. 12 instead represent hypothetical parties, reinforcing Paul's point that Corinth was riddled with factions. For further discussion, see Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 44-51, Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 83-86, and Raymond Collins, *First Corinthians* (SP 7; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), 73.

12 See discussion below.

know Christ and him crucified.”¹³ Paul’s method conforms to his message: “I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling, and my message and my preaching were ... in demonstration of the Spirit and power” (vv. 3-4; cf. 1:17). The purpose of coming “in weakness and in fear” is that the Corinthian’s faith may not “rest on the wisdom of men, but on the power of God” (v. 5). For Paul, faith must be wholly placed in the message of the cross, nothing more or less.

In 2:1-5, Paul rehearses the manner in which he proclaimed the message of the cross, whereas in 2:6-16 he describes the nature of that wisdom.¹⁴ Verses 6-9 relate the *accessibility* of that wisdom. Verse 6a outlines how this wisdom is accessible to believers or the “mature.”¹⁵ On the other hand (δέ), to those of “this age” and the “rulers of this age,” such wisdom is inaccessible (v. 6b). Verse 7 then contrasts (ἀλλά) the negative statement in v. 6b and further unpacks how this wisdom is indeed a μυστήριον and for the believers’ benefit: “But we speak wisdom hidden in a mystery, which God predestined before the ages for our glory.” Verse 8 proceeds to explain the “hidden wisdom” of v. 7—

13 Throughout chs. 1-2, Paul shifts between the first person singular and the first person plural. This shift has, for some, been an interpretative problem, particularly the shift from the first person singular in 2:1-5 and the first person plural in 2:6-13 (e.g., E. Earle Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978], 26n17). Some of these scholars maintain that vv. 6-16 represent the teaching of pneumatics (see below). But the shift in person is a common Pauline technique and should thus be regarded as an editorial “we” (see also Robert M. Funk who labels this oscillation “inclusive-exclusive” language, whereby “it attempts to pull his readers into his own orbit, to embrace them, as it were, within the fold of the faithful. On the other hand, given the polemical context, it verges on exclusion, particularly as the critical note emerges in 2:12f. That critical, excluding note erupts in 3:1f. as the singular” (*Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God: The Problem of Language in the New Testament and Contemporary Theology* [New York: Harper & Row, 1966], 300n107 [also cited in Fee, *First Epistle*, 101n13]).

14 The contrastive δέ at the beginning of v. 6 signals a shift in Paul’s logic. In vv. 1-5, Paul describes the nature of his arrival to Corinth, which is in conformity with his message. But in v. 6 he qualifies this event. Even though Paul proclaims the message of the cross to all (vv. 1-5), does not necessarily mean (δέ) that all will comprehend that message (vv. 6-9).

15 The largely debated term τέλειοι in v. 6 need not deter us here. In the past, this term was connected to the mystery religions. It ostensibly referred to individuals who gained entrance into the pagan rite and were privy to esoteric rituals and knowledge. However, many studies have overturned this conclusion and replaced it with an OT and Jewish background. The OT and Qumran conception of תְּלִיּוֹת and related terms (e.g., Deut 18:13; Josh 24:14; 2 Sam 22:24; Pss 15:2; 18:23, 32; 101:6; CD XX, 7; 1QS I, 13; II, 2; III, 9; V, 24; see also my discussion on pgs. 80-81) are much closer to Paul than any purported mystery religion (cf. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 158-60; Ulrich Wilckins, “Zu 1Kor 2,1-16” in *Theologia Crucis—Signum Crucis* [eds. Carl Andresen and Günter Klein; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1979], 524-37).

how the “rulers of this age” did not understand the wisdom of the cross, because if they had, they would not have crucified Christ. This conclusion is supported by an OT quotation in v. 9, the hardening of the “rulers” and the ability of the believers to understand.

Verses 10-13 answer the problem implicit within Paul’s argument in vv. 6-9: Why do some understand such wisdom and others do not? The answer, Paul claims, is the Spirit’s work in the individual. The Spirit, the one who “searches all things, even the depths of God,” reveals this wisdom to individuals (vv. 10-11). Only believers possess the Spirit and not those of this “world” (vv. 12-13).

Finally, vv. 14-16 further explicate two types of individuals: the “natural” (ψυχικός) and the “spiritual” (πνευματικός). Like the “rulers of this age” (vv. 6, 8) the natural individual is unable to comprehend the “things of the Spirit of God” (v. 14), whereas the spiritual individual or the “mature” (v. 7) recognize and understand divine wisdom (v. 15). Paul then grounds this thought with a quotation from Isa 40:13 and affirms that all believers “have the mind of Christ” (v. 16).

4.4. Identification of Corinthian Wisdom

In some way, Corinthian factions are directly related to wisdom (cf. 1:18-25; 3:18-23), for Paul, in 1:18-31, delivers wisdom theology immediately following his appraisal of their lack of unity (1:10-17). The relationship between wisdom and discord is not obvious. In the middle of the twentieth century, NT scholars commonly argued for a Gnostic background especially because of such terms as “perfect” and “wisdom.” Bultmann,¹⁶ Schmithals,¹⁷ Wilckens,¹⁸ and particularly Reitzen-

16 Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* [2 vols.; trans. Kendrick Grobel; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1951, 1955], I: 175, 180-81.

17 Walter Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians* (trans. John E. Steely; 2d ed.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971). A summary of his position is helpful in this regard: “In 2:6-16, the understanding of the σοφία held by the false teachers in Corinth is actually reproduced. But that wisdom which is known to the Pneumatics by virtue of their divine Pneuma, which is spoken to the τέλειοι, of which the Psychics know nothing, and which also remained hidden from the archons of this work, is the *Gnostic wisdom*” (154; cf. 137-55).

18 Ulrich Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit: eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu 1. Kor 1 und 2* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1959). Although Wilckens claims that the Corinthians imbibed a Gnostic Sophia myth and that Paul mistakenly counters the Corinthian Gnostic tenet with a form of Gnosticism, he, nevertheless, views mystery in 2:7 as belonging to Gnosticism and Apocalypticism: „Denn μυστήριον hat im Neuen Testament wie auch in LXX und apokalyptischen Texten einerseits und in gnostischen Texten andererseits durchgehend inhaltlichen,

stein¹⁹ were of this *religionsgeschichtliche* stripe. As time progressed, the Gnostic *Hintergrund* eroded, since evidence is severely lacking for a full-blown Gnostic system,²⁰ thus, leaving ample room for another interpretative building—the Jewish-Hellenistic wisdom tradition. The footers of this edifice appeared much stronger, for in Second Temple Judaism, a wisdom tradition existed, particularly in Philo. This proposal better explains key words such as πνευματικός and ψυχικός.²¹ Recently, however, scholars are now highlighting the rhetorical and political components of 1 Corinthians, a position that is far more demonstrable and coherent rather than a string of dubious parallels. Litfin,²² Winter,²³ and Pogoloff²⁴ advance the theory that the Corinthians were enamored with rhetoric and criticized Paul for his lack thereof. The great advantage of this position is that it minimizes mirror-reading a group of Corinthian opponents.

Fortunately for us, the precise nature of Corinthian wisdom does not largely impinge on our argument. It does, however, appear that wisdom, so treasured at Corinth, was a type of sophistic wisdom. The exact contents of this wisdom are quite difficult to ascertain, but it is probably safe to assume that sophistic wisdom was alluring, philosophical, and human-centered. Rhetorically gifted individuals paraded this wisdom, naturally engendering a following. The Corinthians were jockeying with each other by aligning themselves to one sophist over another, thus, pitting the leaders (and themselves) against each other.²⁵

nicht rein formalen Sinn (64n1)." Cf. idem, "σοφία," TDNT 7:465-28. Later on, however, Wilckens eventually disavowed a Gnostic background and affirmed that the message of the cross stood in continuity with 2:6-16 ("Zu 1Kor 2,1-16," 501-37).

19 Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions*: 346-48, 426-36.

20 See Edwin Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973); Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 75-7n4; R. McL. Wilson, "Gnosis at Corinth," in *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in honour of C. K. Barrett* (ed. M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson; London: SPCK, 1982), 102-14.

21 Pearson, *Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology*; Richard Horsley, "Pneumatikos vs. Psychikos: Distinctions of Spiritual Status among the Corinthians," *HTR* 69 (1976): 269-88; idem, "Wisdom of Words and Words of Wisdom in Corinth," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 224-39. Similarly, James Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit: An Investigation of 1 Corinthians 1.18-3.20 Against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Traditions in the Greco-Roman Period* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984) argues that the Corinthians held a Torah-centric approach to wisdom.

22 Litfin, *Paul's Theology of Proclamation*.

23 Winter, *Philo and Paul*.

24 Stephen M. Pogoloff, *Logos and Sophia: The Rhetorical Situation of 1 Corinthians* (SBLDS 134; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

25 See Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, who persuasively argues that Paul primarily writes his epistle, using deliberative rhetoric, in order to bring unity to the Corinthian community. She claims, "Paul's argument in the entire letter is permeated with terms, *topoi* and subjects related to ... the divisiveness within the community.

Pogoloff gets at the heart of the matter: "The exigence Paul perceives is deeper than division itself. Such division, Paul claims, is in opposition to the nature of the gospel. The divisions are alarming because they are tied to worldly competition for status, a competition whose values diametrically oppose those of the cross of Christ."²⁶ This is the heart of the problem: Corinthian leaders spoke eloquently, tickling the ears of the audience, which naturally engendered discrete followings. Paul must root out such factions from Corinth by delivering the message of the cross. In a word: "no more boasting about human leaders!" (3:21; TNIV); rather, "boast in the Lord" (1:31).

4.5. Relationship between 1 Cor 1:18-2:5 and 2:6-16

One hurdle to our endeavor is the relationship between 1:18-31 and 2:6-16. Several scholars separate these two passages, claiming that 2:6-16 is esoteric or deeper wisdom reserved for a Christian élite, whereas 1:18-31 comprises the basic gospel message, thus, available to every believer.

Structurally, 1:18-3:23 is largely divided into two sections: 1:18-2:5 and 2:6-3:23. The first section, 1:18-2:5, concerns the "foolish" aspect of God's wisdom and 2:6-3:23 comprises its wise and powerful characteristic. First Corinthians 1:18-31 demonstrates God's reversal of wisdom: "God has chosen the foolish things of the world to shame the wise, and God has chosen the weak things of the world to shame the things which are strong" (v. 27; cf. v. 28). In 2:1-5, Paul conducts his ministry in accordance with God's wisdom: "I did not come with superiority of speech or of wisdom, ... I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling. And my message and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power" (2:1, 3-4). Verses 6-16 then explain the believers' capacity to grasp such extraordinary wisdom: "he who is spiritual appraises all things, ... we have the mind of Christ" (vv. 15-16).

Though some do not identify the wisdom of the cross in 1:18-31 with hidden wisdom in 2:6-16,²⁷ I think that it is unlikely that Paul

This letter throughout urges all Corinthian factionalists to unite by using common terms and metaphors derived from ancient politics for this problem" (italics original; 182). Cf. L. L. Welborn, *Politics and Rhetoric in the Corinthian Epistles* (Macon, Ga.: University Press, 1997).

26 Pogoloff, *Logos and Sophia*, 212.

27 The impetus behind this interpretation probably stems from the "two-class" view of believers. Paul ostensibly separates the Corinthians into two classes: one "spiritual"

and the other “fleshly” (3:1-3; see e.g., Martin Winter, *Pneumatiker und Psychiker in Korinth: Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund von 1. Kor. 2:6-3:4* [MThSt 12; Marburg: Elwert, 1975], 275-76; Angela Standhartinger, “Weisheit in Joseph und Aseneth und den paulinischen Briefen,” *NTS* 47 [2001]: 496; Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I: 175, 181; Robin Scroggs, “Paul: ΣΟΦΟΣ and ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ,” *NTS* 14 [1967]: 34-35; Jean Héring, *First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* [trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock; London: Epworth Press, 1962], 15; Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, 129-30; Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975], 57-60; Gerd Theissen, *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* [T&T Clark: Edinburgh, 1987], 345-52, who, however, views the content of 2:6-16 to be the same as 1:18-31). The spiritual believer ostensibly has insight into special revelation, i.e., 2:6-16, whereas the fleshly believer is unable to comprehend such hidden wisdom. This view suffers by bifurcating the content of wisdom in 1:18-31 with that of 2:6-16. In other words, the fleshly individual is limited to the wisdom of the cross (1:18-31), while the spiritual individual has the capacity for higher esoteric wisdom (2:6-16). (There are a few moderate views that find much more continuity between the wisdom of 1:18-31 and 2:6-16 [e.g., D. Deden, “Le ‘Mystère’ paulinien,” 415; Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* [2d ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963], 39.) I, however, question the validity of the two-class interpretation on several accounts. As many commentators have noticed, in chs. 1-2 Paul does indeed discuss two classes—believer and unbeliever—without a hint to differentiating believers. This dualism between believer and unbeliever is an apocalyptic motif running through Paul’s argument. There are those who embrace the cross and those who are hostile towards it (2:8). Paul does, however, label the Corinthians in 3:1-3 as “fleshly” (σάρκινος) and not “spiritual” (πνευματικός). But in 2:14-15 Paul argues that the “spiritual” (πνευματικός) understands what the “natural” (ψυχικός) cannot. The contrast in 2:14-15 is ψυχικός/πνευματικός and not σάρκινος/πνευματικός. Carson perceptively suggests that if Paul were anticipating in 2:6-16 the contrast in 3:1-3 with his use of *νηπιοί*, then a two-class distinction of believers is the outcome. But, if 2:6-16 is “heard before” 3:1-3, then there is a clear distinction between unbelievers and believers (“Mystery and Fulfillment,” 416). Andrew Johnson captures the heart of Paul’s message: “On the ‘this age’ side of the epistemological divide is the *psychikos* person for whom the things of the Spirit of God are folly because, lacking the epistemological lens provided by the Spirit, she is *not able to understand* them. On the other is the *pneumatikos* person, the side on which Paul’s audience is privileged to find themselves” (“Turning the World Upside Down in 1 Corinthians 15: Apocalyptic Epistemology, the Resurrected Body and the New Creation,” *EQ* 75 [2003]: 294). Furthermore, there is a sense in which all believers are πνευματικός and τέλειος (2:6) because of the indwelling of the Spirit (Rom 8:1-16, 22, 26; 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; Gal 4:6) and their position in Christ. Believers are still susceptible living *as though* they are σάρκινος (notice that Paul never says the Corinthians *are* σάρκινος; [cf. Rom 7:14] rather, he states that they are living *as* ὡς σάρκινους; 3:1) when they do not fully live out their status as πνευματικός (Gal 5:16-18). This already-and-not-yet framework best satisfies why believers can be in a very real sense πνευματικός yet fall back into σάρκινος behavior. Fee aptly argues, “The real contrast is therefore between Christian and non-Christian, between those who have and those who do not have the Spirit. Paul’s concern throughout is to get the Corinthians to understand who they are—in terms of the cross—and to stop acting as non-Spirit people” (*First Epistle*, 101). See Sigurd Grindheim, “Wisdom for the Perfect: Paul’s Challenge to the Corinthian Church (1 Corinthians 2:6-16),” *JBL* 12 (2002): 702-9; Alexandra Brown, *Cross and Human Transformation: Paul’s Apocalyptic Word in 1*

would suddenly change the content of wisdom, while retaining similar terminology.²⁸ Elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, Paul often proclaims apocalyptic wisdom to all believers and not just a select few.²⁹ Moreover, to claim that Paul offers the Corinthians a deeper wisdom severely undercuts Paul's argument in 1:10-31. The Apostle's point is that there be no divisions within the church (1:10), which includes a two-class system. Therefore, if the wisdom of ch. 1 is the same as 2:6-16,³⁰ then hidden wisdom (2:7) is none other than the cross.

Word in 1 Corinthians (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 113; Karl Olav Sandnes, *Paul — One of the Prophets?: A Contribution to the Apostle's Self-Understanding* (WUNT 43; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1991), 82-83; Grindheim, "Wisdom for the Perfect," 689-709; H. H. Drake Williams, *The Wisdom of the Wise* (AGJU 49; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 205-7; Johnson, "Turning the World Upside Down," 293n10; Hans-Christian Kammeler, *Kreuz und Weisheit: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu 1 Kor 1,10-3,4* (WUNT 159; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2003).

- 28 Some claim that the vocabulary and style of 2:6-16 significantly differs from the surrounding context. They claim, therefore, that 2:6-16 comes from a source that Paul used. For example, Ellis claims that 2:6-16 is a midrashic work: "They [midrashic sections] probably point not only to the creative mind of the Apostle but also to that of some of his co-workers, the circle of prophets and teachers whose exegetical labors Paul participated in and use" (E. Earle Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 220; cf. W. Wueller, "Haggadic Homily Genre in I Corinthians 1-3," *JBL* 89 [1970]: 199-204; V. P. Branvick, "Source and Redaction Analysis of 1 Corinthians 1-3," *JBL* 101 [1982]: 251-69; M. Widmann, "1 Kor 2:6-16: Ein Einspruch gegen Paulus," *ZNW* 70 [1979]: 44-53). Those who postulate this line of reasoning go well beyond the textual evidence. These scholars agree that Paul *adapted* this source to fit his immediate purpose, which, as Fee notes, makes the whole enterprise "irrelevant," because of its integration within the immediate context (*First Epistle*, 66n1; cf. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Interpolations in 1 Corinthians," *CBQ* 48 [1986]: 81-94, who critiques the "interpolation" hypothesis of Widmann). Paul may even be utilizing Corinthian catchwords and recasting them (Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 224-26). Furthermore, 2:6-16 fits well within the immediate context in light of various linguistic and conceptual terms. For example, the "foolishness" (μωρία) 2:14 recalls the "foolishness" (μωρία/μωραίνω) in 1:18-21, 23. Obviously, the word "wisdom" (σοφία) is found in both sections (1:19-22, 24; 2:1, 4-7, 13). The salient theme of the cross in 1:18-28 is repeated in 2:8. Those who are "perishing" (τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις) in 1:18 are conceptually related to the rulers who are "passing away" in 2:6.

- 29 We find this phenomenon in Rom 11:25 ("I do not want you, brethren, to be uninformed of this mystery"). Cf. Eph 1:8-9: "In all wisdom and insight, he made known to us the mystery of his will," and Col 1:26: "the mystery which has been hidden from the *past* ages and generations, but has now been manifested to his saints" (italics original; see also Eph 3:8-10; Col 2:2; 4:3). Cf. Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino*, 27-33.

- 30 See Grindheim, "Wisdom for the Perfect," 694-95; Sandness, *One of the Prophets*, 82-84; Peter Stuhlmacher, "The Hermeneutical Significance of 1 Cor 2:6-16," in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis* (eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 332-34; Hans Weder, *Das Kreuz Jesu bei Paulus: Ein Versuch, über den Gesichtszug des christlichen Glaubens nachzudenken* (FRLANT 125; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 167; Wilckens, "Zu 1Kor 2,1-16," 513; Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic*, 291-94; David A. Ackerman, *Lo! I Tell You a Mystery: Cross, Resurrection, and Paraenesis in the Rhetoric of 1*

4.6. "Fear and Trembling": Apocalyptic Behavior

In 2:1-5, we catch a biographical glimpse of Paul in action. A foil between the Corinthian sophistic expectations and Paul's actual presentation of the message emerges: "I did not come to you in superiority of speech or of wisdom, ... I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling. And my message and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom" (2:1-4). The terms "fear" (φόβος) and "trembling" (τρόμος)³¹ are generally found in contexts referring to God's theophanic presence in the LXX (Ex 15:16; Deut 2:25; 11:25 Pss 2:11; Isa 19:16).

Corinthians (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2006), 38-75; Beale, *John's Use*, 251; N. A. Dahl, "Formgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur Christusverkündigung in der Gemeindepredigt," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann* (BZNW 21; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1957), 5; E. Elizabeth Johnson, "The Wisdom of God as Apocalyptic Power," in *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer* (ed. John T. Carroll, Charles H. Cosgrove, and E. Elizabeth Johnson; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 137-48; Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 80-4; Bornkamm, μυστήριον, 820; Carson, "Mystery and Fulfillment," 416; Hans-Christian Kammler, *Kreuz und Weisheit: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu 1 Kor 1, 10-3, 4* (WUNT 159; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Siebeck [Paul Siebeck], 2003), 176-236.

- 31 Scholars disagree on the exact connotation of "fear and trembling." Garland lists eight proposed interpretations: 1) Paul's fear of failure (Johannes Weiss, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910], 47-48); 2) fear of large crowds; 3) trepidation concerning Paul's apostolic task (Fee, *First Epistle*, 93-94; Robertson and Plummer, *1 Corinthians*, 31-32); 4) personal inadequacy (Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 123-24); 5) personal safety (C.K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996], 64-65); 6) Paul's stance before God's awe-inspiring presence (Timothy B. Savage, *Power through Weakness: Paul's Understanding of the Christian ministry in 2 Corinthians* [SNTSMS 86; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996], 73; Johnson, "Wisdom of God," 144; Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic*, 282n29); 7) apocalyptic persona (Gary S. Selby, "Paul, the Seer: The Rhetorical Persona in 1 Corinthians 2.1-16," in *Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference* [eds. Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht; JSNTSup 146; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997], 367-70); 8) contrast with Greco-Roman rhetoric (Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 85-86; Poglouff, *Logos and Sophia*, 135-36). Garland rejects the notion that "fear and trembling" refer to an individual's stance before God's presence. He suggests that these terms, according to the LXX, describe the state of Israel's enemies as a result of God's mighty deeds (*1 Corinthians*, 85n6). Though he is right to point out this emotional state of Israel's enemies, the surrounding contexts reveal that they have indeed encountered God's presence, albeit in judgment (e.g., Ex 15:1-17; Isa 19:16). A few texts do, however, refer to a state of fear without God's theophanic presence in view (Gen 9:2; Ps 55:5; Jdt. 15:2; 1 Macc 7:18), but this does not lessen the general theme of fear and trembling.

Furthermore, these two terms even occur in apocalypses,³² upon the individual's reception of visions and revelation.³³ For example, in Dan 4:19a, we read about Daniel's condition after he received the initial revelation from Nebuchadnezzar, "But since Daniel was greatly amazed and since foreboding pressed him and since he was afraid [φοβηθεῖς], as trembling [τρόμου] seized him and his appearance changed, having shaken his head, having marveled for one hour, he answered me in a quiet voice" (NETS; cf. 4:37 [LXX]).

The same phenomenon is also found, though without the exact terminology, in Ezek 3:14-15: "So the Spirit lifted me up and took me away; and I went *embittered* in the *rage* of my spirit, and the hand of the Lord was strong on me" (italics mine).³⁴ Again in Dan 2:1, we see Nebuchadnezzar behaving accordingly: "Nebuchadnezzar had dreams; and his spirit was troubled and his sleep left him" (cf. 4:5). Even Daniel has an identical experience after receiving a vision in Dan 7:15 and 10:7-8:

As for me, Daniel, my spirit was *distressed* within me, and the visions in my mind kept *alarming* me. ... Now I, Daniel, alone saw the vision, while the men who were with me did not see the vision; nevertheless, a *great dread* fell on them, and they ran away to hide themselves. So I was left alone and saw this great vision; yet *no strength was left in me*, for my natural color turned to a deathly pallor, and I retained no strength." (italics mine; cf. 8:27)

Not only do "fear" and "trembling" rehearse an OT and apocalyptic theme, but also the notion of weakness also reverberates in Daniel, specifically, in the programmatic 11:33-35:

And the intelligent of the people will have understanding in many things, and *they will become weak* [ἀσθενήσουσιν] by sword and by flame and by captivity and by plunder of days. And *when they become weak* [ἐν τῷ ἀσθενῆσαι], they will be aided with a little aid, and many will be joined to them by means of slipperiness. And some of the intelligent *will become weak*

32 In 1 En. 1:3-5, the use of "fear" and "trembling" is much in line with the LXX: "The Holy Great One will come forth from his dwelling. ... And everyone shall be afraid, and Watchers shall quiver. And great *fear* [φόβος] and *trembling* [τρόμος] shall seize them" (cf. 13:3; Dan 6:26; Apoc. Sedr. 14:10; Jos. Asen. 14:10; 23:14; 4 Ezra 6:36-37). For other similar texts and discussion, see Richard Bauckham, *Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 122-32.

33 Enoch, in 1 En. 14:9-14, journeys to heaven and receives a vision: "I kept coming (into heaven) until I approached a wall which was built of white marble ... And I entered into the house, which was hot like fire and cold like ice, and there was nothing inside it; *fear* [φόβος] covered me and *trembling* [τρόμος] seized me. And as I shook and trembled, I fell upon my face and saw a vision."

34 Selby, "Paul, the Seer," 368, pointed me to this Ezekiel text and 4 Ezra 6:36-7.

[ἀσθενήσουσιν], so as to refine and select them, and that they be revealed until the time at the end. (NETS; Theo.)³⁵

Here the wise, a key Danielic theme, are heavily persecuted and hence become “weak.”³⁶ But it is only through such persecution that they will be purified as a righteous remnant.

Coming back now to the NT, the expression “fear and trembling” occurs only in the Pauline tradition (2 Cor 7:15; Phil 2:12; cf. Eph 6:5). In 2 Cor 7:15, the phrase occurs in the context of the Corinthians receiving Titus. Ephesians 6:5 describes the manner in which slaves are to obey their masters. Finally, Paul tells believers to live out “their salvation with fear and trembling” (Phil 2:12). Each of these usages is in line with OT—an individual’s posture before God. O’Brien surmises, “We conclude that Paul employs φόβος καὶ τρόμος in a number of different contexts to refer to a sense of awe and reverence in the presence of God. His uses are thus consistent with the predominant LXX usage.”³⁷

Therefore, in 2:3 Paul performs his ministry in Corinth as though he were in the very presence of God. In addition, Paul may even be further refining the expression “fear and trembling” in 2:3 by recalling several apocalyptic contexts. The phrase “in weakness” may recall Dan 11:33-35, for Paul has been viewed as a *maskil*. In fact, the description of Daniel in Dan 4:19 virtually contains the same phrase as 1 Cor 2:3 (φοβηθεὶς τρόμου), as we saw above. Gary Selby comes closest to this interpretation:

35 In 8:27 when Daniel receives a vision, he too becomes “weak”: “I, Daniel, *was weak* [ἀσθενήσας] for days” (my trans.).

36 The relationship between mediating revelation and undergoing persecution seems to be also evident in 1QH X, 12-13: The wicked is roused against me; ... when their waves beat they spew out slime and mud. *But you have set me like a banner for the elect of justice, like a knowledgeable mediator of secret wonders* [והשימני נס לבהרי צדק [ומליץ דעה ברי פלא (Enderwartung, 22). Even Kuhn, as we have already noted, confirms this connection (*Enderwartung*, 22). In addition, Stephen Cummins places Paul’s ministry of suffering against the Maccabean theology of martyrdom (*Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2* [SNTSMS 114; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2001]). An integral part of this suffering background, as Cummins argues, lies the book of Daniel and 1 and 2 Maccabees (19-52). He connects Paul’s suffering in Gal 4:13 and 2 Cor 11:21b-29 with Daniel 11: “the afflicted apostle’s condition may be seen as analogous to that of the martyred ‘wise’ during the Maccabean crisis, though now in the cause of Christ rather than Judaism” (98; cf. 1 Cor 4:9-13; 13:2). These connections to the book of Daniel place Paul squarely in a Danielic tradition of the persecuted “wise.”

37 Peter T. O’Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 284. Likewise Savage explains, “In the mere outworking of his vocation, in the regular preaching of Christ crucified (2:2), he would have been confronted daily by the awe-inspiring majesty of God — an experience which in the LXX engendered great fear and trembling and which could well now be producing the same in Paul (2:3)” (*Power through Weakness*, 73).

Situated as it is within a discourse which employs apocalyptic categories to characterize his message as the “mystery of God”, Paul’s language reflects a deliberate attempt to place himself in the apocalyptic tradition. He has assumed the persona of the “inspired seer” who receives a divine revelation and who faithfully—yet also in weakness, fear, and trembling—transmits the mysterious, secret wisdom of God to God’s people.³⁸

Paul came to Corinth declaring a μυστήριον, so it makes sense that his persona reflects the message.³⁹

4.8. ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ or ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ?

Unfortunately, in 2:1 there is some uncertainty regarding the reading “mystery of God.” Two major options exist: καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ and καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ θεοῦ. In a recent essay, Veronica Koperski has investigated thoroughly the history of interpretation of this problem, so there is no need to rehearse all the details.⁴⁰ Briefly, the pendulum has swung back and forth, and scholars have yet to reach a consensus regarding the variant.⁴¹

38 Selby, “Paul, the Seer,” 369-70. Raymond Collins, though not teasing out his view does suggest: “Paul’s use of the traditional binomial [φόβος καὶ τρόμος] is consistent with the apocalyptic atmosphere that characterizes his discourse” (*First Corinthians*, 119).

39 This interpretation buttresses well with Paul’s anti-sophistic claim in 2:1: “I did not come to you in superiority of speech or of wisdom” (cf. Timothy H. Lim, “Not in Persuasive Words of Wisdom, but in the Demonstration of the Spirit and Power,” *NovT* 29 [1987]: 137-49; Pogołoff, *Logos and Sophia*, 135-36). He did not come as a sophist but an apocalyptic mediator of revelation. Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 154-56, although rightly detecting the OT theme of “fear and “trembling,” too narrowly focuses on Zech 4:6.

40 Veronica Koperski, “‘Mystery of God’ or ‘Testimony of God’ in 1 Cor 2,1: Textual and Exegetical Considerations,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (ed. A. Denaux; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 305-15.

41 Those who consider μυστήριον to be the original reading are the following: H. A. W. Meyer, *Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch über den ersten Brief an die Korinther* (7th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1888), 57; Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit*, 45n1; J. Moffatt, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (MNTC; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1947), 23; Héring, *First Epistle*, 15; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 48-49; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 118; Koperski, “‘Mystery of God’ or ‘Testimony of God,’” 312-15; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 207-8; Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic*, 295n82; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 157-58n2; Kim, *Origin*, 75; Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1998), 480. In the fourth edition of *The Greek New Testament*, the editors confidently gave the variant μυστήριον a “B,” which “indicates the text is almost certain” ([4ed.; Barbara Aland et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2001], 3). Interestingly, the editors of the third edition were less certain and gave this a “C” rating. For those who regard μαρτύριον to be original, see J. B. Lightfoot,

The textual support for reading *μυστήριον* is strong because of a few early mss. (P⁴⁶ *Σ* A C),⁴² whereas *μαρτύριον* has slightly broader support (*Σ*² B D F G Ψ).⁴³ But despite the wide textual support for *μαρτύριον*, the scales should be slightly tipped for reading *μυστήριον*, based upon purely external consideration. The external evidence is, however, too close for declaring a winner, so we must move our discussion to internal considerations.

Those who advance the reading *μαρτύριον* in 2:1 argue that Paul would not use *μυστήριον* because it would detract from the force of *ἐν μυστηρίῳ* in 2:7.⁴⁴ This argument can easily be turned on its head, for Paul may be simply *preparing* the readers for 2:7.⁴⁵ Also, Fee argues that scribes would be more apt to substitute *μυστήριον* for *μαρτύριον*, since the term *μαρτύριον* is less familiar than *μυστήριον*.

The word *μαρτύριον* is, surprisingly, used only a few times in the so-called “Deutero-Pauline” epistles. Two of the occurrences are similar to 2:1 in that they seem to concern Paul’s proclamation of his or Christ’s “testimony”: “when he comes to be glorified in his saints on that day, and to be marveled at among all who have believed—for our testimony to you was believed” (2 Thess 1:10); “who gave himself as a ransom for all, the testimony *given* at the proper time” (*italics original*; 1 Tim 2:6).⁴⁶

More importantly, *μαρτύριον* is found in 1 Cor 1:6: “that in everything you were enriched in him, ... even as the *testimony concerning Christ* [τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ] was confirmed in you.”⁴⁷ A variant exists for 1:6 that reads τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ θεοῦ, reflecting the exact variant in 2:1. Moreover, scholars understand *μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ* in 1:6 as a synonymous reference to the gospel.⁴⁸ If “testimony con-

Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1957), 170-71; Robertson and Plummer, *First Epistle*, 30; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 62-63; G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: Oxford University, 1963), 101; K. Prüm, *Zur Phänomenologie*, 149.

42 The remainder of mss. that support the reading *μυστήριον* are as follows: 436 1912 it^{ar}, o, r, syr^p cop^{bo} slav Hippolytus Basil-Ancyra Ambrosiaster Ambrose Paulinus-Nola Augustine.

43 The remainder of mss. that read *μαρτύριον* are as follows: 0150 6 33 81 104 256 263 365 424 459 1175 1241 1319 1506 1573 1739 1852 1881 1962 2127 2200 2464 Byz [L P] Lect it^b, d, f, g vg syr^h cop^{sa} arm eth^{pp} geo Basil Chrysostom Cyril Jerome Pelagius.

44 Fee, *First Epistle*, 88; Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 101.

45 Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 480.

46 The other two occurrences of *μαρτύριον* refer to Paul’s or Christ’s testimony and not proclamation thereof (2 Cor 1:12; 2 Tim 1:8).

47 Interestingly, Fee claims that the evidence in 1:6 is too distant from 2:1 and should not be taken into consideration (*First Epistle*, 88).

48 Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 35; Fee, *First Epistle*, 40.

cerning Christ" refers to the gospel in 1:6, then scribes easily could interpret 2:1 as Paul's proclamation (καταγγέλλων) of it. In this case, the scribes harmonized 2:1 with 1:6. This is further supported in 9:14: "So also the Lord directed *those who proclaim the gospel* [τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν] to get their living from the gospel."

In addition, two other variants exist in 2:1: τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ⁴⁹ and τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ.⁵⁰ Although neither of these readings is a viable option, they reveal that scribes had difficulty *understanding* the phrase μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ in the immediate context.⁵¹ Why would a scribe substitute either σωτήριον or εὐαγγέλιον for μαρτύριον? *It would seem that these substitutions, along with μαρτύριον, are attempts to clarify the more ambiguous μυστήριον.* They probably could not make sense of how Paul came not "with superiority of speech or of wisdom" but with a "mystery." Lightfoot perceives this precise problem (which is one of the main reasons why he supports the reading μαρτύριον) and comments, "He [Paul] spoke in plain and simple language, as became a witness. Elaborate diction and subtlety of argument would only discredit his testimony."⁵² How could Paul proclaim his message clearly, on the one hand, yet pronounce a mystery on the other? Scribes, therefore, probably harmonized 2:1 with 1:6, thus resolving the apparent tension.

Perhaps the strongest internal reason for reading μυστήριον is the immediate context. If we are correct, then Paul arrives at Corinth as an apocalyptic seer: "I was with you in weakness ... fear and in much trembling" (Dan 4:19; 7:15; 10:7-8; 1 En. 14:13-14; 4 Ezra 6:36-37).⁵³ Mediating apocalyptic wisdom is concomitant with arriving as an apocalyptic visionary. The notion of "proclaiming" is similar to other verbs that are frequently found with μυστήριον such as "making known," "revealing," "speaking," and so on.⁵⁴ Two of the closest texts to 2:1 are

49 1598^{1/2} / 593 / 599.

50 Theodoret (so Collins, *First Corinthians*, 118).

51 Contra Fee who claims, "It is difficult under any circumstances to imagine that scribes of the second to fourth centuries, for whom the Pauline usage of mystery had become commonplace, substituted 'witness' in its place" (*First Epistle*, 88).

52 Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles*, 170-71.

53 See above.

54 Mark 4:11 says, "To you has been given the mystery [δέδοται] of the kingdom of God, but those who are outside get everything in parables" (cf. Matt 13:11; Luke 8:10). Paul, in Rom 11:25 says, "I do not want you, brethren, to be uninformed [ἀγνοεῖν] of this mystery," which implies that he does inform the church at Rome (vv. 26-36). Similarly, in 1 Cor 15:51, he claims, "Behold, I tell [λέγω] you a mystery." Other verbs such as "make known" and "reveal" are used elsewhere in the Pauline tradition (Eph 1:9; 3:3; Col 1:26). Cf. Brown, *Semitic Background*, 48n147.

Eph 6:19: “Pray on my behalf, that utterance may be given to me in the opening of my mouth, *to make known with boldness the mystery of the gospel* [γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου]” and Col 4:3: “Praying at the same time for us as well, that God will open up to us a door for the word, *so that we may speak forth the mystery of Christ* [λαλῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ].”

Furthermore, the force of 4:1 must be taken into account: “Let a man regard us in this manner, as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God [μυστηρίων θεοῦ].”⁵⁵ As we shall see, this verse is crucial for Paul’s ministry at Corinth.⁵⁶ Paul came to the city as a “steward of mysteries” and took that apocalyptic role seriously.

We shall attempt to demonstrate below that the μυστήριον in 2:7 is the message of the cross—the conquering Messiah on the cross (1:18–31). Similarly, Paul, in vv. 1–5, proclaims that identical message at Corinth, which implies, therefore, that the mystery in 2:1 is also the message of the cross. Thus, the variants μαρτύριον, σωτήριον, and εὐαγγέλιον are not far off the mark, since there is considerable theological overlap between them. Though the term μυστήριον in 2:1 is, at its core, very close to these terms, Paul’s role as a mediator of mysteries is heightened. In other words, if μαρτύριον is the correct reading, Paul appears here in 2:1 going about his apostolic duty—preaching the gospel.⁵⁷ If, on the other hand, μυστήριον is correct, the Apostle is viewed as an apocalyptic mediator of revelation.⁵⁸

In sum, the reading μυστήριον should be preferred because of the following points: 1) the external support for μυστήριον slightly outweighs μαρτύριον; 2) the number of textual variants (four total) suggests that scribes had difficulty understanding 2:1, so they substituted the easier reading μαρτύριον, thus harmonizing it with 1:6; 3) the immediate context reinforces μυστήριον because of Paul’s apocalyptic persona.

55 Note here in 4:1 the same phrase as in 2:1 (though the noun is plural): μυστηρίων θεοῦ (cf. Col 2:2; Rev 10:7).

56 Héring in affirming the reading μυστήριον in 2:1 likewise states, “It follows also from 4¹ that the Apostle had divine mysteries to administer” (*First Epistle*, 15).

57 Cf. Barrett, *First Epistle*, 62.

58 Koperski admits, “Perhaps the strongest contextual argument for μυστήριον, however, is its eschatological background, indicated by association with specifically Jewish eschatological terminology” (“‘Mystery of God’ or ‘Testimony of God,’” 313).

4.8. Paul's Wisdom in 1 Cor 1-2

The diversity of interpretations regarding Corinthian wisdom even spills over to Paul's wisdom in 2:6-16. Some scholars regard this passage as an interpolation or an appropriation of his opponents' position,⁵⁹ but such hypotheses have come under heavy critique and have yet to gain a wide following. First of all, Paul provides very little information concerning the content of wisdom in 2:6-16, since he has already articulated that content in the previous context (1:17-18, 23-30, 2:2). Fee perceptively comments, "With a crucified Messiah as its assumed content, Paul's present concern is to explain the *nature* of this wisdom, which made it impossible for those in pursuit of merely human wisdom to recognize it as such" (*italics original*).⁶⁰ Thus, we will endeavor to articulate the *nature* of Paul's wisdom in 2:6-16.

The more recent appraisals conclude that Paul's language in 2:6-16 is indebted to a thoroughly Jewish wisdom tradition, particularly, apocalypticism.⁶¹ As many have suggested, the cluster of terms such as "hidden wisdom," "mystery," "this age," "rulers of this age," "Lord of glory," "Spirit," "revelation," and "depths of God" certainly point in this direction. In addition to these apocalyptic words and phrases, 2:6-16 exhibit a number of apocalyptic *topoi*.

Paul, in 2:7 claims that God's wisdom was "predestined before the ages for our glory" (ἦν [σοφίαν] προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν). This notion fits admirably with our analysis of Daniel and Second Temple Judaism, because we often saw how God's wisdom was formed in the divine council in eternity past. What makes

59 Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 71, and Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit*, 205-17, argue that Paul, though rejecting Corinthian Gnosticism, appropriates Gnostic terminology and unwittingly argues for a type of Gnosticism.

60 Fee, *First Epistle*, 102.

61 E.g., Jeffrey S. Lamp, *First Corinthians 1-4 in Light of Jewish Wisdom Traditions: Christ, Wisdom and Spirituality* (SBEC 42; Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 177-79; Pearson, *Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology*, 33; Selby, "Paul, the Seer," 367; Brown, *Cross and Human Transformation*, 23-25, 97-98, 107-8; Ackerman, *Lo! I Tell You a Mystery*, 48; Hans Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 2:121; Scroggs, ΣΟΦΟΣ and ΠΙΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ," 37-55; Friedrich Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (NTD 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 38-40, contends that 2:6-16 has an apocalyptic view of revelation along with a Jewish-Hellenistic wisdom tradition ("die jüdisch-hellenistische Weisheitstradition" [40]).

apocalyptic wisdom distinct is the revelation of divine, eschatological wisdom.⁶²

Furthermore, the notion that wisdom has been “revealed” (ἀπεκάλυψεν; 2:10) strikes a common chord in apocalyptic literature. As we have previously argued, revelation of God’s wisdom is germane for apocalypses.⁶³ In the book of Daniel, we often found terms such as נִבְּא and ἀποκαλύπτω, signaling the revelation of God’s wisdom.⁶⁴ The same can be said for Qumran and the Pseudepigrapha. The term ἀποκαλύπτω with “mystery” is found elsewhere (Eph 3:5),⁶⁵ which is related to other terms such as γνωρίζω (Eph 1:9; 3:3-5, 10; 6:19; Col 1:27), φανερώ (Col 1:26), δίδωμι (Matt 13:11; Mark 4:11; Luke 8:10; Eph 1:17). The point of all these terms is that God has *revealed* his previously hidden wisdom.⁶⁶

Previously, we noted that μυστήριον concerns eschatological events, a *sine qua non* of the term. Since apocalyptic wisdom concerns such events, revelation of those particular events naturally includes fulfillment. In Daniel, the rise and fall of kingdoms, namely, Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon, signaled the fulfillment of some “latter-day” events specified in 2:28. Even here in 1 Cor 1-2, not only is the content of μυστήριον eschatological, but the revelation itself signals the splitting of the ages. The revelation, that is, the crucifixion divides humanity and the cosmos into two categories: those “rulers” (like Nebuchadnezzar), who participate in the old fallen age, its human and demonic wisdom, and those who are spiritually aligned with the new age, divine wisdom and its ethics.

62 Many now affirm N. A. Dahl’s suggestion that 2:6-16 ought to be deemed a *Revelations-Schema*, which signals an eschatological revelation that had been previously hidden (“Formgeschichtliche Beobachtungen,” 4-5).

63 Cf. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 14.

64 The verb נִבְּא appears eight times and refers to God disclosing either mysteries (נִבְּא; 2:19, 28-30), “deep and hidden things” (אֲדָמְרָא אֲדָמְרָא; 2:22), or a visionary “message” (רִבְּא; 10:1). The disclosure of God’s wisdom is the common denominator of each of these passages. Theodotion consistently translates this verb נִבְּא as ἀποκαλύπτω (2:19, 22, 28-30, 47; 10:1; 11:35), whereas the OG uses a variety of terms such as ἀνακαλύπτω (2:22, 28-29), δείκνυμι (10:1), and εκφαινω (2:19, 30, 47; 10:1).

65 In this project, authorship of the so-called “Deutero-Pauline” epistles makes little interpretative difference. At the very least, they represent a Pauline “tradition.”

66 There is another set of terms that is linked to the promulgation of apocalyptic wisdom: καταγγέλλω (1 Cor 2:1), λαλέω (1 Cor 14:2; Col 4:3), λέγω (1 Cor 15:51). Cf. Bornkamm, μυστήριον, 821; D. Deden, “Le ‘Mystère’ paulinien,” 411; Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino*, 34; Prümmer, “Mystères,” 191.

4.9. The Use of Daniel in 1 Cor 1-2

In addition to commentators arguing for a Danielic background concerning the term *μυστήριον* in 2:1, 7, many have detected allusions to the book of Daniel within 1 Corinthians, particularly the immediate context of chs. 1-2.⁶⁷

Some suggest that *δύναμις* in 2:4-6 is a reference to Dan 2:20, 23.⁶⁸ If this allusion is legitimate, then kingdom overtones further emerge. Power, according to Dan 2:20, 23, 37, is the “removing” and “establishing kings” (Dan 2:21; see 2:36-45). This is further illustrated in 2:44-45, where a kingdom, “which will never be destroyed,” eclipses the fourth kingdom. Moreover, a few chapters later in 1 Corinthians, Paul associates power and kingdom: “For the kingdom of God does not consist in words but in power” (4:20).

The role of the Spirit in the process of revelation may further suggest an intertextual or at least a thematic link between 1 Cor 2:10-13 (“For to us God revealed them through the Spirit [*ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*]; for the Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God [*καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ*]” [v. 10]) and Dan 4:9.⁶⁹ In Dan 4:9, Nebuchadnezzar describes Daniel as one who has “a spirit of the holy gods” (*πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἅγιον* [Theo]) and “no mystery baffles” (*πᾶν μυστήριον*

67 NA²⁷ (2:10/Dan 2:22; 6:2/Dan 7:22; 13:3/Dan 3:19; 14:25/Dan 2:47; 15:24/Dan 2:44); Harvey, “The Use of Mystery Language,” 330-31 (2:1-10/Dan 2, 4; 15:51/Dan 2, 4); Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, 2:121-22 (2:6-8/Dan 2:19-23); idem, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 2:228-33 (1:21/Dan 2:20[Theod.]; 1:24/Dan 2:23; 1:28/Dan 4:14; 2:1/Dan 2:30; 3:12/Dan 11:38[Theod.]; 3:17/Dan 9:27; 6:2/Dan 7:22; 6:19/Dan 4:5; 8:4/Dan 3:17; 13:3/Dan 3:28; 14:25/Dan 2:47; 15:12/12:2; 15:24/Dan 2:44); Collins, *First Corinthians*, 124-25, 477 (2:6-16/Dan 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10-12; 13:3/Dan 3); Richard Hays, “The Conversion of the Imagination: Scripture and Eschatology in 1 Corinthians,” *NTS* 45 (1999): 393. The book of Daniel appears to be quite prominent in 1 Corinthians. According to NA²⁷, it appears that Paul alludes to Daniel in 1 Corinthians more than any of his other letters. Unfortunately, this observation has received little attention. In an appendix, Thomas Brodie discusses the use of Daniel in 1 Corinthians (*The Birthing of the New Testament: The Intertextual Development of the New Testament Writings* [Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2004], 595-99). Though I do not agree with most of his analysis in his work as a whole, he is likely on the right track in attempting to explore Danielic influence as a whole in 1 Corinthians.

68 Beale, *John's Use*, 252; Hübner, *Vetus*, 2:230.

69 Hans-Christian Kammiller, *Kreuz und Weisheit: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu 1 Kor 1, 10-3, 4* (WUNT 159; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Siebeck [Paul Siebeck]), 2003), 226; Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (EKK VII/1; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1991), 261; Grindheim, “Wisdom for the Perfect,” 697; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 165; Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 596; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 44.

οὐκ ἄδυναται [Theo]) him (cf. Dan 2:11; 4:18; 5:11, 14). Even the language of “revealing” and “depths of God” in v.10⁷⁰ may likewise allude to Dan 2:22⁷¹: “It is he who reveals the profound and hidden things” (αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύπτει βαθέα καὶ ἀπόκρυφα [Theo]).

First Corinthians 2:13 reads, “We impart this in words not taught by human wisdom but *taught by the Spirit* [διδασκτοῖς πνεύματος], *interpreting spiritual truths* [πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντας] to those who are spiritual” (ESV). Within the book of Daniel, the notion of “interpreting” is highly significant. Each dream (and writing) had to be “interpreted” with a second and more complete revelation. The famous Aramaic word for “interpretation” is *pešer* and is often translated by the Greek term σύγκρισις (Theo) and sometimes by κρίνω/κρίσις (OG).⁷² Perhaps the verb, συγκρίνω, in 2:13 may also reflect a Danielic background.

Lastly, the highly charged and debated τέλειοι in 2:7 may even reflect a similar Danielic theme that is significantly developed in the DSS. Daniel 11:33a says, “Those who have insight among the people [מְבַיְנִים] will give understanding [יָבִינֵם] to the many” (11:33; see Dan 12:3). Accordingly, those who have “insight” or the *maskilim* are only privy to special revelation and subsequently impart such revelation to others.⁷³

70 Rom 11:33 uses very similar language that probably alludes to Dan 2:22: “Oh, the depth [βάθος] of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge [σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως] of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and unfathomable his ways!”

71 See Kammler, *Kreuz und Weisheit*, 220; Schrage, *Der erste Brief*, 257; Fee, *First Epistle*, 111; Brown, *Cross and Human Transformation*, 127; Lang, *Briefe an die Korinther*, 44; Andreas Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (HNT 9; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 68-9; Stuhlmacher, “Hermeneutical Significance,” 337; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 165; NA²⁷.

72 E.g., Dan 2:5-7, 9, 16, 24-26, 30, 36, 45; 4:6, 9; 7:16. Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *I Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 57; Garland, *I Corinthians*, 99-100.

73 The *maskilim* in the book of Daniel appear in 11:33-35 and 12:3; some even consider the author of Daniel to be a *maskil*, since Daniel is portrayed as such (e.g., Stefan Beyerle, “Daniel and Its Social Setting,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* [VTSup 83; ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 1993], 205-28). The wise not only understand God’s plans but also impart knowledge and apocalyptic wisdom to others (Beyerle, “Social Setting,” 221; John Collins, “Daniel and His Social World,” *Int* 39 [1985]: 140). F. F. Bruce suggests that the Qumran community most likely viewed themselves as continuing the tradition of the Danielic *maskilim*. He cites 1QS IX, 12-19 as support: “These are the regulations for the Instructor [לְמַשְׁכִּיל] ... he should acquire all the wisdom that has been gained according to the periods and the decree of the period; ... He should lead them with knowledge and in this way teach [לְהַשְׁכִּיל] them the mysteries of wonder and of truth in the midst of the men of the Community” (“The Book of Daniel,” 229; cf. Collins, “Teacher and Servant,” 37-50). We may also add 1QS II, 3; IV, 22; 1QH^a XVIII, 29; XIX, 7, 13-28; XX, 16-33; XXVI, 33 (see pgs. 67-69, for further discussion). Paul, possibly acting as a *maskil*, likewise imparts apocalyptic wisdom to the Corinthians. Furthermore, spirit-filled believers who do “understand” God’s wisdom may also be considered as

Putting all of this together, we are now in a position to rehearse Dan 2:20-23. As we previously argued, Dan 2:20-23 is central for understanding the *μυστήριον* in the book of Daniel.⁷⁴ We have seen how this hymn summarizes the nature of *μυστήριον*, containing almost the entire book of Daniel *in nuce*. The importance of this hymn necessitates our quoting the English translation (based on the Aramaic) once more, highlighting the aforementioned features (the Greek text appearing first is OG and Theo is second):

Let the name of God be blessed forever and ever, for *wisdom and power* [ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη⁷⁵ / ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις] belong to him. And it is he who changes the times and the epochs; he removes kings and establishes kings; he gives *wisdom to wise men* [σοφοῖς σοφίαν/σοφίαν τοῖς σοφοῖς] and *knowledge to men of understanding* [σύνεσιν τοῖς ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ οὖσιν/φρόνησιν τοῖς εἰδόσιν σύνεσιν]. It is he *who reveals the profound* [ἀνακαλύπτων τὰ βαθέα καὶ σκοτεινὰ/ἀποκαλύπτει βαθέα καὶ ἀπόκρυφα] and *hidden things*; he knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with him. To you, O God of my fathers, I give thanks and praise, for *you have given me wisdom and power* [σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν ἔδωκάς/σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἔδωκάς μοι].

Though the term *μυστήριον* does not occur in this hymn, it is almost assuredly implied for it represents the process of God disclosing his wisdom to Daniel. In addition, the blatant emphasis on wisdom and power, the reference to deep things, along with the comment that Daniel has received insight from God seem to suggest that Dan 2:20-23 is part of the OT background to 1 Cor 2:6-16. Williams, in his recent monograph on the function of Scripture in 1 Cor 1-3, arrives at a very similar conclusion: "This high concentration of words from Dan. 2:19-23 with the significant word *μυστήριον* suggests that Dan. 2:19-23 is a likely candidate for influencing 1 Cor. 2:6-8, 10-11."⁷⁶ Furthermore,

maskilim. Otto Betz, "Der gekreuzigte Christus, unsere Weisheit und Gerechtigkeit (Der alttestamentliche Hintergrund von 1.Korinther 1-2)," in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (ed. Gerald Hawthorne and Otto Betz; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 195-215, makes this identical connection: "Auch die *Apostel* werden zu einer Art von *maskilim* und *masdiqim*. Ihnen wurde das rechte Verstehen des Kreuzes [sic] durch den Geist geoffenbart (1.Kor 2,9-12). Aber als Verkündiger (1,25), deren Zeugnis von Beweisen des Geistes und der Kraft begleitet ist (2,4), werden sie auch sie auch zu Lehrern der Weisheit Gottes (2,1-7)" (italics original; 207). He then goes on to say how the spirit-filled believers likewise identify with the *maskilim*: "Die christlichen *maskilim* als Verkündiger der Weisheit Gottes wenden sich an die 'Vollkommenen' (τέλειοι 1.Kor 2,6)" (207; italics original; cf. Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 168; Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 70; Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 77n4.).

74 See pgs. 27-31.

75 The Masoretic text reads סְפִיָּרָה and the uncial Q likewise renders this as δύναμις.

76 Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 167. I do disagree with him on two proposed words that are found in Dan 2:20 and 1 Cor 2:7-8, namely, αἰών and κύριος. The contextual use of αἰών in Dan 2:20 is too dissimilar to its use in 1 Cor 2:7-8 (in Dan 2 the

Hans Hübner similarly concludes: „Wie Paulus hier spricht, erinnert vor allem an *Dan 2*. ... Die Terminologie von *Dan 2* berührt sich aufs engste mit der von 1 Kor 2,6ff, darüber hinaus überhaupt von 1 Kor 1,18 an“ (*italics original*).⁷⁷

4.9.1. Why Daniel?

If indeed 1 Cor 2 is saturated with Danielic allusions, why does Paul draw on Daniel? Is it merely for rhetorical flavor, or is there a deeper and more penetrating reason? It seems that Paul employs all of these Danielic allusions as a vehicle for communicating the mystery of the cross. These Danielic allusions are significantly important for Paul's argument. *The intertextuality provides the basis as to why the cross, so grand and pivotal in the process of redemptive history, remains an utter mystery to the foolish but wisdom to the wise.* It may also signal the fulfillment of God's eschatological triumph over wisdom (Dan 2:1-16; 25-30) and the beginning of his eternal reign over all earthly kingdoms (Dan 2:44-45).

word is used in the sense of "forever"), and the term κύριος is found too frequently in 1 Cor 1-2 (1:2-3, 7, 10, 31; 2:8, 16). Nevertheless, Williams is right to point out a cluster of words that can be traced back to Dan 2:19-23.

⁷⁷ Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, 2:121. He even goes on to draw almost identical parallels that I have suggested, so I will quote him at length:

Nach Dan gibt der Herr den (wahrhaft) Weisen σοφία und σύνεσις; und so dankt Daniel ihm, daß dieser sie auch ihm gegeben hat, um dem König das offenen zu können, Dan 2,21.23. Gott wird bezeichnet als ἀνακαλύπτων τὰ βαθέα καὶ σκοτεινὰ, Dan 2,22 ... Paulus sagt, Gott habe durch seinen Geist "uns (sc. das Mysterium) offenbart", ἀπεκάλυψεν; der Geist erforsche alles, auch die Tiefen Gottes, τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Kor 2,10. Ebenso begegnet in beiden Texten γινώσκειν, Dan 2,22 u.ö; 1 Kor 2,11. In beiden Wortfeldern finden sich δόξα und ἰσχύς. Nachdem Daniel dem König das Mysterium verstehbar gemacht hat, preist dieser den Gott Daniels und seiner Freunde als den Gott der Götter und Herr der Könige mit dem Prädikat ὁ ἐκφαίνων μυστήρια κρυπτὰ μόνος, Dan 2,47 LXX. (*Biblische Theologie*, 121)

But then Hübner goes on to say that these parallels do not necessarily mean that there are intertextual links between Daniel and 1 Corinthians; rather, he claims, they are "native" to the same apocalyptic language („sind beide Texte in derselben apokalyptischen Sprache beheimatet“ [121]). Though it is likely that 1 Cor 2 does depend upon the same apocalyptic tradition, it is my opinion that Dan 2 is one of the major sources.

4.10 Hiddenness of Mystery

Key to the nature of μυστήριον is its hiddenness. First Corinthians 2:7a states, ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην. Scholars disagree on what ἐν μυστηρίῳ modifies. Some think ἐν μυστηρίῳ modifies the verb λαλοῦμεν, thus rendering it “we speak mysteriously” or “we speak God’s wisdom in a mystery.”⁷⁸ Such a translation connotes Paul speaking in secret, which would seem to contradict Paul’s theology as a whole and makes little sense in the immediate context. Another option, the far more popular one, is to take ἐν μυστηρίῳ with the noun σοφίαν.⁷⁹ This option translates the phrase as “we speak the wisdom of God, hidden in a mystery” (NET). The latter translation fits the context much better, for the emphasis is on the nature of wisdom and not Paul’s *modus operandi*.⁸⁰

In addition to its syntax, Paul links the term μυστήριον with the adjectival participle “hidden” (τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην). As we have seen, hiddenness is a salient feature of the apocalyptic term. In the programmatic Dan 2:47, we read in the LXX: “The king spoke to Daniel and said, ‘Truly your God is the God of Gods and the Lord of kings, *the only one reveals hidden mysteries* [ὁ ἐκφαίνων μυστήρια κρυπτὰ μόνος], because you are able to disclose this mystery” (my trans.).⁸¹ Throughout Daniel, the mystery is hidden from different groups of people. In chs. 2 and 4, Nebuchadnezzar, despite receiving a dream, was unable

78 NASB; ASV.

79 Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 160-61; Carson, “Mystery,” 417; Coppins, “Mystery,” 144; Fee, *First Epistle*, 105; Kim, *Origin*, 75; Bornkamm, μυστήριον, 819; Deden, “Le ‘Mystère’ paulinien,” 406n8; Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino*, 24; Prümm, “Mystères,” 193; ESV (“we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God”); NRSV (“we speak God’s wisdom, secret and hidden”); NIV (“we speak of God’s secret wisdom”); NLT (“the wisdom we speak of is the secret wisdom of God”); TNIV (“we declare God’s wisdom, a mystery that has been hidden”).

80 The phrase ἐν μυστηρίῳ still remains slightly enigmatic. The preposition ἐν is notoriously difficult to pin down, but BDAG is probably right to suggest that here ἐν refers to a qualitative state or condition (327; cf. 1 Tim 2:15; Tit 3:3; 2 Cor 4:2). Thus, ἐν μυστηρίῳ would be the condition describing σοφία. This would justify some attempts to translate this phrase as “mysterious wisdom” (e.g., Barrett, *First Epistle*, 70). But whatever the exact nuance of this phrase may be, Bockmuehl is right to exclaim, “At any rate we are dealing with the familiar factors of divine ‘mystery’, hidden wisdom, and revelation” (*Revelation and Mystery*, 161).

81 Theodotion renders this clause as “who reveals mysteries” (καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια), thus leaving out the adjective κρυπτός. The Aramaic agrees with the Theodotion: ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. Moreover, in the hymn of Dan 2:20-23, which, as we have seen, is crucial in understanding the nature of “mystery” (pgs. 27-31), discusses hiddenness: “It is he who reveals the profound and hidden things [ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ]; he knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with Him” (2:22).

to determine its meaning.⁸² Likewise in ch. 5, Belshazzar was unable to interpret the writing on the wall. Finally, in chs. 7-12, even Daniel, who had been privy to the dream's interpretation, lacked the ability to interpret his own dream. In addition, the Babylonians failed repeatedly to interpret the dream.

Not only is mystery hidden from individuals who have not been granted insight, but the word can also refer to the *hidden* nature of God's redemptive-historical plan. This aspect of apocalyptic wisdom is also pronounced in the book of Daniel. For example, Dan 2:28 says, "there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries, and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will take place *in the latter days* [בְּאַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים/ἐπ' ἔσχατων τῶν ἡμερῶν {OG and Theo}]." In other words, unlike previous revelation, God discloses latter-day revelations related to the rise and fall of nations and the establishment of his eternal kingdom (e.g., 2:36-45; 4:19-27; 5:25-28; 7:15-27; 8:15-26).⁸³

The same phenomena of hiddenness with reference to individuals and God's plan appear in nearly every other occurrence of mystery in Second Temple Judaism, particularly in apocalypses and at Qumran, either implicitly or explicitly. Most occurrences concern eschatological insight, as we have seen in great detail, such as the resurrection, eschatological warfare, judgment and restoration of Israel, and so on (e.g., 1Q27 1, 1-4; 4Q418 123 II, 1; 4Q416 2 I, 5-6). These revelations, according to these sources, were previously *hidden* but have been subsequently revealed.⁸⁴ We have also determined that individuals are unable to perceive such revelation unless God restores their blind eyes and softens their hardened heart. This is made explicit in the DSS (e.g.,

82 Brown, *Semitic Background*, 43, and Deden, "Le 'Mystère' paulinien," 429-30, connect the theme of "hiddenness" in Dan 2 with 1 Cor 2.

83 This is not to say that there is little or no continuity between Daniel and the OT prophetic tradition (see von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik*, 13-33; Bauckham, "The Rise of the Apocalyptic," 15). Obviously the prophetic tradition discusses God's eternal kingdom (e.g., Ezek 39:25-29), a Messianic figure (e.g., Num 24:17; Zech 13:7), and, to some degree, a resurrection (e.g., Isa 26:19). Nevertheless, Daniel uniquely relates some fresh details of these events. What was in seed form in the prophets has blossomed in Daniel. These more nuanced revelations would thus be considered as "hidden."

84 Surprisingly, the word "hidden" (סֵתַר) is not often used alongside of "mystery" in the DSS. There are, however, a few notable exceptions: "[Might of his hand sealing up] mysteries [רוֹזִיט] and revealing hidden things [בְּסִתְרוֹת]" (1QH^a XXVI, 14-15= 4Q427 7 I, 19); "His wondrous *mysterie*[s...] [רוֹזִיט] ... they announce hidden things [בְּסִתְרוֹת] [...]" (4Q401 14 II, 2-7); "My eyes have observed what always is, wisdom that *has been hidden* [בְּסִתְרוֹת] from mankind" (1QS XI, 5-6; cf. 4Q424 3 6; 4Q375 1 II, 8; 4Q299 6 II, 4).

1QH^a V, 19-20; IX, 21; CD-A II, 14-15) and other texts (e.g., 2 Bar. 48:2-3).⁸⁵

Even in the NT, we are able to see this twofold aspect of hiddenness. In Matt 13:10-17 and parallels, Jesus relates to the disciples the nature of the “mysteries of the kingdom of heaven” (v. 11). Here in the Synoptics, the notion of hiddenness concerning the insiders/outside is explicit.⁸⁶ Only those with eyes and ears are able to perceive and understand, whereas to those who are blind and deaf, the μυστήριον remains hidden. In addition, the nature of the kingdom has been hidden from all mankind until the ministry of Jesus (vv. 24-35).⁸⁷

Furthermore, two other texts are illuminating in this regard. In Eph 3:4-6, we have an interesting description of mystery:

By referring to this, when you read you can understand my insight into the mystery of Christ, which in other generations was *not made known* [οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη] to the sons of men, as it has now *been revealed* [ἀπεκαλύφθη] to his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit; to be specific, that the Gentiles are fellow heirs and fellow members of the body, and fellow partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel. ... and to bring to light what is the administration of the mystery which for ages *has been hidden* [ἀποκεκρυμμένου] in God.

Here, the mystery was hidden and “not made known” until it was “revealed” to the apostles. This aspect of hiddenness concerns something in the OT which was not perceivable even to the covenant community until the latter-day coming of Christ (cf. Col 1:26).

Therefore, we have two well-attested aspects of hiddenness in Daniel, Second Temple Judaism, and in the NT. One aspect refers to God chronologically hiding his plans from all mankind, including the saints, and the other concerns hiding revelation from the unfaithful, despite its present disclosure.⁸⁸ If we apply this twofold characteristic of μυστήριον to 1 Cor 1-2, we are able to unlock a few difficult texts. Since the technical term refers to the message of the cross (1:18-31), the

85 See also K. Prümm, “Zur Phänomenologie,” 138.

86 See especially Marcus, “Marcian Epistemology,” 557-74.

87 The parables concerning the nature of the kingdom, i.e., the tares and wheat, the mustard seed, and the leaven, constitute the “mystery.” The nature of the kingdom differs from Jewish expectations. Instead of ushering in the kingdom by overthrowing the Romans and judging all the wicked through a physical rule, Jesus inaugurates a spiritual kingdom, concurrent with wickedness. George Eldon Ladd agrees, “This is indeed a mystery, a new revelation. That there should be a coming of God’s kingdom in the way Jesus proclaimed, in a hidden, secret form, working quietly among men, was utterly novel to Jesus’ contemporaries” (*Presence of the Future*, 225).

88 Bornkamm profoundly asserts, “Since the μυστήριον of God as such is disclosed in revelation, its concealment is always manifest with its proclamation” (μυστήριον, 822).

event of the crucifixion was hidden from mankind but has now been revealed.⁸⁹ We can now fully understand 2:7: “we declare God’s wisdom, hidden in a mystery, which God destined for our glory before the ages” (my trans.).

In addition to God previously hiding the crucifixion from all of humanity, the message of the cross *continues* to be hidden from unbelievers: “*wisdom*, which none of the rulers of this age has understood; for if they had understood it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory” (italics original; v. 8).⁹⁰ Not only was God’s plan hidden in the past, but it also was hidden from the “rulers of this age” and unbelievers. On the other hand, says Paul, believers have insight into the mystery of the cross. We see this explicated in vv. 10-16: “For to us God revealed *them* [μυστήριον] through the Spirit” (italics original; v. 10a). Joel Marcus, in discussing the idea of mystery in Mark 4, makes a statement, apropos to our passage: “The crucifixion is the place where the mystery is either unlocked or else finally rendered inscrutable; where either a door is opened for humanity, or one is slammed in its face.”⁹¹

4.10.1. Isaiah 64:4 in 1 Cor 2:9

In keeping with the theme of hiddenness, 2:9 grounds the proposition that the “rulers of this age” did not understand the event of the crucifixion (vv. 7-8). Unfortunately, 2:9 does not easily yield itself to interpretation, for, as we shall see, this verse is quite perplexing, yet important for Paul’s argument. In order for us to determine the significance of the quotation, we will have to undertake a detailed analysis of its OT context. Moreover, few have attempted to relate the OT quotation to μυστήριον in the immediate context, which we will attempt to do.

89 Grindheim, although identifying μυστήριον with the message of the cross in the previous section (1:21, 24), distances himself from this twofold aspect of wisdom. For him, μυστήριον only refers to the hiddenness of revelation between believers and unbelievers: “Containing no likely reference to redemptive history, the connotations of the term ‘mystery’ are in this context therefore best understood as being something that is inaccessible. The hidden wisdom, which is the word of the cross, appears to the wise person of this world as weakness and foolishness” (“Wisdom for the Perfect,” 701). In a few paragraphs earlier, he wrongly concludes: “The thought would then be that the mystery was previously hidden but is now revealed as a *consequence* of the Christ-event” (italics mine; 698). The mystery Paul declares is not a result; rather, it *is* the Christ-event.

90 This explains 1:18a: “the word of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing” (cf. vv. 20-28).

91 “Mark 4:10-12,” 574.

From Origen's day onward, the quotation in 1 Cor 2:9 has caused much confusion in NT studies. A few scholars hold that Paul pulls from non-canonical texts such as the *Testament of Jacob* or the *Apocalypse of Elijah*,⁹² but we can eliminate these non-canonical texts, since Paul prefaces the quotation with καθώς γέγραπται.⁹³ Others suggest that the quotation or at least parts of the quotation originate from Isa 52:15, 64:4, 65:17, or Jer 3:16.⁹⁴ But despite the textual difficulties, all scholars affirm the importance of the quotation.

As some suggest, the closest text is Isa 64:4 (64:3 [MT]):

1Cor 2:9	Isa 64:4
Things <u>which eye has not seen</u> and <u>ear has not heard</u> , and which have not entered the heart of man, all that God has prepared for those who love him.	From days of old <u>they have not heard or perceived by ear</u> , nor has <u>the eye seen</u> a God besides you, who acts in behalf of the one who waits for him.

- 92 Unfortunately, scholarship in general has focused too much on the source(s) of this quotation instead of the OT background. Some decide that the quotation is too ambiguous and abandon any attempt to determine its source (see C. D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, SNTSMS 74 [Cambridge: Cambridge, 1992], 189). The impetus behind this problem seems to be the clause (ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦνέβη). But if the heart idiom is understood, most problems with the source dissolve. This clause engendered problems early on, for even the early church debated this issue. Clement of Rome states that this quotation originates from Isaiah (*I Clement* 34:6-8) but Origen in his commentary on Matthew thinks that the quotation stems from the *Apocalypse of Elijah* (*Matthew*, 5.18). Other scholars have suggested the *Testament of Jacob*, but these suggestions go in the wrong direction. These Jewish sources quoted Paul and not vice versa (H. F. D. Sparks, "1 Kor. 2:9 A Quotation from the Coptic Testament of Jacob?" *ZNW* 67 [1976]: 269-76). For discussions on the source of the quotation and bibliography therein see K. Berger, "Zur Diskussion über die Herkunft von 1 Kor. 2:9," *NTS* 24 (1978): 270-83; Otfried Hofius, "Das Zitat I Kor 2:9 und das koptische Testament des Jakob," *ZNW* 66 (1975): 140-42; Eckard von Nordheim, "Das Zitat des Paulus in 1 Kor. 2:9 und seine Beziehung zum koptischen Testament Jakobs," *ZNW* 65 (1974): 112-20; Sparks, "1 Kor. 2:9 A Quotation from the Coptic Testament of Jacob?"; Michael Stone and John Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah Parts 1-2* (SBLTT 18; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979). Many of these discussions are built upon elaborate schemas within Jewish literature (esp. Berger, "Diskussion," 280).
- 93 This phrase is used eighteen times in the Pauline corpus (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 Cor 8:15; 9:9 [see Mark 1:2; 9:13; 14:21; Luke 2:23; Acts 7:42; 15:15]). Without exception, this formula refers to the canonical OT.
- 94 E.g., Hervé Ponsot, "D'Isaïa LXIV, 3 à I Corinthiens II,9," *RB* 90 (1983): 229-42; Williams, *The Wisdom of the Wise*, 164-72; Sparks, "1 Kor. 2:9 A Quotation from the Coptic Testament of Jacob?," 76; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 103, says, "It is more likely that Paul loosely quotes from the LXX version of Isa. 64:3 ... Paul may be thinking of it in a loose association with elements of a medley of other passages (Job 28:12-28; Isa. 48:6; 52:15; 65:17; Jer. 3:16; Sir. 1:10)"; cf. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 251-52.

On the surface, Isa 64:4 seems to contradict Paul's argument in 1 Cor 2:9. Heil even perceives this problem when he says: "LXX Isa 64:3 is actually referring to what we *have heard and seen*—God and the works of God, whereas 1 Cor 2:9 is referring to what *has never been humanly seen or heard*"⁹⁵ (emphasis mine). Only after examining the context of Isa 64:4, will we be able to test whether or not Heil is correct.

4.10.1.1. Context of Isa 64:4

Isaiah 64:4⁹⁶ is positioned within a communal lament⁹⁷ (63:7-64:12), presented by the prophet on behalf of the community.⁹⁸ The prophet "remembers" one of the most detailed accounts of the exodus in Isaiah (63:8-14). The lament uniquely includes the "angel of his presence" (Isa 63:9), a theme often found in the midst of Israel's stubbornness (see Exod 23:20-33; 33:12-16). The prophet mentions God's care of Israel through the image of a bird (Isa 63:9 [Exod 19:4; Deut 32:10-12]; cf. Isa

95 John Paul Heil, *The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians* (SBLStBl 15; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 53-54; cf. Charles Hodge, *An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 38; Christopher Tuckett, "Paul and Jesus Tradition: The Evidence of 1 Corinthians 2:9 and Gospel of Thomas" in *Paul and the Corinthians: Studies on a Community in Conflict* (ed. Trevor J. Burke and J. Keith Elliott; NovTSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 57-58.

96 Isaiah 63:5-64:12 appears in what some scholars consider as Third Isaiah which is considered to be much later than First Isaiah. These scholars see the *Sitz im Leben* of this passage in a post-exilic environment (540-400 B.C.). One's opinion of the composition of Isaiah depends on one's outlook on the nature of OT theology and prophecy in general. But we are concerned with Paul's use of Isa 64; a late or early dating makes little interpretative difference (see John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 40-66* [NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 616-17 for a discussion of this particular passage engaging critical scholarship).

97 The form of this text is considered by most to be a communal lament, exhibiting key features of that particular form. See R. J. Clifford, "Narrative and Lament in Isaiah 63:7-64:11," in *To Touch the Text* (ed. Maurya Horgan and Paul Kobelski; New York: Crossroad, 1989), 93; John Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (WBC 25; Waco, Tex.: Word, 1987), 328, Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 603; Brevard Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: WJKP, 2001), 522, for agreement on genre. There are at least two types of laments: individual and communal (Tremper Longman, "Lament," in *Cracking Old Testament Codes* [ed. D. Sandy and Ronald Giese; Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1995], 198). Some of the more common communal laments are 1 Kgs 8:22-53, Ps 77, and Neh 9:5-39 (see also Pss 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 85, 89). Most of these communal laments discuss past events and how they relate to the present; the exodus account obviously receives the most discussion (e.g., Pss. 44:2-9; 74:12-17; 77:12-21; 106 [see Clifford, "Narrative," 94]). Clifford also claims that Isaiah 63-64 emphasizes God's presence abiding with his people (63:9-11, 14) and God again "coming down" (64:1; 65:15 ["Narrative," 95-98]).

98 For a general discussion of this lament see G. J. Botterweck, "Sehnsucht nach dem Heil," *BibLeb* 6, (1965): 280-85.

40:11; 46:4), while v. 10 recalls the people's rebellion and God's just response (Exod 32:4, 9, 30; Num 14:22-35; Deut 1:26-27, 43; 4:3).⁹⁹ The prophet also rehearses God's "glorious arm" in Isa 63:12 (Exod 6:6). The dividing of the water (Isa 63:12 [Exod 14:21]) and people receiving "rest" (Isa 63:14 [Josh 21:44; 23:1]) emphasizing God's loyalty and provision.

In 63:15, the lament breaks from the historical recollection and the prophet pleads with Yahweh that he would once again dwell with his people. He cries out to Yahweh asking him to act mightily: "Look down from heaven, and see from your holy and glorious habitation; where are your zeal and your mighty deeds?" The prophet asks for God's mercy, because the people are numb, hardened by Yahweh himself: "Why, O Lord, do you cause us to stray from your ways, and harden our heart from fearing you?" (63:17.)

Not once but twice the prophet begs for God's salvation, for in Isa 64:1 (63:19 MT) the prophet asks that God would once again descend upon his people and repeat his revelation at Sinai.¹⁰⁰ The next few verses strongly allude to the Sinaitic theophany: "come down" (64:1 [Exod 19:18]); "mountains might quake" (64:1 [Exod 19:18]); "as fire kindles...as fire causes water to boil" (64:2 [Exod 19:16, 18]); "mountains quaked at your presence" (64:3 [Exod 19:18]).

Isaiah 64:4 grounds the previous verse: "For from old they have not heard nor perceived by ear." To put it another way, God displayed his character and uniqueness through the exodus and Sinai events, because he was able to be "seen" and "heard." The remainder of ch. 64 (64:5-12) continues with the initial problem of God's apparent disregard for Israel's well-being.

4.10.1.2. Isaiah 64:4

Verse 4 (MT v. 3) begins with the prepositional phrase מֵעוֹלָם, referring to the exodus account. It recalls several Isaianic texts that allude to the Exodus event, particularly 63:11: "Then his people remembered *the days of old* [מֵעוֹלָם], of Moses. Where is he who brought them up out of the

99 Pinpointing rebellion to which the prophet alludes is difficult, but it may appeal to Israel's general rebellion in the wilderness wanderings.

100 Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 65-66* (AB 19b; New York: Doubleday, 2003), 264, repeats this thought: "The pleading therefore is for action in the present—a request that the Sinai theophany, with its all-consuming fire and earthquake shaking the mountains, be repeated" (see Childs, *Isaiah*, 525). According to GKC §151e, the particle אֵין found in 64:1 expresses a wish.

sea with the shepherds of his flock?" (cf. 46:9; 51:9-10; 63:16.) This phrase, therefore, squarely places 64:4 in the exodus account.

The next cluster of verbs ought to be grouped together: שָׁמַע, ¹⁰¹ הִשְׁמַע, ¹⁰² רָאָה. ¹⁰³ The first two verbs (שָׁמַע, הִשְׁמַע) are virtually synonymous, explaining the LXX's translation of them by the single verb ἡκούσαμεν. All three of these verbs express Israel's perception of Yahweh during the exodus, specifically Sinai.

Isaiah 64:4 emphasizes Yahweh's unique standing among other deities, and should be understood in light of several idolatry polemics in Isaiah (e.g., 48:5-11). Yahweh alone possesses the ability to redeem a people group for himself, cutting a covenant with them at Sinai. But 64:4 is a bit difficult because of the negatives, so it can be better understood if restated: "From of old, Israel has only witnessed Yahweh who acts on behalf of the faithful." Israel has never observed any other de-

101 The Hebrew Bible often uses שָׁמַע in different contexts, so a complete analysis is not possible; however, some pertinent uses shed light on Isa 64:4. Deuteronomy 4 emphasizes the sensory perception when Moses recalls Sinai (Deuteronomy uses שָׁמַע significantly more than any other book in the Pentateuch [see K. T. Aitken, "שָׁמַע," *NIDOTTE* 4:175-81].

And you came near and stood at the foot of the mountain ... Then the Lord spoke to you from the midst of the fire; you *heard* [שָׁמַעַתֶּם] the sound of words ... a voice ... Has *any* people *heard* [הִשְׁמַעַתֶּם] the voice of God speaking from the midst of the fire, as you have *heard* [שָׁמַעְתֶּם] it, and survived? Or has a god tried to go and take for himself a nation ... by trials, by *signs* [מִטּוֹתָיו] and *wonders* [מִפְלְאוֹתָיו] ... as the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your *eyes* [לְעֵינֶיךָ]? To you it was shown that you might know that the Lord, he is God; there is no other besides him. (Deut 4:11-12, 33-36; cf. 5:22-27)

This passage fits very well in the context of Isa 64:4 and could possibly be in mind. All three elements of 64:4 are found here: hearing, seeing, and God's unique status among the other deities.

102 The verb אָזַן appears forty-one times in the OT and is commonly found in the imperative mood (Exod 15:26; Num 23:18; Deut 1:45). Frequently, OT authors use אָזַן as a command for God to "give ear" to a petitioner (Pss 5:1; 39:12; 55:1) or for an individual or nation to obey (2 Chr 24:19; Neh 9:30). The Prophets employ this verb eleven times, while it occurs eight times in Isaiah. (Isaiah also employs אָזַן as a synonym of שָׁמַע and קָשַׁב: אָזַן שָׁמַע וְקָשַׁב הִשְׁמַע וְהִשְׁמַע [1:2, see 1:10; 28:23; 32:9; 42:23; 51:4]).

103 In several texts, as it is here, רָאָה is accompanied by עֵין, emphasizing the "personal nature of the visual experience" (H. F. Fuhs, "רָאָה," *TDOT* 13:208-42, 215); see Gen 27:1; 1 Sam 3:2). Fuhs, "רָאָה," 216, notes that when authors list רָאָה and שָׁמַע together, a complete sensory experience takes place (Deut 29:3; Isa 6:9; Jer 5:21; Prov 20:12; Eccl 1:8; cf. Gen 42:1; 1 Sam 19:3). Furthermore, the verb רָאָה "denotes the entire spectrum of situations in which human beings experience or encounter God...In this sense *ra'a* is complementary to *gala* ... God emerges from the concealment of divinity" (Fuhs, "רָאָה," 229).

ity acting in such a unique and covenantal way (hence the immediate context of the Sinai allusion).¹⁰⁴

Although Israel observed God acting mightily during the exodus and at Sinai, she was unable to perceive the true spiritual reality of this God. As we shall see, several texts support this thesis. The word אֱלֹהִים¹⁰⁵ is a title only used in 64:4 within the lament (relatively unnoticed by commentators).¹⁰⁶ Throughout the entire lament, Yahweh's covenant with Israel is overtly mentioned (63:8, 16), so why the shift from יהוה (a covenantal name) to אֱלֹהִים (general title)? In the exodus, Yahweh displayed his power by defeating Pharaoh and the false Egyptian deities, revealing the one true God. Israel became well aware of Yahweh's unique power, for they had never witnessed anything of such magnitude. Hence, the verse "From of old they have not heard nor perceived ... a God [אֱלֹהִים] besides you." This verse speaks of Israel's general perception in the exodus of God's *uniqueness among other contemporary deities*.

Isaiah 64:3 and 64:4 must be interpreted together, an approach not commonly employed in this discussion. 64:3 (MT 64:2) reads, "When you did awesome things which *we did not expect* [לֹא נִקְוָה], you came down, the mountains quaked at your presence." Typically, commentators and translations claim that נִקְוָה refers to God's extraordinary acts of kindness. For example, the NLT reads, "you did things beyond our highest expectations." Although this view is quite common, several pieces of evidence militate against this interpretation. The notion of "expecting" or "waiting," particularly in Isaiah, refers to the disposition of the *righteous*.¹⁰⁷ For example, Isa 25:9 says, "Behold, this is our God for whom we have waited that he might save us. This is the Lord for whom we have waited; let us rejoice and be glad in his salvation." And Isa 40:31 claims, "Yet those who wait for the Lord will gain new strength; they will mount up with wings like eagles." Therefore, Israel did not "wait" or hope in God;¹⁰⁸ she rebelled against

104 The unique standing is furthered with the preposition וְיָלֵךְ used four times in Isaiah all referring to Yahweh's position before other gods (26:13; 45:5; 45:21).

105 It is not clear if אֱלֹהִים is the object of the first two verbs (שָׁמַע, אָזַן) or the object of רָאָה (see Jan Koole, *Isaiah Volume 3: Isaiah Chapters 56-66*, [3 vols.; Leuven: Peeters], 3:389). But whatever the case, there is no interpretative difference.

106 The appellation יהוה is used nine times in the lament.

107 In Isa 8:17-18a, Isaiah and his family are portrayed as the righteous remnant: "And I will wait for the Lord who is hiding his face from the house of Jacob; I will even look eagerly for him. Behold, I and the children whom the Lord has given me are for signs and wonders in Israel." Similarly in 26:7-8, we read, "The way of the righteous is smooth; ... We have waited for you eagerly" (cf. Gen 49:18; Pss 25:3, 5, 21; 27:14; 37:9, 34; 37:9, 34; 39:7; 40:1; 52:9; 69:6; 130:5; Prov 20:22; Isa 33:2; 49:23; 51:5; 59:9, 11; 60:9; Jer 13:16; 14:22; Lam 3:25; Hos 12:6; Mic 5:7).

did not “wait” or hope in God;¹⁰⁸ she rebelled against God throughout the exodus.¹⁰⁹ Koole likewise comments on this verse, “The congregation acknowledges (v. 2) that it does not meet this requirement [waiting on Yahweh] of the covenant.”¹¹⁰

This line of interpretation would explain two textual anomalies. The LXX largely differs from the MT by omitting the phrase “which we did not expect” (לֹא זָכָה), and¹¹¹ 1QIsa^a reverses the MT by removing לֹא.¹¹² The upshot is that these translations avoid the hardening of Israel, thus, resolving the apparent contradiction in 64:4.

But why was Israel not anticipating these “awesome things”? In the exodus, Israel was hardened; her rebellious behavior prevented perception. Therefore, Israel was not anticipating God’s miraculous power, for Isa 63 explicitly mentions the hardened state of Israel during the wilderness wanderings: “they rebelled and grieved his Holy Spirit; therefore he [Yahweh] turned himself to become their enemy, he fought

108 As Koole so aptly puts it, “She [Israel] confesses that she has strayed too far and been too obstinate (63:17a) to keep on expecting that God will help” (*Isaiah III*, 3:388).

109 The verb זָכָה is a piel imperfect, which can give the impression that the prophet is not reflecting on a past event but present or future salvation. This is even supported in 64:1 with the optatives “O that you would rend the heavens” (לֹא־תִקְרַעַת שָׁמַיִם יְרֵדָה); Joseph Alexander, *Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* [2 vols; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] 2:430). However, 64:3-4 shifts into the indicative past tense: “When you did awesome things which we did not expect, you came down [יָרַדָה], the mountains quaked [זָלוּ] at your presence. For from days of old they have not heard [שָׁמְעוּ] or perceived by ear [הִקְשִׁינוּ], nor has the eye seen [רָאָה] a God besides you, who acts in behalf of the one who waits for him.” Moreover, the imperfect זָכָה must be interpreted in light of the infinitive construct בָּעֲשׂוֹתָהּ. Grammatically, when an imperfect is preceded by a temporal indicator, it is not uncommon for the imperfect to refer to past action (so Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* [trans. T. Muraoka; 2 vols.; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1991], §113h; Waltke and O’Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, §31.6.3).

110 *Isaiah III*, 390.

111

MT Isa 64:2	LXX Isa 64:2
בַּעֲשׂוֹתָהּ נִדְרָאוֹת לֹא זָכָה יִרְדֹּת מִפְּנֵי הַרִים זָלוּ	ὅταν ποιῇς τὰ ἑνδοξα τρόμος λήμψεται ἀπὸ σοῦ ὄρη

Symmachus and Theodotion do contain: φοβερα α ου προσεδοκωμεν κατεβησαν.

112

MT 64:2	1QIsa ^a LI, 17
בַּעֲשׂוֹתָהּ נִדְרָאוֹת לֹא זָכָה יִרְדֹּת מִפְּנֵי הַרִים זָלוּ	בעשותה נדראות נקה ירדת מפניכ הרים זלו

against them" (v. 10; cf. Exod 32:4, 9, 30; Num 14:22-35; Deut 1:26-27, 43; 4:3).¹¹³

Along with Israel's general perception of God but lack of spiritual insight, Ps 106—highly reminiscent of the lament in Isa 63-64—illuminates Isa 64:4: "Our fathers in Egypt did *not understand* [לֹא־הִשְׁכִּילוּ] your wonders ... but rebelled by the sea" (Ps 106:7; cf. Deut 4:9).¹¹⁴ Deuteronomy 29:2-4 also affirms this identical notion: "And Moses summoned all Israel and said to them, 'You have seen all that the Lord did before your eyes in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh and all his servants and all his land; the great trials which your eyes have seen, those great signs and wonders. Yet to this day the Lord has not given you a heart to know, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear'" (italics mine). These passages affirm Israel's perception of God's mighty deeds yet without understanding.¹¹⁵ Israel clearly comprehended Yahweh's unique status but was calloused toward God's plans.

In sum, our interpretation of Isa 64:4 reveals that Israel was in a hardened state, she could only perceive God's unique status during the exodus and Sinai episodes *but did not truly understand God's actions*.¹¹⁶ Sensory language in Isa 64:4 underscores Israel's purely superficial perception and her obduracy of a future exodus.¹¹⁷

113 According to the Exodus narrative, even before the dividing of the Sea of Reeds (Exod 14:11-12) or while in the wilderness of Sin (16:2-3) and at Rephidim (17:2-3), Israel did not expect Yahweh to intervene. Had they expected God's "awesome things," they would not have constantly grumbled and doubted. Perhaps, awesome things should be understood as those events such as the dividing of the Sea of Reeds, feeding of quail, manna, water at Rephidim, and defeat of Amalek?

114 Cf. Isa 42:18-20: "Hear, you deaf! And look, you blind, that you may see. Who is blind but my servant, or so deaf as my messenger whom I send? Who is so blind as he that is at peace with me, or so blind as the servant of the Lord? You have seen many things, but you do not observe them; your ears are open, but none hears." Though God has dealt graciously with Israel throughout her history, she remains blind and calloused. Not only was God's mercy overlooked, but also Israel did not even know when God was punishing her (42:24-25)! Yahweh thus condemns Israel for not perceiving his prodigious deeds.

115 Cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (trans. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 318.

116 Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 169-71, interprets this passage as humanity's (including Israel's) inability to discern God's redemptive plan. He therefore stresses that God's plan is "hidden" from Israel: "Isa. 64:3 [64:4] and its broader context finally testify to the inability of all humanity to perceive the divine plan of salvation" (170).

117 This language is highly reminiscent of several significant Isaiah texts that are probably in view. Some texts use organ language to emphasize obedience/disobedience (Isa 1:10; 28:23; 30:9, 21), and others use this language in the context of Yahweh "listening" to one's prayer (Isa 37:17; 59:1-2; see Ps 130:2). But the senses are often found in the context of perceiving redemptive history or lack thereof. Fuhs, "רָאָה," 232, comments on the importance of sensory language: "the apprehension of Yahweh's mighty acts in history require open and comprehending eyes." The MT lists

4.10.1.3. First Corinthians 2:9

The quotation in 2:9 poses several difficulties: 1) the logic of vv. 6-10 appears convoluted; 2) the grammar of v. 9 is awkward; and 3) there has yet to be a consensus on the source of the quotation. Why would Paul use Isa 64:4, if indeed, that is the quotation? Although all of these questions deserve much attention, we will focus on the last.

A key adaptation of the quotation is the pronoun ἃ. This pronoun is found in lines 1 and line 4 (if ἃ is the correct variant)¹¹⁸ and governed by the verb ἡτοίμασεν, placing lines 1-3 as the object of that verb (see the four lines below).¹¹⁹ Fee rightly notes that line 4 receives the emphasis of the quotation¹²⁰ and summarizes as follows: "We speak God's wisdom, salvation through Christ crucified, which none of the rulers of this age understood; but even as it is written: What no one could see, hear, or understand about God's ways, [we understand]¹²¹ the things God has prepared for those who love him."¹²²

three perception verbs: שָׁעַר, הִשְׁמַע, and הִרְאֶה in Isa 64:4. These verbs are part of a formulaic expression common to the book of Isaiah and other Old Testament writings. The sensory-perception language in Isaiah probably stems from the programmatic call in ch 6. G. K. Beale "Isaiah vi 9-13: A Retributive Taunt Against Idolatry," *VT* 41 (1991): 257-78, argues that obduracy is a result of idolatry (cf. Isa 1:29-30; Pss 115:8; 135:19). It is no coincidence that throughout Isaiah this language is often found with idolatry. See also Craig Evans, *To See and Not Perceive* (JSOT 64; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989), 42-51, for a good treatment of Isa 6:9-10 in its Isaianic and Jewish context. Isaiah 48 plays an important role in the discussion of Israel's obduracy. The chapter begins with Yahweh declaring to Israel the "former things," yet Israel remained calloused because of her blatant idolatry: "I declared them [the former things] to you long ago, before they took place...lest you should say, 'My idol has done them'" (48:5). Yahweh claims that only he can orchestrate and control events over against the impotent idols. Israel is then described in verse four: "I know that you are obstinate, and your neck is an iron sinew, and your forehead bronze." Yahweh furthers his appraisal of the rebellious nation in verse eight: "You have not heard, you have not known. Even from long ago your ear has not been open, because I knew that you would deal very treacherously; and you have been called a rebel from birth." This passage links Israel's calloused perception of God, because of their rebellion "from birth." In conclusion, Isa 64:4 is part of a thematic development of organ language within Isaiah. The language of seeing and hearing is not arbitrary but highly developed. As I have noted above, perception language is used in the context of determining God's redemptive plan (see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972], 85-101, for a general discussion of this theme in the OT).

118 The relative ἃ is replaced by ὅσα in several mss: P¹¹ A B C; but the more supported and difficult reading is ἃ. A shift to ὅσα alleviates the difficulty with the object and verb. See Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 249-50, for this reading.

119 Contra NIV and NLT (see Fee, *First Epistle*, 108).

120 Fee, *First Epistle*, 108.

121 The disjunctive ἀλλά causes numerous problems in the logic of 6-10, and Bo Frid "The Enigmatic ΑΑΑΑ in 1 Corinthians 2.9," *NTS* 31 (1985): 603-11, offers the most

ἃ ὀφθαλμός οὐκ εἶδεν
 καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν
 καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη,
 ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν [ἐγνώκαμεν].

The sensory language is *negative*.¹²³ The force of the Isaianic quotation is what the senses have not perceived. The eye has *not* seen those things which God has prepared; the ear has *not* heard; the heart has *not* understood. Whereas lines 1-3 are applied to the rulers in verses 6 and 8, the last line is applied to those endowed with the Spirit.¹²⁴

Furthermore, it is possible that Paul may have been influenced partly by the LXX. The LXX uses one hearing verb (ἤκούσαμεν) for the MT's two (שָׁמַעַתְּ and שָׁמַעְתָּ) and changes the subject from third plural to first plural. In contrast to the LXX, on the other hand, the noun ὀφθαλμός is retained but singular, while οὖς is added as the subject of ἤκουσεν, both in line with the MT. Paul also omits the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος, veering from both the LXX and the MT (perhaps he does not want to confuse the notion of ages in vv. 6-8).

But why does Paul excise the main point of Isa 64:4—Israel's perception of Yahweh's uniqueness? It seems that Paul is *primarily concerned with the connection between sensory language and redemptive history; he is not arguing for God's unique standing that was perceived by Israel's superficial eyes and ears*. Since Paul is concerned with the relationship between organs and God's acts, he includes the ambiguous phrase ἐπὶ

comprehensive analysis of this disjunctive in his article dedicated solely to this problem. See Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 248-250, for a few more options (see also Fee, *First Epistle*, 107, n40). It is possible that the ἄλλα opposes the clause, ἦν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐγνώκεν, in verse 7 (C. F. G. Heinrici, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896], 97). Yet it can also contrast the negative in v. 6 between the wisdom of this age with apocalyptic wisdom in v. 7 (Weiss, *Der erste Brief*, 57-58) or it can govern the verb λαλοῦμεν (Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 97). More likely, following Frid, there is an implicit clause at the end of v. 9 "ἐγνώκαμεν" ("Enigmatic," 607). The ellipsed ἐγνώκαμεν solves the logical dilemma of the relationship between vv. 8 and 9. The thrust of the contrast is not between the two wisdoms (v. 6; Weiss, *Der erste Brief*, 57-58) but the failure of the rulers to grasp God's wisdom in the cross (lines 1-3) with the believers' perception of God's salvation in the crucifixion (line 4). "What no one could see, hear, or understand about God's ways, [we understand], *however* [ἄλλα], the things God has prepared for those who love him." This interpretation affirms the negative force of the Isa 64:4 quotation, while maintaining the believers' ability to understand God's redemptive activity.

122 Fee, *First Epistle*, 108.

123 Contra Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 97 (cf. Leon Morris, *1 Corinthians*, [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 56).

124 Fee, *First Epistle*, 107.

καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη. As was discussed, eyes, ears, and heart are commonly associated with one another, so that Paul's addition is not an unnatural one.

Many see Isa 65:17 or even Jer 3:16 as the background to ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη in 1 Cor 2:9.¹²⁵ There are two problems with this analysis: 1) the combination of ἀναβαίνειν and καρδία occurs seven times in the LXX (representing a well-known Hebraism);¹²⁶ and 2) heart is commonly found with eyes and ears. Line 3 is *part of* lines 1-2. They cannot be separated. To say that eye and ear are negative but heart is positive splits the verse in two; taking all three senses together is more natural and theologically coherent.¹²⁷

Paul provides one example of his sensory-organ hermeneutics in Rom 11:8: "just as it is written, 'God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes to see not and ears to hear not, down to this very day.'" Here the Apostle quotes Deut 29:4¹²⁸ and Isa 29:10.¹²⁹ But Paul's modification of Deut 29:4 is often overlooked; he *leaves out* heart but *includes* eyes and ears. I cite this example to show that Paul understands the relationship between the senses, for he freely adapts them to fit the context. There-

125 Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 164-72, draws a strong connection between Isa 64:4 and 65:17, because they are often related in Jewish thought (see *L.A.B.* 26:13). He also sees the prepositional phrase ἐπὶ καρδίαν as unique in the book of Isaiah. This suggestion does not take seriously the hardened state of Israel found in Isa 63-64. Williams sees Isa 64:4 and 65:17 as "complementing each other" because Isa 64 looks back and 65 anticipates. He views the organ language through new creational lenses, while I see hardening. The positive aspect of line 4 motivates him in this direction. While I do agree that the last line is positive, it does not necessitate line 3 originating from Isa 65:17. Commentators often see 1 Cor 2:9 (ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη) alluding to the phrase from Isa 65:17 (οὐ μὴ ἐπέλθῃ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν [כִּלְכִּיל הַלֵּב שֶׁל]; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 73), but this is unlikely. Contextually and logically, 65:16 and 65:17 do not coincide with 64:4 and 1 Cor 2:9. Verses 65:16-17 speak of the "former troubles" or "former things" not "coming to mind" in light of the new creational environment. But these verses differ from Isa 64:4. They prophesy of a time when the heart *will not recollect the past*; but 64:4 and 1 Cor. 2:9 express the notion that the senses *cannot understand the past*.

126 2 Kgs 12:5; Isa 65:16; Jer 3:16; 28:50; 39:35; 51:21; Ezek 38:10.

127 Cf. Crawford Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), 171 and D. M. Turpie, *The O.T. in the New* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1868), 224, who understand heart to be included for emphasis.

128 The LXX reflecting the MT includes the concept of heart: οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι, but Paul only quotes the other senses of Deut 29:4: ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν.

129 The LXX of Isa 29:10 reads, πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανύξεως, while Rom. 8:11a says, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως.

fore, Paul *adds* καρδία in 1 Cor 2 to heighten the rulers' calloused state.¹³⁰

The last line of the quotation ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν is difficult to ascertain. This clause may be a loose translation of ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον in Isa 64:4 or an allusion to Deut 7:9 or Neh 1:5 (cf. Deut 5:10; Sir 1:10; Sol 6:6; 14:1), underscoring the proper relationship before God.¹³¹ Though some of these texts bear some linguistic semblance, it is too difficult to determine any allusion. In my opinion, Paul saw the last line of the quotation from Isa 64:4 and filled it with a well-known expression of "loving God" (cf. Rom 8:28; 1 Cor 8:3).¹³²

The notion of God "preparing" (ἡτοίμασεν) can be eschatological in nature—either for judgment or restoration.¹³³ God has prepared the crucifixion for those who love him. Those who experience the presence of the Spirit and are part of the new age currently understand the significance of the prepared crucifixion.

The first three lines of the quotation are contrasted with line four.¹³⁴ The rulers did not perceive, but Spirit-filled believers are able to understand "depths of God" (2:7, 10). The mystery, i.e., the divine wisdom of the cross, can be perceived by true believers. This is precisely what verses 10-16 suggest. The hardened rulers are contrasted with Spirit-filled believers.

4.10.1.4. Hermeneutical Use of Isa 64:4 in 1 Cor 2:9

The hermeneutical use of Isa 64:4 in 1 Cor 2:9 should be considered as a case of typology. The historical emphasis of the lament in Isa 63-64 strengthens this view. Furthermore, Isa 64:4 is retrospect: "For from of old they have not heard." This typological interpretation would understand the quotation as follows: Israel's very limited and superficial understanding of God in the first exodus is a type of Israel's calloused

130 Paul aligns Deut 29 with Isa 29, precisely because of their obdurate language. These two prominent passages have already been discussed in this essay as background to Isa 64:4. Thus, it is possible that Paul has these texts in mind in 1 Cor 2:9.

131 Deuteronomy 7:9 reads, καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου οὗτος θεὸς πιστὸς ὁ φυλάσσων διαθήκην καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ εἰς χιλίας γενεάς.

132 Fee, *First Epistle*, 108.

133 Cf. Matt 20:23, 25:34, 41, Mark 10:40, John 14:2-3, Heb 11:16, Rev 12:6, 19:7, and 21:2.

134 The portion taken from Isa 64:4 (lines 1-3) is negative. Paul may have taken the positive portion of Isa 64:4 (ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον) and adapted it for his use in 1 Cor 2:9, but this interpretation does not counter the negative fulfillment of lines 1-3.

perception in the second exodus. At the very least, an analogical relationship exists between the first exodus and Israel's response at the second exodus; this implies that the "rulers" in 1 Cor 2:8 represent callous Israel¹³⁵ in 64:4a, and Spirit-filled believers in 1 Cor 2:9b-16 are identified with true Israel in Isa 64:4b.

4.10.1.5. Sensory-Organ Language and Mystery

In the previous chapter, we have detected sensory-organ language in conjunction with the term mystery, so there is no need to rehearse it again in detail.¹³⁶ In the DSS, this link becomes explicit. For example, we read in 1QH^a V, 19-20: "In the mysteries of your insight [you] have apportioned all these things, to make your glory known. [However, what is] the spirit of flesh to understand all these matters and to have insight in [your wondrous] and great counsel?" Similarly, a few columns later in 1QH^a IX, 21: "These things I know through your knowl-

135 Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 232-39, lists four options concerning the identity of the "rulers of this age" in v. 8: 1) demonic powers (Collins, *First Corinthians*, 129; Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 53-57; Clinton Arnold, *Powers of Darkness: Principalities and Powers in Paul's Letters* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1992], 100-4); 2) human rulers (A. Wesley Carr, "The Rulers of This Age — 1 Cor ii:6-8," *NTS* 23 [1976]: 20-35; Fee, *First Epistle*, 104; Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 44); 3) angelic custodians of human rulers, thus including human and demonic powers (Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time* [trans. Floyd V. Filson; Philedelphia: Westminster Press, 1949], 191-210; George B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], 1-11, 82-84); 4) "sociopolitical powers in a structural collectivity" (Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 238-39). A detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this project, so we will examine this problem only in brief. Significant to this debate is not necessarily a word study on "rulers" (though obviously such a study is still important) rather a glance at its modifier τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. In 2 Cor 4:4, we read, "In whose case the *god of this world* [ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου] has blinded the minds of the unbelieving, that they might not see the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ." Here the idea of an inimical ruler connected to the world structure is in view (cf. 1 Cor 7:31; Eph 6:12). Ephesians 2:1-2 likewise addresses this issue: "You were dead in your transgressions and sins, in which you used to live when you followed *the ways of this world* [κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου] and of *the ruler of the kingdom of the air* [κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος], the spirit who is now at work in those who are disobedient" (NIV). To live according to "this age" is to be in step or agreement with demonic forces. In addition, there is still something to be said for the position that the term "rulers" (ἄρχοντες) designates human leaders. The evidence for this claim is strong as well. For example, Acts 3:17 says, "And now, brethren, I know that you acted in ignorance, just as your *rulers* [οἱ ἄρχοντες] did also." Therefore, in light of the aforementioned points, when Paul uses the phrase "rulers of this age," he is describing not merely human leaders (Acts 3:17) but also demonic forces that stand behind such rulers (cf. Deut 4:19; 32:8 [LXX]; Dan 10:13, 20).

136 See appendix B, for additional discussion of this relationship.

edge, for you opened my ears to wondrous mysteries although I am a creature of clay."¹³⁷

In addition to the evidence from Qumran, the Synoptics portray a similar picture. In Matthew 13:11 (par. Mark 4; Luke 8), Jesus relates to the disciples that the "mysteries of the kingdom" have been revealed to them. Then, in v. 13, we discover why the "outsiders" are unable to perceive the mystery: "while seeing they do not see, and while hearing they do not hear, nor do they understand."

Therefore, Paul is not original in his appropriation of sensory language in 1 Cor 2:9; already within Second Temple Judaism, there existed a tradition that wedded sensory organs and apocalyptic wisdom. This may help explain why Paul drew from Isa 64:4—a text that is part of a larger corpus of similar OT sensory texts—and linked it to the notion of mystery.

4.10.1.6. Conclusion on the Use of Isa 64:4 in 1 Cor 2:9

Though many have doubted the origin of the quotation and its use in 1 Cor 2:9, a thorough analysis of the original context fits well within Paul's thought. Sensory language is frequently used with perceiving redemptive events and revelation.¹³⁸ Paul is contrasting the rulers' lacking perception of God's redemptive plan with the insight of the Spirit-filled believer. As a result of their hardened condition, they crucified Jesus. But since Paul and the Corinthians have Spirit-enabled senses, *they can understand the redemptive event of the cross*. The perfect (τέλειος; 2:6) and the spiritual (πνευματικός; 2:15) individuals are those who have eyes to see and a heart that can comprehend the apocalyptic revelation of the cross.¹³⁹

137 Cf. 1Q26 1+2 5; 1QS XI, 3-6; 1QH^a XXII, 7-12; 1QH^a XV, 10; 1Q35 1 I, 14; 4Q266 2 I, 5-7; 4Q266 2 II, 2-15; 4Q299 8 6-8; 4Q303 1; 4Q372 3 3; 4Q416 2 I, 5; 4Q416 2 III, 17-18; 4Q417 1 I, 10-11; 4Q417 2 I, 2-25; 4Q418 2 II, 3; 4Q418 9 14-15; 4Q418 10 1-2; 4Q418 43, 44, 45 I, 1-10; 4Q423 3+4 5; 4Q423 5 1; 4Q424 3 3-5; 4Q427 2 II, 12-13; 4Q428 7 6-7; 4Q436 1 I, 5-6; 4Q444 1 3-4; 4Q511 18 II, 8; 4Q511 48, 49+51 1-5; 4Q511 63-64 III, 1-3; MMT 52-57.

138 Another way of looking at this is in Carson's helpful articulation that there are two tiers of revelation in 1 Cor 1-2: the public event of the crucifixion; and the work of the Spirit in the believer to understand such revelatory things ("Mystery and Fulfillment," 418). This distinction is helpful, for it rightly takes into account the nature of the revelatory event, i.e., the cross, and the ability (or inability) to grasp the revelation.

139 It is this OT and Jewish conception of the eyes, ears, and heart that may have shaped Paul's understanding of the related terms τέλειος and πνευματικός (cf. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 158-59; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 42; B. Rigaux, "Révéla-

In addition, there exists an almost organic connection between μυστήριον and sensory perception. Though this relationship is implied in the OT, it becomes explicit at Qumran and the NT, particularly the Synoptics.¹⁴⁰ One commentator has made this connection in Mark¹⁴¹ but, none, as far as I am aware, has done so in 1 Cor 2:9.

4.11. Wisdom and Mystery in 1 Cor 1-2

Paul's use of mystery in 1 Cor 1-2 appears, *prima facie*, simply as God's salvation in Christ. Some scholars even subscribe to this interpretation.¹⁴² For example, Bockmuehl concludes, "What Paul has in view is *more* than strictly the *theologia crucis* (or even than 'the event of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ'). At issue is, rather, the whole gamut of the believer's eschatological inheritance—i.e., as it were the wider *implications* of the work of God in Christ" (*italics original*).¹⁴³ In contrast to other uses of μυστήριον, this particular use is more difficult to define and articulate. In 1 Cor 15:51 and Romans 11:25, μυστήριον tends to be more forthright (e.g., "I tell you a mystery; we shall not sleep, but we shall all be changed" [1 Cor 15:51]; cf. Eph 3:4-6). But in 1 Cor 1-2, the apocalyptic term is likened to a scattered mosaic; one has to assemble all the different pieces, taking into account the contours and coloring, the different shapes and sizes. Once all the pieces are joined together, it is necessary to back away and examine the picture that emerges.

Our first indicator is the relationship between the word μυστήριον and the σοφία of 1 Cor 1-2. Starting from 2:7 and working backwards, we perceive that the mystery constitutes the wisdom of God. In 2:7, Paul states, "But we speak God's *wisdom*, which is hidden in a mys-

tion," 237-61; Scroggs, "ΣΟΦΟΣ and ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ," 37-40, who locate the background for these terms in the OT and Second Temple Judaism).

140 See Appendix B.

141 Marcus, "Mark 4:10-12," 561-63.

142 E.g., Coppens understands the mystery in 2:7 to be the "totality of gifts given to Christians" (2:10). This interpretation of μυστήριον completely disassociates wisdom and mystery in 2:7 and hangs completely on the implicit "them" in 2:10, which does not refer to 1:5 but to the "things" in 2:9 ("Mystery," 145)).

143 Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 162; cf. B. Rigaux, "Révélation," 254.

tery." It appears as though the divine wisdom that Paul has been discussing throughout chs. 1-2 can be labeled as a "mystery" (1 Cor 1:21, 24, 30; 2:6).¹⁴⁴

As we repeatedly have seen in apocalyptic contexts, the technical term *μυστήριον* refers to the revelation of God's divine wisdom to individuals (e.g., Dan 2:20-23; 1QS XI, 5-6; 4Q300 1 II, 1-4; 4Q417 2 I, 6-13).¹⁴⁵ In fact, divine wisdom in 1 Cor 1-2 is virtually synonymous with mystery. Brown is right to declare, "It may be suggested that if here he [Paul] did not use *mystêrion* alone, as he would later, it was because the combination of wisdom and mystery was so traditional."¹⁴⁶

Though this identification with wisdom sets us on the right path, an articulate definition of mystery still is wanting; we first must define this divine wisdom in the immediate context of 1 Cor 1-2. Paul's discussion of wisdom is highly polemical, setting up God's wisdom *vis à vis* the wisdom of man; and in 1:17-18, we see this contrast:

For Christ did not send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel, not in cleverness of speech [ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου], that the cross of Christ [ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ] should be made void. For the word of the cross [ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ] is to those who are perishing foolishness [μωρία], but to us who are being saved it is the power of God.

Paul clearly juxtaposes human wisdom with the historical event of the cross. Though the "word of the cross" is "foolishness" to unbelievers,¹⁴⁷ it is the "power of God" to believers (1:18). The cross is the *means* by which God abolishes man's futile wisdom (1:19; [Isa 29:14]). Then in 1:21-23 Paul juxtaposes "Christ crucified" (Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον)

144 Brown even asserts, "'the mystery of God' [2:1] is almost interchangeable with 'the wisdom of God' in 1:24" (*Semitic Background*, 41). As far as I am aware, Deden has the most thorough discussion of the relationship between mystery and wisdom in Paul. After examining all the occurrences of *σοφία* in Paul, he finds three categorical uses: 1) It is a divine attribute, concealed for all eternity by God, divine providence in the natural order and above all in the order of salvation; 2) It is the concrete revelation of this distant and hidden wisdom, and it is enveloped in Christ; 3) Christians participate in the same wisdom of God ("Le 'Mystère' paulinien," 413).

145 Mystery and wisdom are used elsewhere: "In all wisdom and insight he made known to us the mystery of his will" (Eph 1:7-8); "to bring to light what is the administration of the mystery which for ages has been hidden in God who created all things; so that the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known" (Eph 3:9-10); "a true knowledge of God's mystery, *that is*, Christ *himself*, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom" (Col 2:2-3; italics original).

146 *Semitic Background*, 41.

147 This theme is also reiterated in 1:21 ("For since in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom did not *come to* know God, God was well-pleased through the foolishness of the message preached to save those who believe" [italics original]) and 1:27 ("but God has chosen the foolish things of the world to shame the wise, and God has chosen the weak things of the world to shame the things which are strong").

and the “stumbling block,” with the Jews seeking after “signs” and the Gentiles after “wisdom.”

After laying the foundation that the cross of Christ is God’s wisdom (1:17-31), Paul then applies this *theologia crucis* to his own ministry: “And when I came to you, ... I determined to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified” (2:1-2). His message was not characterized by rhetoric but content (2:4). That the Corinthians may place their faith in the “power of God” (δυνάμει θεοῦ), i.e., the cross (1:18; 24; 2:4) is the purpose of Paul’s proclamation (2:5).¹⁴⁸ This Christ-crucified wisdom is only for believers (τοῖς τελείοις [2:6; see 2:10-13]) and not for the “rulers of this age” (τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος). In 1:30, Christ is clearly identified with both wisdom and redemption that most certainly implies the cross: “Christ Jesus, who became to us *wisdom* [σοφία] from God, and *righteousness* [δικαιοσύνη] and *sanctification* [ἀγιασμός], and *redemption* [ἀπολύτρωσις].”

Furthermore, in 2:1, Paul proclaims the “mystery of God,” which is grounded by v. 2: “For [γὰρ] I determined to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and *him crucified* [τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον].” In other words, Paul arrived at Corinth proclaiming the mystery, i.e., the cross. Finally, after designating this wisdom as a μυστήριον in verse 7, Paul further elaborates on this wisdom in 8a; the verse explicates why the rulers did not comprehend the wisdom of the cross. From within this explanation of wisdom, we have the basis for their actions: “For [γὰρ] if they [the rulers] had understood it, they would not *have crucified* [ἐσταύρωσαν] the Lord of glory.” Paul’s logic is this: If the rulers had known that the crucifixion was God’s plan, they would not have nailed the Messiah to the cross. These rulers simply were not aware of God’s wisdom, namely, the crucifixion (2:9). Again, note the close association between God’s wisdom and the crucifixion.¹⁴⁹ Since the wisdom of the cross constitutes the mystery, we will analyze several facets that make up the complexity of Paul’s thought. This will provide us with well-rounded understanding of God’s wisdom in the crucifixion.

148 Paul clearly identifies the “power of God” with the “word of the cross” in 1:18: ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν.

149 See Sandnes for further discussion on the nature of wisdom and the crucifixion (*One of the Prophets*, 83-84).

4.11.1. Lord of Glory

Now that we have concluded that the crucifixion is the *μυστήριον* in 2:7, we are in a position to push deeper into its significance. The *raisons d'être* of mystery is to signal that something has been hidden but is now revealed. But how is the cross a mystery, for Paul claims that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures" (15:3)? Scholars have answered this differently. Some commentators argue that the term refers to God's general *Heilsplan* in Christ with the cross as its focal point. But it seems that Paul gives us a few clues in the immediate passage that points to the mystery as having a specific theological concept.

An immediate tip is found in 2:8b: "for if they [the rulers] had understood it [wisdom in a mystery], they would not have crucified the *Lord of glory* [τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης]." The combination of κύριος and the crucifixion is unique in Paul. Nearly every time that Paul mentions the cross, he uses the title Χριστός or Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹⁵⁰ The only exception is found in Gal 6:14: "in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). Furthermore, not only is the title "Lord" peculiar, but so is its modifier τῆς δόξης. This title, τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης, is used nowhere else in the NT or in the LXX.¹⁵¹

This title is, however, found throughout 1 *En*.¹⁵² In 22:14, Enoch, after receiving a vision, venerates God: "At that moment I blessed the *Lord of Glory* [τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης] and I said, 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness *who rules forever* [κυριεύων τοῦ αἰῶνος].'" A

150 E.g., 1 Cor 1:17, 23; 2:2; 2 Cor 13:4; Gal 3:1; 6:12; Phil 2:8; 3:18; Col 1:20; 2:14.

151 James 2:1 does, however, come close to κύριος τῆς δόξης in 1 Cor 2:8: "do not hold your faith in *our glorious Lord Jesus Christ* [τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης] with an attitude of personal favoritism."

152 Several commentators suggest that behind the title "Lord of glory" lies an Enochic background. See Barrett, *First Epistle*, 72; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 246; Carey C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology* (NovTSupp 69; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 237; Stuhlmacher, "Hermeneutical Significance," 337; Lang, *Die Briefe*, 44; Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 83; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 16; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament* (SNTMS 21; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1973), 118. Kim makes a strong case that Paul did not take over the title Lord of glory from an apocalyptic tradition; rather, he invented the phrase, stemming from his Damascus road encounter (*Origin*, 79-80). Kim notes that the words "glory" and "light" are used to describe this revelatory encounter (Acts 9:4-9; 22:6, 11; 26:13; 2 Cor 3:18; 4:4-6). Such an explanation fits well in the immediate context and Pauline thought as a whole. Nevertheless, it seems more probable that Paul is alluding to either an Enochic text or another similar apocalyptic theme, because the immediate context is riddled with apocalyptic terms and motifs. The expression Lord of glory appears to be titular, which further recalls a well-known expression. Even if Kim is correct, my overall point remains the same—the expression Lord of glory communicates regality and supreme power.

few chapters later, Uriel relates to Enoch the particularities of the judgment of the wicked and the righteous: "There will be upon them the spectacle of the righteous judgment, ... The merciful will bless the *Lord of Glory* [τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης], the *Eternal King* [τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ αἰῶνος]" (27:3). Enoch responds to this insight and praises God: "At that moment, I blessed the *Lord of Glory* [τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης] and gave him the praise that befits his glory" (27:5).¹⁵³

The title, Lord of glory, in 1 *En.* is representative of the *Merkabah* tradition in Jewish apocalypticism. This field, particularly the *Merkabah*, and its relationship with the NT have been thoroughly plowed in recent years.¹⁵⁴ For our purposes, we simply need to note that Paul, in 1 Cor 2:8, taps into an apocalyptic tradition with his use of the title Lord of glory. Therefore, by labeling Christ as the apocalyptic Lord of Glory, the Apostle is, in effect, *designating Christ as the exalted, preeminent, and the supreme ruler.*¹⁵⁵

153 In the Similitudes, this title is again used. But note its connection with the throne room scene and the revelation of mysteries: "I saw them [the multitude] standing ... I came to know their names [four faces], which the angel who came with me revealed to me; and he (also) showed me all the hidden things. (Then) I heard the voices of those four faces while they were saying praises before the Lord of Glory" (40:2-4). This same theme is also found in 63:2-4 though not in the *Merkabah*: "Blessed is the Lord of the Spirits—the Lord of kings, the Lord of rulers ... the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom. Your powers expose every secret thing from generation to generation and your glory is forever and ever. Deep are your mysteries—and numberless."

154 E.g., Kim, *Origin*, 100-36; Steven Wilkinson, "Paul and His Relationship to the Apocalyptic Tradition. An Assessment of a Neglected Dimension: His Revelatory Experience" (Ph.D. diss, Fuller Theological Seminary, 2001); Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*, 157-47.

155 Such high Christology in 2:8 can also be traced throughout 1 Cor 1:2-9. The introductory section of the epistle includes this theme of lordship: "to the church of God ... who in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, their Lord and ours (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ. αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν)" (1:2; see 1:3-4, 6). Then in 1:7-10, Paul repeatedly uses this same label, the Lord Jesus Christ:

awaiting eagerly the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ [τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ], who shall confirm you ... blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ [τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ {Χριστοῦ}]. ... fellowship with his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν]. ... by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ [τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ].

Through these titles, Paul is almost certainly painting an exalted Christ who will return and consummately rule over all things.

4.11.2. The Messiah

In verses 1:17 and following, we perceive a slight shift, for the title κύριος is not used until 2:8. The Apostle transitions from “Lord Jesus Christ” (1:2-9) to “Christ crucified.” The names Χριστός and Ἰησοῦς are exclusively attached to the crucifixion in 1:17, 23, 30, and 2:2. It is possible that Paul uses these titles for stylistic reasons, but that is unlikely. Since the μυστήριον is the crucifixion of the *Messiah*, Paul is very careful how he nuances this relationship. Paul states in 1:17, “Christ [Χριστός] did not send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel, not in cleverness of speech, that *the cross of Christ* [ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ] should not be made void.” And again in 1:23, “we preach *Christ crucified* [Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον].” Finally, this is reaffirmed in 2:2, “I determined to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and *him crucified* [τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον].” Paul emphasizes the Messianic nature of Jesus in direct correlation to his death on the cross.

4.11.3. Power

Along with the exalted nature of the Messiah, the notion of power is repeated in chs. 1-2 and connected to the cross in 1:18: “For the word of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the *power of God* [δύναμις θεοῦ].” A few verses later this theme is repeated in v. 24: “Christ crucified, to Jews a stumbling block and to Gentiles foolishness, but to those who are the called, ... Christ the *power of God* [θεοῦ δύναμιν]” (cf. 2:4). A few scholars suggest that power in this context is a reference to Dan 2:20, 23.¹⁵⁶ Power, according to Dan 2:20, 23, 37, is the removal and establishment of kings (Dan 2:21, 36-45). This is further illustrated in 2:44-45, where a kingdom, “which will never be destroyed,” eclipses the fourth kingdom.

4.11.4. Cross of Suffering

That Christ is the exalted Lord of glory is only half the mystery. The other side of the coin is the crucifixion. We already have noted the prominence of the cross in chs. 1-2 (1:17-18, 22-25; 2:1-2, 8). For the

156 Beale, *John's Use*, 252; Hübner, *Vetus*, 2:230 (see above). Daniel 2:20, 23: “Let the name of God be blessed forever and ever, for wisdom and power (μεγαλωσύνη [OG]) belong to him. ... To you, O God of my fathers, I give thanks and praise, for you have given me wisdom and power (δύναμιν [Theol]).”

Jews, the cross is a “stumbling block” (σκάνδαλον) and “foolishness” to the Gentiles (1:23). Fee notes, “One may have a Messiah, or one may have a crucifixion; but one may not have both—at least not from the perspective of a merely human understanding. *Messiah* meant power, splendor, triumph; *crucifixion* meant weakness, humiliation, defeat.”¹⁵⁷ Fortunately, we do not need to spend much time developing this thought, because the Jewish and Greco-Roman perspectives on the cross are apparent.¹⁵⁸ In the first century, the cross was the symbol of rejection and cursing. Deuteronomy 21:23 is a passage associated with the cross in the first century¹⁵⁹ and quoted by Paul in Gal 3:11 in reference to Christ. Deuteronomy 21:23 states, “If a man has committed a sin worthy of death, and he is put to death, and you hang him on a tree, ... (for he who is hanged is accursed of God).” The cross symbolizes utter rejection by God, the epitome of shame.

4.11.5. Conclusion: A Crucified King

The cumulative effect of the aforementioned points is striking. We noted the prominence of the titles, Lord Jesus Christ, the Messiah or Christ crucified,¹⁶⁰ the Lord of glory, and the notion of power. By combining our investigation into these regal notions and the scandal of the cross, we arrive at the μυστήριον in 1 Cor 2. The mystery is the exalted, kingly Messiah affixed to the cross.¹⁶¹ But it is still more than

157 Fee, *First Epistle*, 75.

158 See M. Hengel, *Crucifixion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); Joseph Fitzmyer, “Crucifixion in Ancient Palestine, Qumran Literature, and the New Testament” in *To Advance the Gospel* (ed. Joseph A. Fitzmyer; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 125-46; idem, “Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999): 2:607-9.

159 See 4QpNah (4Q169) 3 + 4 4-9; 11QT^a (11Q19) LXIV, 6-13.

160 Elliz comments on this verse, “It [Christ crucified] refers primarily to the exalted Lord who, in his exaltation, remains the crucified one” (*Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 73).

161 For those who understand that the μυστήριον generally constitutes the suffering Messiah, see Fee, *First Epistle*, 105; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 95; Richard Hays, *First Corinthians* (IPC; Louisville: John Knox, 1997), 43-44; Schrage, *Der erste Brief*, 1:250; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 71. Bornkamm, “μυστήριον,” 819; Brown, *Semitic Use*, 41; Carson, “Mystery,” 417; C. Brown, “μυστήριον,” *NIDNTT* 3:504; H. Krämer, “μυστήριον,” *EDNT* 2:448; Michael Wolter, “Verborgene Weisheit und Heil für die Heiden: Zur Traditionsgeschichte und Intention des »Revelationsschemas«,” *ZTK* 84 (1987): 304; O’Brien, “mystery,” 622; Robertson and Plummer, *1 Corinthians*, 39; Frederik Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 64; Betz, “Der gekreuzigte Christus,” 209-10; Weder, *Das Kreuz Jesu*, 168-71; Ackerman, *Lo! I Tell You a Mystery*, 38-75; Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic*, 296; K. Prümm, “Zur Phänomenologie,” 149; Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 83-

that: While Jesus is suffering a shameful death on the cross, he is simultaneously the supreme ruler. Therefore, the *μυστήριον* in 2:1, 8 is the Messiah, Lord of glory reigning while he is defeated and accursed. Kim states in a footnote this same line of thought:

The cross is the ground of boasting for the Christian because it is the cross of the Lord, ... who has triumphed over the world and its rulers precisely on that cross. ... The cross which is a sign of defeat and shame, foolishness and scandal for those who are perishing in the world, is a sign of triumph and boasting, wisdom and glory for those who are called (*italics original*).¹⁶²

Worldly wisdom could not conceive that the Messiah could be crucified, much less be seen as a glorious ruler while being defeated.¹⁶³

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- 84; Carson, "Mystery and Fulfillment," 416; G. Finkenrath, "secret," *NIDNTT* 3:504; Ferdinand Hahn, *Studien zum Neuen Testament* (2 vols.; WUNT 192; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 2: 449; Johnson, "Turning the World Upside Down," 293; Ladd, *New Testament Theology*, 421-23; Gerhard Sellin, "Das »Geheimnis« der Weisheit und das Rätsel der »Christuspartei« (zu 1 Kor 1-4)," *ZNW* 73 (1982): 83; Prümm, "Mystères," 191, 195; Thomas Söding, "Das Geheimnis Gottes im Kreuz Jesu (1 Kor): Die paulinische Christologie im Spannungsfeld von Mythos und Kerygma," *BZ* 38 (1994): 174-94; Hans von Soden, "ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ und *sacramentum*," 192; Christian Wolff, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (THKNT 7; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsgesellschaft, 2000), 55; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 39. We have already noted that Bockmuehl contends that the "mystery" is not Paul's *theologia crucis* but the believer's future inheritance (*Revelation and Mystery*, 162; cf. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, 130). He claims that v. 9c ("all that God has prepared for those who love him") supports this view (163-64). But, as we have seen, the antecedent of "all" (ὅ) in 9c refers back to the "things" (ἅ) in 9a, which, in turn, recall the theme of the wisdom of the cross in vv. 7-8. Thus, it is the wisdom of the cross that God has "prepared" and not the believer's "future inheritance."
- 162 Kim, *Origin*, 80-81. Penna also rightly declares, "la sapienza divina, prima nascosta, si rivela proprio ora non solo genericamente in Gesù Cristo quanto piuttosto e più precisamente in lui *crocifisso*" (Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino*, 58; *italics original*). Beale also comes close to this definition though he does not make use of the title "Lord of glory" in his discussion: "nowhere is there the notion that the Messiah would rule *powerfully in the midst of his death, as Jesus did*" (*John's Use*, 252; *italics original*). He also suggests that the use of *μυστήριον* in the NT, almost always, carries with it "unexpected fulfillment" (*John's Use*, 220). Here in 1 Cor 1-2 this definition is helpful because it explains why the death of the Messiah (especially a crucified Messiah!), although somewhat anticipated in the OT (Isa 52-53; Dan 9:26; Zech 12:10), was not fully recognized by the majority of Israelites, especially, the "rulers of this age." More precisely, the manner in which the Messiah would reign was hidden (2:7), and only those who have "eyes to see" (cf. 2:9) are capable of recognizing God's work through Christ. Whether or not the notion of "unexpected fulfillment" is inherent within mystery in the NT, particularly, 1 Corinthians, will be tested throughout this study.
- 163 The theme of power and victory in the midst of suffering—the mystery of the cross—is central to Paul's theology and apostolic ministry. In a very real sense, Paul performed the mystery of the cross. Though the concept of suffering and power re-

4.12. Mystery and Unity at Corinth

As we have previously suggested, the dominant problem at Corinth was church unity. In a detailed and comprehensive study, Margaret Mitchell avers that the *entirety* of 1 Corinthians is a piece of deliberative rhetoric whereby Paul persuades the Corinthians to be of one mind (1:10).¹⁶⁴ Whereas Mitchell focuses on the lack of unity, two other studies have examined the content of Paul's advice and how it remedies the problem. Raymond Pickett in *The Cross in Corinth: The Social Significance of the Death of Jesus*¹⁶⁵ contends that Paul's theology of the cross was intended to confront the Corinthian elite and their adherents by reversing their Greco-Roman manner of life. He claims, "By disclosing the divine wisdom and power in the cross of Christ and choosing the weak and the foolish of the world, God has undermined all grounds of human boasting, especially the secular values which were the basis of the Corinthians' arrogance."¹⁶⁶

Using Austin's speech act theory, Alexandra Brown refines the nature of Paul's wisdom, namely, the apocalyptic wisdom of the cross, and determines that apocalyptic wisdom *transforms* individuals to live by a set of certain ethical standards.¹⁶⁷ "The resolution of the multiple problems in Corinth depends on the apocalyptic, performative power of Paul's Word of the cross to promote perceptual transformation in

ferring to Paul's ministry is indeed found in 1 Corinthians (see 4:8-13), 2 Corinthians highlights this notion more pointedly than any other epistle. Paul attempts to justify his apostolic status by embracing and performing the cross, unlike his opponents at Corinth (see Scott J. Hafemann, *Suffering and Ministry in the Spirit* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], esp. 35-83). Only true apostles conduct themselves in accordance with the wisdom of the cross. For example, in 4:10-11 we read, "always carrying about in the body the dying of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus also may be manifested in our body. For we who live are constantly being delivered over to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus also may be manifested in our mortal flesh." Second Corinthians 12:9-10 likewise says,

And he has said to me, "My grace is sufficient for you, for power is perfected in weakness." Most gladly, therefore, I will rather boast about my weaknesses, so that the power of Christ may dwell in me. Therefore I am well content with weaknesses, with insults, with distresses, with persecutions, with difficulties, for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then I am strong (cf. 1:5; 6:4-10; 11:21-33; 13:3-4).

164 Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 65-183.

165 Raymond Pickett, *The Cross in Corinth: The Social Significance of the Death of Jesus* (JSNTSup 143; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997).

166 Ibid., 74.

167 Brown, *Cross and Human Transformation*, 65-169.

and reconciliation among all its members.”¹⁶⁸ The upshot of these studies is that Paul perceives an ethical problem—factional behavior—at Corinth and instructs the church to live in light of God’s wisdom, i.e., the mystery of the cross. Simply put, apocalyptic wisdom is the answer to Corinth’s factional problems.

Therefore, Paul commands the Corinthians to be of one mind and live in light of the apocalyptic mystery. Prümm anticipates this conclusion when he states that mystery guarantees the “transformation of the Christian life” (*die Durchformung des christlichen Lebens*).¹⁶⁹ This helps explain why Paul utilizes the notion of mystery at such a critical juncture in his epistle to the Corinthians and why he employs the term six times.

4.13. Polemical Nature of Mystery in 1 Cor 1-2

Many look for an Isaianic background for Paul’s polemic and rightly so—the quotation of Isa 29:14 warrants such attempts.¹⁷⁰ But we are interested in Paul’s use of *μυστήριον* in this regard. Why does Paul go out of his way to saturate 1 Cor 1-2 with apocalyptic features in the midst of his polemic? To put the question another way: Why does Paul respond to the “wise” of “this age” with apocalyptic wisdom? Is there something about apocalyptic wisdom that naturally lends itself to this particular function?

The sheer number of references to wisdom in 1 Cor 1-2 is striking. One thing is clear: God’s wisdom is greater than humanity’s. In highly ironic fashion,¹⁷¹ Paul contends that the message of the cross, which appears foolish and weak, annihilates all attempts at boasting, especially, boasting in human wisdom. The polemic begins in 1:18: The cross is foolishness to the wise of “this age,” but salvation to those who believe. The quotation of Isa 29:14 in 1:19—“I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the cleverness of the clever I will set aside”—grounds 1:18a; in other words, the cross is a fulfillment of the Isa 29 reference.¹⁷² The influence of Isa 29:14 in the immediate context suggests a number of thematic links between 1 Cor 1-2 and Isaiah,¹⁷³ most notably, human

168 Ibid., 167.

169 Prümm, “Zur Phänomenologie,” 156.

170 E.g., Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 47-101.

171 Cf. Grindheim, “Wisdom for the Perfect,” 693.

172 Richard Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel’s Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 15; Heil, *Rhetorical Role of Scripture*, 29.

173 Cf. Heil, *Rhetorical Role of Scripture*, 17-36; Williams, *Wisdom of the Wise*, 47-101.

wisdom.¹⁷⁴ In a recent essay, Oropeza traces a polemic between the “wise” and Yahweh in the book of Isaiah, connecting it with 1 Cor 1-2. He concludes, “The Isaianic polemic against the wise would have appealed to Paul in dealing with misguided Corinthian members who boasted about themselves and their leaders as wise and spiritual.”¹⁷⁵ This connection between Isaiah and 1 Cor 1-2 seems apparent, but another connection between the court narratives in Daniel and 1 Cor 1-2 may exist. First, we must briefly rehearse this notion once more.

4.13.1. Apocalyptic Wisdom as a Polemic: OT and Jewish Background

As we have previously discussed, the book of Daniel clearly portrays the Babylonian wise men as foolish and unable to provide insight. They fail in chs. 2 and 4 to provide the interpretation of the king’s dream and in ch. 5 they are unable to decrypt the strange writing on the wall. But where they fail, Daniel succeeds—his wisdom is truly divine.

Although we know little about the provenance of the *Book of Mysteries*, the author(s) apparently applied the Danielic court narratives to their local situation and reinterpreted them accordingly. They labeled their opponents “magicians” and “foolish” because they were unable to interpret the “vision.” Furthermore, the passage rehearses two sets of wisdom: the wisdom of the opponents (“your wisdom”) and implicitly the wisdom of those who are able to understand “visions” and “mysteries.” It would seem at the very least possible that the author(s) envisioned themselves as wise courtiers analogous to Daniel.

Instead of foiling divine and human wisdom, the *Book of Watchers* juxtaposes Enoch’s revelation with the Watchers’ revelation. Nevertheless, the Watchers are still portrayed as analogous to the Babylonian and Egyptian wise men. Unlike the *Book of Mysteries*, however, Gen 41 may also be in mind, for the language does not point directly to the book of Daniel. Whatever the exact reference might be, the point re-

¹⁷⁴ See pgs. 48-49.

¹⁷⁵ B. J. Oropeza, “Echoes of Isaiah in the Rhetoric of Paul: New Exodus, Wisdom, and the Humility of the Cross in Utopian-Apocalyptic Expectations,” in *The Intertexture of Apocalyptic Discourse in the New Testament* (ed. Duane F. Watson; SBLSymS 14; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 99. Cf. Hays, *Conversion of the Imagination*, who also contends, “He [Paul] has imaginatively projected the σοφοί at Corinth into the role of the ‘wise’ and boastful leaders of Israel and Judah who were admonished by the prophetic oracles of Isaiah and Jeremiah” (17).

mains: the Watchers are analogous to the wise men of Babylon and Egypt, whereas Enoch possesses true wisdom and could possibly be analogous to Joseph and Daniel.

The book of Daniel, *Mysteries*, and the *Book of Watchers* all proclaim the superiority of God's wisdom over the wisdom of the world, a wisdom that must be revealed from God and is therefore apocalyptic and able to defeat all forms of human wisdom.

4.13.2. Apocalyptic Wisdom as a Polemic: 1 Cor 1-2

In 2:6-8, Paul discusses two groups: the mature and the rulers of this age. He then proceeds to explain why some understand the apocalyptic wisdom and others do not in 2:9-16. "The rulers of this age," whoever they might be precisely, are identified with the old sinful and idolatrous age. Moreover, the "rulers" are "passing away" (καταργουμένων) or better "perishing" have come under eschatological judgment, because of their role in the crucifixion.¹⁷⁶

We ought to likewise connect the "rulers of this age" with Paul's theological discussion in 1:18-31. If the "rulers of this age" are indeed part of the world's wisdom, which appears likely given the amount of shared vocabulary and thematic correspondence, then the quotation of Isa 29:14 may also refer to the rulers: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise [i.e., 'rulers of this age'], and the cleverness of the clever I will set aside."¹⁷⁷ The "rulers of this age" should also be identified with the "perishing" (1:18), "wise man," (1:20), "world," (1:21), "wisdom of the world," (1:20), "wise" (1:27), "strong" (1:27), and "things that are" (1:28). Therefore, when Paul sets forth the two groups in 2:6-16, he deliberately connects them with his preceding discussion regarding the superiority of God's wisdom. The rulers, who are the embodiment of

176 Scott J. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel: The Letter/Spirit Contrast and the Argument from Scripture in 2 Corinthians 3* (WUNT 81; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), 307, rightly claims,

As the present tense [καταργουμένων] indicates, the rulers of this age still exist, but their influence and wisdom, i.e., their boast (cf. 1 Cor 1:29), is continually being rendered ineffective by Christ. They are not fading away gradually, but have already been decisively defeated by Christ and "nullified" before God (1 Cor. 1:27-29; 2:6), even though their final destruction awaits the coming eschatological judgment in which Christ will "destroy" their very existence (1 Cor. 15:24).

177 Notice a conceptual overlap between 1:19 and 2:6: "ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω"; "τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων."

the “wisdom of the world,” have been defeated by God’s wisdom through the cross.

Returning to the notion of the apocalyptic wisdom polemic, we are now in a position to compare 1 Cor 1-2 and the book of Daniel. As we have seen, the main thrust of the court narratives is God’s superior apocalyptic wisdom. Secondly, the opponents are leaders or professionals that are part of a world system (e.g., Babylon). Thirdly, wisdom in each instance is apocalyptic. God’s superior apocalyptic wisdom defeats the wise of “this age.”

Michael Wolter, in a footnote, makes a similar observation, though, he does not develop his thoughts any further:

Das Genenüber ist hier das gleiche wie in Dan 4,6-9 (Theod.) (vgl. auch 2,27f; 5,11f.14-16; Mt 11,25): Den eigentlich für die Weisheit Zuständigen (den Archonten, 1Kor 2,8; den Weisen Babylons etc.) bleiben Gottes Geheimnisse verborgen, weil ihr Gebiet nur die Weltweisheit ist; allein die Erwählten und mit Gottes Geist Begabten (vgl. Dan 4,8f; 5,11f) haben Einblick in sie.¹⁷⁸

Wolter is on the right track in identifying “das Genenüber” and the “Weisen Babylons” with the polemic in 1 Cor 2 and the “rulers of this age.” Even Thomas Brodie, in an appendix, concludes similarly: “Daniel begins by describing how God gives the faithful Israelites far greater knowledge and understanding than the wise men of the Babylonian empire. Paul rejoices over the wisdom and knowledge of the Corinthians, and then contrasts the wisdom of God with the bankruptcy of the wise men of the world.”¹⁷⁹

Menahem Kister perhaps comes the closest to our own observations but his thoughts are primarily concerned with the *Book of Mysteries*: “We have, then, in our work [*Book of Mysteries*], a conception of wisdom opposed by counter-wisdom, a conception that fits well into a ‘dualistic’ worldview such as that of Qumran. A similar dichotomy between the ‘wisdom of this world’ and the true, hidden wisdom of God eventually finds its most acute expression in Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians (1:22-3:23).”¹⁸⁰

178 “Verborgene Weisheit,” 304n32.

179 Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 596.

180 Kister, *Sapiential Perspectives*, 25. A. Klostergaard Petersen argues for a conceptual overlap between 1 Cor 1-2 and the Book of Mysteries (“Wisdom as Cognition: Creating the Others in the Book of Mysteries,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* [ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: University Press, 2002], 405-32). His work concentrates on the apocalyptic groupings of the two groups—the insiders and the outsiders, i.e., those who grasp revelation and those who are unable—but, unfortunately, misses the polemical nature of both texts.

Furthermore, that 1 Corinthians is conscious of Daniel's narrative is furthered by a number of Danielic allusions in chs. 1-2 (see above). Also, since Paul quotes Isa 29 in 1:19, which is probably a part of the larger Isaianic wisdom polemic, it would seem natural for him to merge this into his discussion of apocalyptic wisdom, for the same Isaianic wisdom polemic is possibly behind or at least related to some parts of Daniel.

In conclusion, if we are correct in detecting allusions to Daniel, specifically, the court narrative, Paul's point could not be clearer: *God's apocalyptic wisdom of the cross, a mystery and hidden to the opponents of God's people, utterly defeats the wisdom of the world and the representative "rulers of this age" who are analogous to the Babylonian wise men—sophistic professionals who embody the wisdom of the world.*

4.14. Overall Conclusion

Paul instructs the factional Corinthians to live according to the ethics of the cross rather than their own wisdom and sophistry. The Corinthians, though Christians, are conducting themselves by the world's standards. God's wisdom is, according to the world's point of view, foolish and reprehensible. Only those who have the Spirit are able to perceive that, despite outer appearances, divine wisdom manifested in the cross is power and salvation. Paul presents two wisdom paradigms: One is divine and manifested in the cross, demanding its followers to live accordingly. The other wisdom embodies all that the world can attain, its hubris, intelligence, and skill. These two wisdoms are, according to Paul, incompatible.

This lengthy passage, 1:18-2:16, provides a wealth of pertinent material that spans the longest discourse on wisdom in the *Hauptbriefe* and one of the longest in the NT. As noted above, we perceived that Paul arrived at Corinth with an apocalyptic persona, delivering to them the apocalyptic wisdom of the cross (2:1), an action implying that Paul came to Corinth with divine authority using mystery as his *modus operandi*.

We determined that Paul arrived at Corinth as an apocalyptic seer, and his message was the *theologia crucis*—the mystery. Since 1:18-2:16 concerns the same topic, Christ's work on the cross is a divine mystery. Paul labels this wisdom a *μυστήριον*, because crosses are meant for the wicked, not the Messiah. Not only was God's wisdom evidenced in the event of the crucifixion of Christ, but also Christ's powerful reign at

that precise moment of defeat, both of which were foolish notions in the world's eyes.

The use of Isa 64:4 in 2:9, though difficult, fits well within the immediate context. The OT context reveals that Israel was prophesied to be unable to comprehend God's mighty deeds in the second exodus. Thus, in the same way, the "rulers of this age" are likewise unable to perceive Christ's work on the cross. The language of hearing, seeing, and understanding is often found in contexts with eschatological mysteries.

Lastly, the mystery of the cross supersedes the wisdom of the world. The polemical theme, as we have seen, is rehearsed in Daniel, Qumran's *Book of Mysteries*, and the *Book of Watchers*, explaining why Paul utilizes apocalyptic wisdom in this particular context. God's superior wisdom defeats all forms of human sophistry and wisdom. The purpose of Paul's polemic is to unify the Corinthians, some of whom were enthralled with worldly wisdom.

Chapter 5

The Use of Mystery in 1 Corinthians 4:1

5.1. Introduction

During the past few decades, many have explored the notions of apocalypticism, revelation, and mystery in the Pauline corpus. In these expeditions, however, one stone appears to be left unturned: Paul's enigmatic phrase "stewards of the mysteries of God." Though commentators discuss the nature of οἰκονόμος, they have failed to integrate it sufficiently with the notion of μυστήριον. These scholars claim that the phrase "stewards of the mysteries of God" simply means that the Apostle is a dispenser of the gospel, while others suggest that Paul is a steward of the mystery but without any articulation on the nature of Paul's relationship to the οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ.

In addition to this deficiency of exploration, the cultural background of 1 Cor 1-4 is vital for a proper discussion of οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ. If Paul is rooted both in a Greco-Roman *and* Semitic context, then apocalyptic allusions in 4:1-5 may be warranted. Several commentators maintain a saturation of Danielic allusions in 1 Cor 1-4. This chapter, therefore, attempts to build upon previous proposals and investigate the possibility that both the phrase οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ and its immediate context ought to be viewed through the lens of Daniel.

5.2. Brief NT Context

Chapters 1-4 primarily address the problems of a divisive leadership and community. Paul confronts the Corinthian elitism stemming from

a skewed view of wisdom and thus delivers the main point of the first two chapters in 1:10b (“you be made complete in the same mind and in the same judgment”). Boasting should not arise from a higher or sophistic wisdom but solely from the crucified Christ (1:31-2:16).

The members of Corinth are fleshly, since these divisions side with one leader over another (3:1-4 [see 1:10-13]). Paul therefore attempts to remedy this situation by furnishing a series of examples for the Corinthians to imitate. Paul applies both agricultural (3:4-9) and architectural (3:10-11) metaphors to himself and Apollos that illustrate the collaboration between two church leaders; just as the field workers received their reward in 3:8, so also builders receive theirs (3:12-15). Summarizing the entire argument from 1:10-2:16, Paul again reiterates the believers’ need to boast only in the cross in 3:18-23 (see 1:17-18, 21, 23; 2:1-2). The leaders—Paul, Apollos, and Cephas—serve the church and not the reverse (3:22 [see 1:12; 3:4]).

After agricultural and architectural metaphors, Paul moves on to the third metaphor of serving the church as “servants of Christ” and “stewards of the mysteries of God” (4:1). Paul’s stewardship of mysteries, like his planting and building activities (3:8, 14-15), incurs a strict judgment (4:3-5). Paul defends his stewardship by emphasizing his sole accountability to the Lord (4:3-5).

Surprisingly, Paul declares that he has been using himself and Apollos as examples all along. He rhetorically employs himself as an example, so that the Corinthians “may learn not to go beyond what is written” (4:6). Paul’s entire purpose in this exercise is to show the Corinthians that they may not play favorites with the leaders—“that none of you may be puffed up in favor of one against another” (4:6). For the remainder of the chapter, Paul contends that his ministry is characterized by the *μυστήριον* of the cross. The Corinthians, on the other hand, are convinced that they “have arrived” (4:7-8), whereas Paul contrasts this arrogance with his own ministry of suffering and self-understanding (4:9-21). Strikingly, it is important to recognize that Paul again connects the problem of worldly wisdom in Corinth (3:18-23) with that of the notion of mystery, which he likely views as crucial to maintaining unity.

5.3. First Corinthians 4:1

The verse begins οὕτως¹ ἡμᾶς² λογιζέσθω ἄνθρωπος³ (“in this manner one ought to regard us” [my trans.]). Thiselton comments, “such a *declarative* counting as signifies an assigned status and role within an institutional context. ... you are counted as servants ... and estate managers, in the context of apostolic ministry” (italics original).⁴ The Corinthians must regard Paul and the other apostles as servants and stewards.

The first phrase, ὑπηρετάς Χριστοῦ,⁵ recollects Paul’s first illustration in 3:5-9: “What then is Apollos? And what is Paul? *Servants* [διδάκονοι] through whom you believed. ... For we are God’s *fellow workers* [συνεργοί]; you are God’s field, God’s building.”⁶ In 3:5-9, both Apollos and Paul labor in the church’s “field” in their service to God. In the same capacity as 3:5-9, the apostles in 4:1 are servants of Christ ministering to the church. The term ὑπηρετής is a common term used throughout the Gospels and Acts (occurring only once in Paul), describing an individual who operates in a servile capacity.⁷

The phrase “servants of Christ” is grammatically parallel to “stewards of the mysteries of God.” These two nouns, οἰκονόμος and

1 I take the οὕτως as correlating with ὥς (see 3:15; 9:26; BDAG, 742; Fee, *First Epistle*, 158-59; Paul Ellingworth and Howard A. Hatton, *A Handbook on Paul’s First Letter to the Corinthians* [UBSHS; 2d ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1994], 87; contra Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, 83). Though 4:1 does not include an inferential οὖν or synonym at the beginning of the verse, the logic of the immediate context permits this implicit inference. Verses 3:21-23 highlight the apostles’ role in serving the church (they belong to the church and not vice versa), thus grounding Paul’s claim as a servant and steward. In other words, because the apostles belong to the church, Paul commands the Corinthians to view them as servants and stewards.

2 The plural ἡμᾶς obviously refers back to 3:22 (Paul, Apollos, and Cephas), but in 4:3-5 Paul switches to the singular and begins to defend his own actions (while keeping the others—Apollos and Cephas—in view; see Fee, *First Corinthians*, 159).

3 The noun ἄνθρωπος should be translated as an indefinite pronoun (cf. Matt 16:26; Rom 3:28; 1 Cor 7:26; 11:28; Gal 2:16; 6:7; Jas 2:24; BDAG, 81).

4 Thiselton, *The First Epistle*, 337.

5 Note the genitive of possession perhaps contrasting 1 Cor 1:12 (“‘I am of Paul’ and ‘I of Apollos’” [εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ]).

6 See also Joop F.M. Smit, “‘What is Apollos? What is Paul?’ In Search for the Coherence of First Corinthians 1:10-4:21,” *NovT* 44 (2002): 238.

7 The stem ὑπηρετ- is used three times in the OT (Prov 14:35; Isa 32:5; Dan 3:46 [OG and Theo]) and six times in the Apocrypha (Wis 6:4; 16:21, 24-25; 19:6; Sir 39:4). The range of uses always includes some aspect of mundane labor. The term occurs twenty-seven times in the NT, and the uses include: 1) guards or officers (Matt 5:27; 26:58; Mark 14:54, 65; Acts 5:22); 2) servants of the “Word” (Luke 1:2; Acts 26:16); 3) attendant (Luke 4:20; Acts 13:5); 4) officials (John 18:3, 12); 5) general servant (John 18:36; Acts 13:36). See also K. H. Rengstorff, “ὑπηρετής, ὑπηρετέω,” *TDNT* 8:530-44.

ὕπηρετης, should not be considered purely synonymous, for οἰκονόμος indicates a specific type of ὕπηρετης.⁸ Most commentators quickly move past the modifying genitive (μυστηρίων)⁹ and proceed to verse two, while those who do acknowledge the genitive μυστηρίων pay only lip service to the distinction. The word οἰκονόμος is common throughout the first century in a variety of contexts. Though multifaceted, the word almost always carries with it a managerial connotation.

In the LXX and Second Temple Judaism,¹⁰ οἰκονόμος is employed in the following contexts: 1) estate or household managers (1 Kgs 4:6; 16:9; 18:3; 2 Kgs 18:18, 37; 19:2; Esth 8:9; Isa 36:3, 22; 37:2; 1 Esd 8:67; *Ant.* 8.164, 308; 9.47; 12.199-200, 205; *Praem.* 113); 2) officers (1 Chr 29:6; *Ant.* 11:138, 272); and 3) miscellaneous managers (Esth 1:81; 1 Esd 4:47, 49). The use of οἰκονόμος is found commonly in inscriptions in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor.¹¹

In accordance with the LXX and Second Temple Judaism, the NT's use of οἰκονόμος also occurs in several managerial contexts: 1) estate

8 The ὕπηρετης serves, while an οἰκονόμος is the one who manages through the capacity of serving.

9 The genitive here should be considered to be a genitive of subordination. The genitive is subordinated to the head noun (e.g., "stewards over the mysteries of God" (Daniel Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 103).

10 In 4 Baruch 7:2, an eagle calls Baruch "the steward of the faith (οἰκονόμος τῆς πίστεως)," for Baruch had taken great care in writing a divinely appointed letter to Jeremiah in captivity. In 9:29-30, Jeremiah, after coming back to life, "delivered all the mysteries [τὰ μυστήρια] that he had seen to Baruch and Abimelech, and he simply stood in the midst of the people, desiring to bring his *stewardship* [τὴν οἰκονομίαν] to an end" (cf. 9:31). Unfortunately, 8:12-9:32 has been Christianized, so it is difficult to determine whether or not this particular passage has been interpolated. Whatever the case may be, we do have a somewhat early hint of mystery and stewardship combined (cf. *T. Jos.* 12.3). The original language of 4 Baruch is probably Semitic (see S.E. Robinson, "4 Baruch: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [vol 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985], 414; Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'ancien Testament* [SVTP; Leiden: Brill, 1970], 70-78), but in the extant Greek texts the identical words (οἰκονόμος, μυστήρια) are used (see Robert A. Kraft and Ann-Elizabeth Purinton, eds., *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* [SBLTT; Missoula, Mont.: University of Montana, 1972]).

11 For a good discussion of οἰκονόμος in Roman inscriptions, see Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1990), 15-17 and Appendix I. Martin concludes (confirming Peter Landvogt, *Epigraphische Untersuchung über den Oikonomos: Ein Beitrag zum hellenistischen Beamtenwesen* [Strasbourg: M. Dumont Schauberg, 1908] that the οἰκονόμος in the Roman Empire was of "servile status (slave or freed)" (*Slavery*, 17). The term therefore has a strong Greco-Roman background, resonating well with the Corinthian community. This conclusion fits well in the immediate context where the phrase stewards of the mysteries parallels servants of Christ.

manager (Luke 12:42; 16:1, 3, 8); 2) city official (Rom 16:23); 3) child guardian (Gal 4:2); 4) steward of a local church body (Titus 1:7); and 5) stewards of God's grace (1 Pet 4:10). By way of summary then, the uses of οἰκονόμος indicate its role as a manager. The οἰκονόμος has been entrusted with a given task (e.g., estate, child guardian, local assembly) and required to perform and complete a specific duty.

After refining the use of οἰκονόμος, we must now proceed to μυστηρίων. The plural genitive μυστηρίων is unfortunately a bit ambiguous, for Paul normally uses the singular μυστήριον in his epistles.¹² The word μυστήρια is used two other times in his epistles, both of which occur in 1 Corinthians (13:2; 14:2). Contextually, the nuance of the genitive is difficult to determine, for unlike other uses of μυστήριον (e.g., 1 Cor 2:1, 7; 15:51-52), the plural μυστήρια is left undefined in the immediate context of 4:1-5. The use of the plural in 13:2 and 14:2 seems to indicate a general use of the term and probably intimates "various eschatological revelations."¹³

Many commentators accurately view Paul's use of μυστήριον in ch. 2:1-16 to be partly behind μυστηρίων in 4:1.¹⁴ This observation does justice to the unity of chs. 1-4 and Paul's emphasis on the crucified Christ in his first two metaphors (3:5-15). Therefore, in 4:1 Paul views himself as a steward over the apocalyptic wisdom of the cross *and* other eschatological revelations.¹⁵

12 Rom 11:25; 16:25; 1 Cor 2:1, 7; 15:51 (cf. Eph 1:9; 3:3, 4, 9; 5:32; 6:19; Col 1:26, 27; 2:2; 4:3; 2 Thess 2:7; 1 Tim 3:9, 16).

13 Cf. Kim, *Origin*, 78.

14 Hays, *First Corinthians*, 65; Carson, "Mystery and Fulfillment", 423; Craig Blomberg, *1 Corinthians* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 88; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 166. Prümm, "Zur Phänomenologie," 139; Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino*, 15; Krämer, μυστήριον, 448; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 336; Schrage, *Der erste Brief*, 321; Deden, "Le 'Mystère' paulinien," 410. Fee argues that Paul is referring to "the revelation," but does not specify what this means (*First Corinthians*, 159; see Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 83). Contra Söding, "Das Geheimnis Gottes im Kreuz Jesu (1 Kor)," 176. Brown, though not explicitly supporting this position, gives an optional interpretation of the μυστήρια. He proposes that this plural noun may reveal Paul's unfixed usage of the term at this point in his career (*Semitic Background*, 44). Though possible, this interpretation should be rejected, for Paul has already labeled the wisdom of the cross τὸ μυστήριον in 2:1-10. Furthermore, in the immediate context of 4:1, Paul is not arguing for the Corinthians to understand the content of the mysteries but that they may properly apprehend Paul's relationship to mysteries.

15 The plural μυστήρια is also found three times in the book of Daniel (2:28, 29, 47) and each time the word occurs, it is explicitly stated that God is the one doing the revealing. For instance, in 2:28 we read, "There is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries [ἀνακαλύπτων μυστήρια {Theo}]." And in 2:29, "He who reveals mysteries [ὁ ἀνακαλύπτων μυστήρια {Theo}] has made known to you what will take place." Finally, Nebuchadnezzar ecstatically declares in 2:47, "Surely your God is ... a revealer

The next verse (4:2) constitutes the main point of 4:1-5. This verse is a progression from the idea in v. 1, further defining Paul's relationship to mystery: "In this case, moreover, it is required of stewards that one be found trustworthy" (ὥδε¹⁶ λοιπὸν ζητεῖται ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις,¹⁷ ἵνα¹⁸ πιστός τις εὑρεθῇ). Verses 3-5 then explicate why Paul is faithful to this task. The clause—"that one may be found faithful"—aligns with our understanding of οἰκονόμος.

What does it mean, however, that Paul, a steward of God's mysteries, is *πιστός*? Unfortunately, most commentators ignore this association. They simply define οἰκονόμος and its connection with *πιστός*, but fail to join *πιστός* with οἰκονόμους *μυστηρίων θεοῦ*. In this context, Paul is not saying that the Corinthians are to regard him and others as mere faithful stewards of the church (though obviously that is important) but *as faithful stewards of God's mysteries*.

So how is Paul a faithful steward of God's mysteries? The adjective *πιστός* is common to Paul and often debated. But in this context we

of mysteries [ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια {Theo}].” This emphasis on God as the source and revealer of mysteries could be why Paul rightfully considers himself to be a steward of the mysteries, for these mysteries only belong to God who has *entrusted* Paul with them (cf. 2 Macc 13:21).

- 16 The adverb ὥδε refers to the topic (stewardship of God's mysteries) and not a local or spatial situation (Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 337). That Paul is concerned with his faithfulness *with reference* to mysteries certainly fits with the awkward phrase ὥδε λοιπὸν at the beginning of v. 2. This phrase connects v. 2 with v. 1. Paul uses ὥδε to keep the reader attuned to the previous verse, for it refers “to a present event, object, or circumstance” (BDAG, 1101 [see Heb 7:8; Rev 13:18]). The circumstance in 4:2, to which ὥδε refers, is οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ. Paul then uses λοιπὸν, which usually means “as far as the rest is concerned” (BDAG, 602) or “in addition” (BDAG, 602). How much is Paul “adding” to v. 1? Some understand Paul to be *solely* developing the conduct of a steward and thus overemphasize λοιπὸν. This overemphasis of λοιπὸν engenders unwarranted discontinuity between vv. 1-2. Fee, for example, believes that Paul develops (λοιπὸν) with his metaphor of stewardship, which means “absolute fidelity to the gospel as he received it and preached it” (*First Epistle*, 160; see Hays, *First Corinthians*, 65-67; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 337-38). Fee's reference to “absolute fidelity to the gospel” is vague and does not sufficiently focus on Paul's stewardship of mysteries. Though the gospel is certainly interwoven in mysteries, it is an oversimplification to label them as gospel without a proper nuance. I therefore tend to view λοιπὸν through the lens of ὥδε, understanding vv. 1-2 as maintaining more continuity in subject matter. Perhaps this translation captures Paul's thought: “Furthermore, in keeping with what I just said concerning our role as stewards of God's mysteries [ὥδε], I would like to add further [λοιπὸν] that stewards are to remain faithful to what they have been entrusted” (cf. Margaret E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament: Linguistic and Exegetical Studies* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962], 27).
- 17 Literally, this clause reads, “it is being sought out with reference to stewards.” But most translations, and rightly so, render it “it is required of stewards” (or a close variation thereof; NASB; ESV; NRSV; ASV; NIV).
- 18 This is not a purpose or telic ἵνα but expegetical (Fee, *First Epistle*, 160).

are able to limit our investigation to the relationship of πιστός with οἰκονόμος.

Significantly, Luke 12 closely associates πιστός and οἰκονόμος.¹⁹ In vv. 41-48 (Matt 24:45-51), Jesus delivers a parable concerning a "faithful steward" (ὁ πιστός οἰκονόμος) whose master has put him "in charge of his servants" (v. 42). The Lucan οἰκονόμος is to take care of his master's slaves by allotting them daily food rations (v. 42). If this οἰκονόμος is faithful to his task, he will therefore be "put in charge of all" the master's possessions (v. 44). A few verses later, Jesus states, "From everyone who has been given *much shall much be required* [πολὺ ζητηθήσεται]" (v. 48). The vocabulary in this passage is very close to that of 1 Cor 4, for the words πιστός, οἰκονόμος and ζητέω likewise appear. According to Luke 12, the "faithful" steward is someone who has been entrusted with specific duties and henceforth *accomplishes this task*.

5.4. Paul's Stewardship—An Apocalyptic Metaphor

To my knowledge, this exact phrase, οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ, is not found anywhere outside of 1 Cor 4:1, whether in the NT, Second Temple Judaism, or Hellenism. Some contend that behind the phrase lies either a Greco-Roman or a Jewish background, while others may even see a bit of both.²⁰ In one of the most articulate discussions of οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ, John Reumann strongly argues for a pre-Christian use of the phrase "stewards of mysteries," placing the mystery religions as its primary background. He concludes that οἰκονόμος "does occur in pre-Christian Greek, associated not only with religious, but specifically with mystery cults."²¹ The accentuation of the Greco-Roman background strikes at the heart of one's perception of Paul and

19 We also have similar vocabulary in Luke 16:1-13, but we lack the specific adjective πιστός applied to οἰκονόμος (although 16:10 does suggest that he was πιστός) and it is difficult to determine how the οἰκονόμος acted shrewdly. The present text, Luke 12:41-48, is much less oblique concerning the nature of a faithful steward.

20 E.g., A. E. Harvey, "The Use of Mystery," 320-36.

21 John Reumann, "'Stewards of God'—Pre-Christian Religious Application of ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ in Greek" *JBL* 77 [1958]: 349. Basing his argument on several fourth to first-century B.C. texts, he contends that οἰκονόμος is used both in a secular and religious setting. The Sarapis and Hermes-Trismegistus societies labeled their cult officials οἰκονόμοι (348-49). Reumann does, however, leave the door open for a possible Semitic background (349), but the Greco-Roman background is the "immediate and most obvious insight into Paul's designation of himself and others as 'stewards of God' and his mysteries" (349). See also Hans Windisch, *Paulus und Christus: Ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (UNT 24; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1934), 221.

Christianity at this point in the first century. Those of the history of religions tradition assume that Paul greatly depends on these pagan cults in 4:1 and that Paul's use of mystery reflects this pagan influence.²² It is quite possible that Paul may have invented this stewardship metaphor without any reference to the OT, Second Temple Judaism, or Mystery Religions. The immediate and surrounding context must therefore be examined to ascertain whether or not Paul consciously alludes to any particular background.

In the past, commentators hesitated to explore the background behind the phrase *οικονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ*, but most now admit that the plural *μυστηρίων* in 4:1 is Semitic (they see Paul's use of mystery in 2:7 behind 4:1).²³ Since recent research contends that the notion of mystery is rooted in Second Temple Judaism, it is possible that the entire phrase *οικονόμος μυστηρίων θεοῦ* is primarily a Semitic metaphor. It is interesting to note that later on, Reumann shifted to a more Semitic usage for the term *οικονόμος* (following the lead of Bornkamm and Brown) and declared that the "mystery-cults tangent has led us in the wrong direction in this case."²⁴ Before examining the metaphor of stewardship, perhaps a look at Paul's other roles in 3:5-15 can elucidate the present discussion.

Paul's office as a steward is similar to his other roles in 3:6-15.²⁵ The first metaphor—Paul as a planter—recalls several OT texts that speak of a "cultivated field" or "vineyard" (*γεώργιον*),²⁶ and probably suggests that Paul views himself as a latter-day servant in God's field. Williams strongly argues for an Isaianic background in 3:6-9 by observing significant parallels between 3:6-9 and Isa 5:1-7. Beale furthers this insight (though not depending on Williams) and contends that the imagery of planting *and* building refers to several other OT and Jewish

22 E.g., Loisy, *Les Mystères païens*; Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions*; von Soden, "ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ und Sacramentum," 188-227.

23 E.g., Fee, *First Corinthians*, 159-60; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 166; Bornkamm, "μυστήριον," 821; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 44-45 (see also below). For the classical Greek usage of the term, see Helmut Krämer, "Zur Wortbedeutung 'Mysteria,'" *WD 6* (1959): 121-25.

24 "ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ-Terms in Paul in Comparison with Lucan *Heilsgeschichte*," *NTS* 13 (1966-67): 161. H. Kuhli, in arguing against Reumann's earlier mystery-cult position, suggests that "1 Cor 4:1 offers no evidence for such a technical use of the word, and the connection lies not in the term *οικονόμος* itself, but only in the thing to be managed, the *μυστήρια θεοῦ*" (italics mine; "*οικονόμος*," *EDNT* 2:498-500).

25 See Smit, "What is Paul?," 238.

26 Genesis 26:14; Prov 6:7; 9:12; 24:5, 30; 31:16; Isa 5:1-7; Sir 27:6 (see Williams, *Wisdom*, 237-55). Williams concludes, "When Isa. 5:1-7 is heard within 1 Cor. 3:6-9, God's active role as worker and owner is stressed. The context of Isa. 5:1-7 emphasizes that God is both owner and worker within the field, which is symbolic for his people" (237-55).

texts about the temple.²⁷ If these OT texts are in mind in these two metaphors (which appears plausible), then it may not be a matter of coincidence that additional OT texts may lie behind Paul's final metaphor concerning stewardship.

If we keep in mind a Danielic background of *μυστηρίον* in 4:1, the clause *πιστός τις εὐρεθῇ* (4:2) may allude to Dan 6:4²⁸:

Dan 6:4 [Theo]	1 Cor 4:2
"They were unable to find any false motive, transgression, or error against him, for he was faithful" (my trans.).	"In this case, moreover, it is required of stewards that one be found trustworthy."
<i>πᾶσαν πρόφασιν καὶ παράπτωμα καὶ ἀμβλάκημα οὐχ εὗρον κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι πιστός ἦν</i>	<i>ὧδε λοιπὸν ζητεῖται ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις, ἵνα πιστός τις εὐρεθῇ.</i>

27 Exodus 31:4; 35:31-32, 35; 1 Kgs 5-6; 2 Chr 3-4; Ps 92:12-15; Ezek 17:5, 7; 1QS VIII, 5; 1QH^a VIII, 4-11; CD I, 7 (cf. G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission* [NSBT 17; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004], 246-52; see also Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 73-75; Blomberg, *1 Corinthians*, 72-76; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 150-51; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 302-11). Beale also sees the presence of Mal 3:1-3 and 4:1 in 3:10-17 (*Temple*, 250-52). These passages read,

Behold, I am going to send my messenger, and he will clear the way before me. And the Lord, whom you seek, will suddenly come to his temple; and the messenger of the covenant, in whom you delight, behold, he is coming, says the Lord of hosts. But who can endure the day of his coming? And who can stand when he appears? For he is like a *refiner's fire* and like fullers' soap. He will sit as a smelter and purifier of *silver*, and he will *purify* the sons of Levi and *refine them like gold and silver*, so that they may present to the Lord offerings in righteousness. For behold, the day is coming, burning like a furnace; and all the arrogant and every evildoer *will be chaff*; and the day that is coming will *set them ablaze*, says the Lord of hosts, so that *it will leave them neither root nor branch*. (italics mine; Mal 3:1-3; 4:1)

Therefore, if this Malachi text and others stand behind 3:5-15, then perhaps other OT texts are behind Paul's third metaphor in 4:1-5.

28 The clause is, however, used a few other places that closely resemble 4:2. 1 Macc 2:52 says, "Was not Abraham *found faithful* [εὐρέθη πιστός] when tested, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness?" (cf. Neh 9:8; Sir 44:20.) This refers to Abraham's trial with Isaac and his faithfulness toward God's promises (see 1 Macc 2:51-64). But while this may be a parallel to 1 Cor 4:2, it seems more probable that Paul is continuing to allude to Daniel throughout 4:1-5. In addition, if we view Daniel as a steward of mysteries (see below), then this allusion is further supported.

Dan 6:4 does not say that Daniel was “found faithful” but that the Persian rulers did not “find” fault with Daniel. Nevertheless, the figure Daniel could be implicitly considered as “found faithful.”²⁹

Furthermore, in Dan 2:45, the interpretation of the dream is called “faithful”: καὶ πιστὴ ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ (Theo; OG [πιστὴ ἡ τούτου κρίσις]). The verb πισ is used only three times in the book of Daniel (2:45; 6:5, 24) and is always translated with the cognate πιστ (the verb πίστευω occurs in 6:24). In 2:45, the mystery is deemed “faithful” (cf. Rev. 22:6), for the message entails eschatological events that have already come to pass during the ministry of Daniel (e.g., 4:28-37; 5:30) and those events which are certain to occur but await final fulfillment. Therefore, in light of the book of Daniel, *both* the message and the messenger are deemed faithful.

Though Paul’s “faithfulness” is analogous to both the figure of Daniel and the Danielic mystery, these connections do not exhaust the significance of a faithful steward in 1 Cor 4:1-5. So returning to our critical question: How is Paul a faithful steward of mysteries? A partial answer may lie in the phrase—“servants of Christ” (ὕπηρέτας Χριστοῦ; 4:1). This is the only appearance of ὑπηρέτης in the Pauline corpus but it should immediately alert the reader to 3:5: “What, after all, is Apollos? And what is Paul? *Servants* [διάκονοι], through whom you believed.” Paul considers himself to be in a mediatory position between God and the Corinthians and may, therefore, regard himself as a Danielic *maskil* or at least functioning in a similar capacity.

Scott Hafemann argues that διάκονος refers not to Paul’s apostolic authority, but his function, namely, the “proclamation of the gospel as the *revelation of God* and the mediation of God’s Spirit” (italics original).³⁰ In light of this observation, Paul, in ch. 2, has clearly outlined a revelation that he has received: “For to us God *revealed* [ἀπεκάλυψεν] them [v. 9] through the Spirit; ... Now we have *received* [ἐλάβομεν], ...

29 Furthermore, there may be a few points of contact between Dan 6:4 and the immediate context of 1 Cor 4:2. Firstly, in Dan 6:4, Daniel is faithful in governing, while in 1 Cor 4:5, Paul is faithful as a field worker, builder, and steward over mysteries. Secondly, the Persian rulers brought an injunction against Daniel, forcing the king to throw him into the lion’s den (Dan 6:12-13). Daniel recognized that he is only accountable to God and not the Persians, which explains his “disregard” for Darius’s command (6:6-13). Similarly, the Corinthians “examine” Paul, who likewise is only answerable to God.

30 Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 111, who also notes that διακ- language that refers to Paul’s ministry of the gospel is found in Rom 11:13, 2 Cor 3:3, 6, 8-9, 4:1, 5:18, 6:3-4, 11:8 (cf. Eph 3:7, Col 1:23, 25, and 1 Tim 1:12). Hafemann goes on to connect Paul’s function as a mediator of the new covenant and Spirit in 2 Cor 3:3-6 (112-13).

the Spirit who is from God" (2:10-12). This revelation is probably the mystery that Paul has just finished discussing in 2:1-9. John N. Collins, in commenting on διάκονος in 3:5, rehearses this point: "To the Corinthians this word [διάκονος] conveys at once that Apollos and Paul belong to a god, that they have been *entrusted* with the god's message, ... the word at 3:5 [διάκονος] ... denotes that kind of messenger who mediates between heaven and earth" (*italics original*).³¹ Thus, in 4:1 we ought to view, to some degree, Paul serving as a mediator of revelation.³²

After mentioning the notion of faithfulness, Paul discusses his "examination" in 4:3-5. Some view these verses as a general reference to Paul's defense of his apostleship.³³ But this interpretation probably does not consider seriously enough vv. 1-2, for Paul's stewardship of mysteries is a sober Danielic role. The gravity of this prophetic office engenders strict judgment.

The beginning of v. 3 states that Paul is not concerned about being "examined" by the Corinthians (ὕψ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ) or by any human court (ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας) for that matter because Paul does not even examine himself (οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω). Paul alludes to the fact that the Corinthians have been examining him,³⁴ and in chs. 1-2, provides a few clues concerning when and how they evaluated him. In 1:17, Paul declares that he was sent out by Christ not to preach the gospel "in cleverness of speech" (ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου). The Apostle is even

31 John N. Collins, *Diakonia: Re-interpreting the Ancient Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1990), 196. Collins concludes that Paul's usage of the word διάκονος is Hellenistic, and that the "non-Christian background helps elucidate his statement" (*Diakonia*, 197). I argue, however, that though it does not have an obvious Semitic origin (see Collins, *Diakonia* 73-194), the word is squarely placed in the context of OT revelatory language, thus coloring and further defining the word.

32 See also Williams, *Wisdom*, 253-54; Carson, "Mystery and Fulfillment," 423; Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 166; Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, 125; Gerhard Dautzenberg, "Botschaft und Bedeutung der urchristlichen Prophetie nach dem ersten Korintherbrief (2:6-16; 12-14)," in *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today* (ed. J. Panagopoulos. NovTSup 45; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 157; Beale, *John's Uls*, 255; D. Deden, "Le 'Mystère' paulinien," 415; Wilkinson, "Paul and His Relationship to the Apocalyptic Tradition," 306-7. Several have significantly developed the notion of Paul receiving revelations (Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*; Wayne Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* [Washington: University Press of America, 1982]; David Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979]. We are unable to articulate this theme because of the brevity of this section. The situation in Corinth is difficult to outline, for Paul does not place much emphasis on his personal revelatory encounters (Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 144; see 2 Cor 12:1-10).

33 E.g., Hays, *First Corinthians*, 65-67.

34 Paul clearly indicates a climate of judgment in 4:5: "Do not go on passing judgment before the time" (ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος).

clearer in 2:1-4: "And when I came to you, brethren, I did not come with superiority of speech or of wisdom, proclaiming to you *the mystery* [τὸ μυστήριον] of God. ... I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling. And my message and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom." Finally, in 2:15 Paul asserts, "He who is spiritual *appraises* [ἀνακρίνει] all things, yet he himself *is appraised* [ἀνακρίνεται] by no man."³⁵ These verses boldly confront a specific issue in the Corinthian church: These members judged Paul because of his lack of persuasion and weak rhetorical delivery. Witherington argues that 4:1-5 "surely refers to judgment of his speech and example as a rhetor."³⁶ Therefore, these Corinthians were examining him while he was proclaiming the μυστήριον of the cross.

In 4:3b-4, Paul extends this examination to himself, which corresponds to the immediate context of stewardship. Only the master is able to judge the steward, for he is answerable to no one but his lord. As an overseer of God's mysteries, Paul is under strict accountability to the Lord for his stewardship.

With vv. 3-4 grounding v. 5, the rhetorical climax of vv. 1-4 is reached in v. 5 with the ὥστε. We could thus render Paul's words as "because the Lord is the judge in my life (4:3-4), *therefore*, stop judging me before 'The Day.'" He then continues in 4:5b with the appearance of the Lord as the Judge and the Revealer. This is part of the general end-time judgment (2 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:2, 23) *though for Paul, and others sharing his prophetic office, the focus is on an end-time judgment concerning how they have conducted their stewardship of mysteries.*

Paul's discussion in 3:10-15 strengthens this view.³⁷ Each time Paul employs an example of himself and Apollos engaging in ministry, he incorporates a specific end-time judgment.³⁸ The Apostle speaks of

35 See also the use of ἀνακρίνω in 9:3.

36 Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 137.

37 Some view 3:8, 14-15 as a general judgment for *all* believers (Blomberg, *1 Corinthians*, 74-82; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 152-153). Though this language is similarly applied to all believers elsewhere in the NT (e.g., 2 Cor 5:10), the immediate context argues against this position. Paul emphasizes church leaders and their responsibility to serve the church (3:23). The Apostle is not using himself and Apollos as congregational examples but exemplar leaders. Conzelmann argues that "we have not the scene of the last judgment, but the process of disclosure" (*1 Corinthians*, 76; see Craig Evans, "How are the Apostles Judged? A Note on 1 Corinthians 3:10-15," *JETS* 27 [1984]: 149-50; Harm W. Hollander, "The Testing by Fire of the Builders' Works: 1 Corinthians 3.10-15," *NTS* 40 [1994]: 89-104). For a thorough discussion of judgment in 4:1-5, see Kent L. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment According to Deeds* (SNTSMS 105; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), 228-33. Though noting a significant OT background, Yinger fails to notice any allusions to Daniel.

38 See Smit, "'What is Paul?'" 238.

field workers and builders receiving wages (μισθὸν λήμψεται; 3:8, 14). God will evaluate the work of each church leader, whether a "field worker" or "builder," at the eschaton. Likewise in 4:5, God appraises Paul's management of mysteries.

This eschatological judgment may explain a possible allusion in v. 5b: "He will bring to light what is hidden in darkness and will expose the motives of men's hearts. At that time each will receive his praise from God." Fee attributes this to "Jewish-heritage" language³⁹ and others suggest that this verse is an apocalyptic quotation,⁴⁰ but this verse may allude to Dan 2:22-23a⁴¹—a text that outlines the nature of

39 Fee, *First Epistle*, 163, cites several references (1 Sam 16:7; 1 Chr 28:9; Ps 139:1, 11-12; Jer 17:10; Matt 6:4, 6, 18; Heb 12-13; Sir 1:30; 2 Bar. 83:3). In addition, several other NT references allude to a similar but *general* end-time judgment (Luke 8:17; Rom 2:16, 29; 8:27; 1 Thess 2:4). For example, Luke 8:17 is closest to 1 Cor 4:5: "For nothing is hidden [κρυπτόν] that shall not become evident [φανερόν], nor anything secret [ἀπόκρυφον] that shall not be known and come to light [φανερόν]." Themes of "hiding" (κρυπτόν) and "disclosing" (φανερόν) liken this text to 1 Cor 4:5. But 1 Cor 4:5 includes additional themes such as light, darkness, and praise separating itself from other NT texts. Moreover, I do not think that 1 Cor 4:5 is completely separate from these judgment texts (e.g., Luke 8:17), but that Paul adapts Dan 2 for an eschatological judgment in 1 Cor 4:1-5.

40 Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 84; Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, 63-64; Erst Synofzik, *Die Gerichts- und Vergeltungsaussagen bei Paulus: Eine traditionsgegeschichte Untersuchung* (GTA 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 191; cf. Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, 61-62.

41 Several Jewish texts do render Dan 2:22 as pertaining to God judging or examining individuals (*Rab. Gen* 1.6; *Rab. Lev* 30.13; *L.A.B.* 22.3; e.g., "I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins (Jer. 17:9)—that is, 'I am He who searches the heart, who tries the reins, and who reveals the secret places.' As Daniel says: God ... revealeth the deep and secret things" [*Midr. Ps.* 14.1]). Thus, God scrutinizing man's heart and the notion of mystery are not disparate but compatible themes. David Kuck admits, "Paul does in fact seem to be the first writer in Jewish-Christian tradition to bring together the conception of final judgment with the motif of divine omniscience or revealing" (*Judgment and Community Conflict* [Leiden: Brill, 1992], 205-6). Paul may indeed be the first Jewish-Christian to fuse these two notions together but they may have already existed in an early Jewish tradition. In his discussion of 1 Cor 14:25 (which he equates with 4:5), Sandnes suggests that Paul, acting as a prophet, "shares God's knowledge of hidden things both in space and time" (*One of the Prophets*, 95). Sandnes then goes on to further comment on 14:25, "insight into the mysteries of time and men's hearts is something reserved for the Divine" (emphasis mine; *One of the Prophets*, 96). Though he is arguing for Paul's knowledge of an unbeliever's "mysteries of the heart," the same theme can also be found in 4:5 (see also Brown, *Semitic Background*, 45, who appears but does not explicitly connect 4:5 with the notion of mystery). Steven Wilkinson also connects 4:1 with 4:5 but does not make any attempt to interpret them together. He does however rightly note that God is judging Paul for his stewardship of mysteries ("Paul and His Relationship," 255). Schrage lists Dan 2:22 as an OT background to the phrase "deep and hidden things," but does not explore this connection (*Der erste Brief*, 325-26; see also Collins, *First Corinthians*, 174 who rightly links 4:5 with "apocalyptic vision" terminology). Further-

the mystery: “He who reveals the profound and hidden things; he knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with him. To you, O God of my fathers, I [Daniel] give thanks and praise.”

1 Cor 4:5	Dan 2:22-23a [Theo] ⁴²
ὃς καὶ φωτίζει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἐκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.	αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύπτει βαθέα καὶ ἀπόκρυφα γινώσκων τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τὸ φῶς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν σοὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου ἐξομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ

The combination of the roots *φως*, *κρυπ*, and *σκότ* only occurs in the LXX [Theo] of Dan 2:22-23.⁴³ The entire paragraph, 2:20-23, is a hymn of thanksgiving that encapsulates the nature of mystery. This passage speaks of God disclosing (*ἀποκαλύπτει*) his wisdom (*ἡ σοφία*) to individuals. Wisdom, according to Dan 2:20-23, comprises “deep” (*βαθέα*) and “hidden things” (*ἀπόκρυφα*). Mystery in Daniel is God’s revelation of this wisdom characterized by God’s eschatological rule. At the end of the hymn in 2:23, Daniel is thankful (*ἐξομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ*) that God has revealed the mystery to him (see Dan 2:19). Ironically, in 1 Cor 4:5, God is not disclosing his wisdom to Paul; rather, God is unveiling the “deep things” of Paul’s heart! The great revealer of mysteries now is laying bare the mysteries of the individual. The Lord brings to light (*φωτίζει*) the “hidden things” (*τὰ κρυπτα*) of “darkness” (*σκότους*) and “divulges” (*φανερώσει*)⁴⁴ the mysteries of Paul’s heart and others.

more, Hollander argues for an OT tradition of God testing man through fire. One of these traditions, he contends, is a “motif that fire cannot touch righteous men, since God stands by them” (“Testing by Fire,” 100). He then adds that Daniel 3 is firmly fixed into this Jewish fiery tradition along with *L.A.B.* 6.16-18, 38.3-4, *Pss. Sol.* 15.4, *Vis. Ezra* 3-10, *T. Iss.* 5:21-25, and *T. Ab.* 13 (91-103). If Dan 3 does indeed lie behind some of these passages and possibly 1 Cor 3:13-15, then Daniel can also be found in 1 Cor 4:5, a parallel of 1 Cor 3:13-15 (note the possible allusion to Dan 3:28 in 1 Cor 13:3 [see Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, 2:287; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 477]). For a complete and thorough analysis of the eschatological judgment in 3:5-4:5, see Kuck, *Judgment and Community*, 150-222.

42 The OG is similar but does not include the root *κρυπ*: *ἀνακαλύπτων* τὰ βαθέα καὶ σκοτεινὰ καὶ γινώσκων τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ φωτί καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ κατὰ λυσιν σοὶ κύριε τῶν πατέρων μου ἐξομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ.

43 See also Deut 29:28; 2 Macc 12:41. We already have argued the importance of this hymn in my previous chapter on the use of *μυστήριον* in the book of Daniel (see pgs. 27-31) and concluded that Dan 2:20-23 is a *crux interpretum* for understanding the nature of apocalyptic wisdom in the book of Daniel.

44 On several occasions, *φανερός*/*φανερώ* is linked to both God trying an individual’s heart (e.g., 1 Cor 3:13; 14:25; 2 Cor 5:10) and a disclosure of mysteries (Rom

The context of Dan 2:20-23 is insightful: Daniel venerates God for "wisdom and power" belong to him (Dan 2:20; cf. 2:23). As we have seen, these Danielic notions of power and wisdom are woven throughout 1 Cor 1-2. In 1:24 Paul designates Christ as the "power of God and the wisdom of God." In addition, Paul exhorts the church so that their faith may not rest on the "wisdom of men" but on the "power of God" (2:5; cf. 1:18-24, 30; 2:1, 4-8, 13; 4:20). The combination of "power," "wisdom," and "mystery" (2:1, 7) has led many scholars to surmise that Paul has in mind Dan 2 throughout chs. 1-2.⁴⁵ If Paul alludes to Dan 2 in 1 Cor 1-2, then the allusion to Dan 2:22 in 1 Cor 4:5 may further elucidate Paul's relationship to mystery. In 4:5 God adjudicates Paul *for his use of God's wisdom and power*, which were given to him. The irony of this allusion is that God employs his wisdom and power (Dan 2:20; 1 Cor 1:18, 21, 24, 30; 2:4-7) to evaluate Paul's stewardship of God's wisdom and power at the end-time judgment⁴⁶ (Dan 2:23; 1 Cor 4:3-5).⁴⁷

16:26; Col 1:26; 1 Tim 3:16). First Corinthians 3:13, a parallel text with 4:1, also uses *φανερὸς* in its description of a latter-day judgment: "each man's work will become *evident* [*φανερὸν*]; for the day will show it." In Rom 16:25-26, this word is clearly linked to the revelation of a mystery: "according to the *revelation* [*ἀποκάλυψιν*] of the mystery hidden for long ages past, but now *revealed* [*φανερωθέντος*] and made known through the prophetic writings." Colossians 1:26 follows suit: "the mystery that has been kept hidden for ages and generations, but is now *disclosed* [*ἐφανερώθη*] to the saints" (cf. 1 Tim 3:16). Furthermore, in 1 Cor 14:24-25 an unbeliever enters a congregation that is "prophesying" (*προφητεύουσιν*) causing the "secrets of his heart" (*τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας*) to be "disclosed" (*φανερὰ*). This text is obviously very similar to 4:5 because of the language of "secrets," "heart," and "disclosing." But 14:25 is filled with Danielic allusions. For some have connected the phrase "fall on his face and worship God" (*πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ*) and "God is really among you!" with Dan 2:46-47: "Then King Nebuchadnezzar *fell on his face and did homage to Daniel* [*ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ τῷ Δανιηλ προσεκύνησεν*] ... and said 'Surely your God is a God of gods ... a *revealer of mysteries* [*ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια*]" (NA²⁷; Hübner, *Vetus Testamentum*, 2:228-33; Brian Rosner and Roy Ciampa, "Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians" in *A Commentary on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 701-2; Hays, "The Conversion of the Imagination," 393; Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1996), 327). The similarities between 1 Cor 14:25 and Dan 2:46-47 are numerous, but my point is only to mention that 4:5 closely resembles 14:25 (see Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 95). Therefore, if we are able to detect a Danielic influence in 14:25, then it should not surprise us that the same occurs in 4:5.

⁴⁵ See pgs. 129-33.

⁴⁶ The Danielic use of mystery is highly eschatological (e.g., Dan 2:28). Thus, it is not surprising that God evaluates Paul's use of mystery *at the eschaton*. Furthermore, the notion of judgment is attached to mystery in the book of Daniel. In ch. 2, the nations are destroyed through a rock made "without human hands" (2:44-45). Nebuchadnezzar's second dream (labeled a mystery in 4:9) is also filled with personal judgment (4:10-33). The destruction of the Babylonian empire in 5:25-30 is contained within the mystery of the writing on the wall. The notion of mystery in chs. 7-12 all

Taking it one step further, Paul sustains the Danielic allusion and delivers the *result* of this examination in 4:5c: “*finally* [καὶ τότε], each man’s *praise* [ὁ ἔπαινος] will come from God!”⁴⁸ In Dan 2:23, Daniel praises (ἐξομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ) God for the revelation of the mystery, and now God himself praises the individual for his stewardship over the mystery. Paul therefore must take seriously his role as a keeper and guardian of apocalyptic wisdom (4:2),⁴⁹ for the Lord will appraise his conduct (4:3-5).⁵⁰

contribute to a theme of judgment upon the idolatrous pagan nations (though the term mystery is unused in these chapters, the concept is still in mind—see my discussion on mystery in Daniel). Therefore, it may not be a coincidence that judgment is attached to the mysteries of Paul’s heart. But unlike the Danielic examples, Paul’s judgment need not necessitate destruction but evaluation or scrutiny leading to personal vindication.

- 47 This observation explains Paul’s urgency and commitment to the gospel in 2:1-5. Thus, Paul’s use of the plural μυστήρια in 1 Cor 4:1 (as discussed above) primarily includes the notion of mystery in 2:1-16.
- 48 The notion of “praise” (ἔπαινος/αἰνῶ) found in both texts furthers this connection. In addition, Kuck observes that this apocalyptic vocabulary in 4:5 is unique to the NT and “unusual” for Paul (*Judgment and Community*, 205). He is right to note its uniqueness, for the passage is dependent on a unique apocalyptic text, namely, Dan 2:22-23.
- 49 Christopher Rowland rightly points out the gravity of the apostolic task of delivering the mysteries of God, though he does not connect the book of Daniel with 1 Cor 4:1-5 and attaches mystic terminology to Paul: “Paul sees himself and his intimate companions to be mystagogues who are like stewards in the divine palace with the privilege of administering the divine secrets (1 Cor. 4.1). ... So the apostolic task is not a parochial affair, for the apostles themselves are engaged in an enterprise on a truly cosmic scale (1 Cor. 4.10) as God’s fellow workers (3.9)” (“Apocalyptic, mysticism, and the New Testament,” in *Geschichte — Tradition — Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtsag* [Band I; ed. Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996], 416).
- 50 Commentators understand this judgment as applicable to everyone because of the clause ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἐκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ in 4:5 (Alan F. Johnson, *1 Corinthians* [IVPNT; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004], 79; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 171); the word ἐκάστῳ is the culprit of this confusion. It appears that each metaphor is parallel (3:6-15; 4:1-5), and each contain a latter-day judgment (3:8; 13-15; 4:5). This consistency is confirmed with the word ἑκάστος in 3:8 and 3:13. In these passages, ἑκάστος refers not to everybody but the *leaders*—the field workers (3:6-8), builders (3:10-15), and stewards (4:1-5). Therefore, Paul consistently applies these metaphors to the leaders of the church and not the congregation (see Fee, *First Corinthians*, 136; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 301). It should be reiterated that this is not a *separate end-time judgment* but a judgment that is part of the final judgment of all. In 4:5, Paul thus uses himself as an example of a leader that is eschatologically examined by God.

5.4.1. Summary of Daniel and Paul Comparisons

In light of these possible parallels between Daniel and Paul, it may be helpful to summarize our tentative findings. Some of these comparisons are less probable than others but are nevertheless included for a cumulative effect.

Daniel	1 Cor 1-4
The word <i>μυστήριον</i> is a disclosure of God's wisdom entailing God's eschatological rule (Dan 2:28).	Paul's use of the word <i>μυστήρια</i> primarily includes God's revelation of his wisdom in the cross (1 Cor 1:18, 21, 24, 30; 2:4-8).
Daniel was a <i>maskîl</i> figure (1:17; 2:23; see 11:33-35; 12:3).	Paul is a <i>maskîl</i> and likewise imparts apocalyptic wisdom to others (2:1-16; 3:5).
Daniel received eschatological mysteries (e.g., 2:19-45).	Paul receives eschatological mysteries (2:10; 13:2).
The Danielic mystery is characterized by God revealing "hidden things" (2:22).	God will reveal the "hidden things" of Paul's heart (4:5).
Daniel "praises" God for revealing this mystery (2:23).	God will "praise" Paul and others for their stewardship over mysteries (4:5).
Daniel was "found faithful" (6:5).	Paul is/seeks to be "found faithful" (4:2).

This comparison may demonstrate partial continuity between Daniel and Paul, perhaps suggesting that Paul views himself as analogous to Daniel or at least functioning in a similar capacity. As we have previously seen, the Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran and Josephus probably regard themselves as Danielic figures. Paul therefore could be possibly aligning himself with the character Daniel. If we regard Paul as a Danielic figure who receives and imparts eschatological wisdom, perplexing texts such as 1 Cor 2:1-5 and 1 Cor 12-15 may be further illuminated.

5.5. Stewards of Mysteries in DSS

The closest semblance of the phrase "stewards of the mysteries" is found at Qumran in the hymn 1Q36 16, 2: "[the m]en who guard your

mysteries" (אֲנִי מְשַׁמֵּר לְרִזְיָה).⁵¹ Unfortunately, this line appears in the midst of a lacunae, so we are unable to inquire further into its meaning. But this phrase sets us on the right path, for the Teacher of Righteousness could be deemed as a "guardian of the mystery" par excellence.

As we have seen, the Teacher of Righteousness is an eminent figure in the Qumran community, noted for his mediation of revelation and correct interpretation of Scripture.⁵² A few pertinent references, though already quoted, are worth repeating:

Though you have enlightened the face of the Many, you have increased them, so that they are uncountable, for *you have shown me your wondrous mysteries* [פְּלִאכָה הוֹדֵעַתִּי בְרִזִּי]. (1QH^a XII, 27)⁵³

He should lead them with knowledge and in this way *teach them the mysteries of wonder and of truth* [לְהַשְׁכִּילֵם בְּרִזִּי פֶלֶא וְאֵמֶת] in the midst of the men of the Community, so that they walk perfectly, one with another, *in all that has been revealed to them* [בְּכֹל הַנִּגְלָה לָהֶם]. (1QS IX, 18-19=4Q256 XVIII, 1-3; 4Q258 VIII, 3-4; cf. 1QS IX, 12-14, 20=4Q259 III, 2-17)

The Teacher of Righteousness, though greatly debated among scholars, was certainly a receiver of revelation and responsible for dispensing it to the community. In a word, the Teacher was a "steward of mysteries" par excellence.

In our previous discussion of the Habakkuk *pešer*, the Teacher is portrayed as apprehending prophecy even to a greater degree than the original prophet. When God gave the revelation to Habakkuk, it was not complete, for God did not disclose when these things were to be fulfilled. Moreover, not only does the Teacher complete revelation, but he is also privy to "all the mysteries" of the prophets and is cognizant of their fulfillment. Charlesworth notes, "He [Teacher of Righteousness] alone had received God's full disclosure of all the mysteries in the words of the prophets. He alone had been chosen to plant the final planting of God's vineyard."⁵⁴ 1QpHab II 8-9 supplements this function of the Teacher: "the Priest whom God has placed wi[thin the Commun]ity, to foretell the fulfillment of all the words of his servants, the prophets."

In conclusion, the Qumran community, especially the Teacher, could be considered as "stewards of the mysteries," for they guarded

51 Cf. Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 166; Harvey, "Use of Mystery," 331; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 451; Coppens, "'Mystery' in the Theology of St. Paul," 139-40.

52 See pgs. 67-70, for further discussion.

53 See 1QH^a XIX, 16-17, 27-28; 1QH^a XX, 11-13=4Q427 2-3 II, 12-13; cf. 1QH^a XX, 11-13=4Q427 2-3 II, 12-13; 1QH^a XX, 19-20; 1QH^a XX, 33-34; 1QH^a XXI, 7-8; 1QH^a XXV 10-12.

54 Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, 10. See also Fröhlich, "Peshar, Apocalyptic Literature and Qumran," 295-305.

the proper understanding of the OT, while the Teacher aided in the process of interpreting OT prophecies and events.

5.6. Paul: A Steward of Mysteries

We will briefly survey the relationship between Paul and μυστήριον in a few passages to determine whether or not Paul is concerned with its content and proclamation. Romans 11:25, with all of its difficulties, is profitable in our study. Paul relates both the basis and purpose of the μυστήριον: "For I do not want you ... to be uninformed of this mystery, lest you be wise in your own estimation." The Apostle feels compelled to disclose this mystery to the church of Rome and inform their "ignorance" (ἀγνοεῖν) concerning the role of Gentiles in redemptive history.

Secondly, Paul delivers this mystery in Rom 11, so that the church would not be "wise" in their "own estimation" (11:25); the Corinthian pneumatics are obviously not the intended audience in this particular passage; rather, the "wise" are proud, exclusive Gentiles.⁵⁵ Paul refuses to let the Gentiles boast over their present situation in redemptive history. A few verses following the content of the mystery, Paul quotes Isa 40:13, grounding 11:25-33: "For who has known the mind of the Lord, or who became His counselor?" In a very similar fashion to Rom 11, Paul uses mystery in 1 Cor 2 to combat the "wisdom of men" (2:5). This human wisdom is not a far cry from Rom 11:25, for in both situations these groups were relying upon their own "interpretative perspective" on the present situation in redemptive history. In 1 Cor 2, the "rulers of this age" crucified the Messiah because they were spiritually blind to God's acts through Jesus, whereas in Rom 11:25-32, the Gentiles are ignorant of God's plan to save the Jews via the Gentiles. Therefore, Paul combats human wisdom with that of a divine mystery.

Paul's relationship with μυστήριον in 1 Cor 2 and Rom 11 is to proclaim apocalyptic wisdom, educate the church, and counter human wisdom. As far as the disputed epistles are concerned, Ephesians significantly augments this analysis. Giving us ample insight into Paul's relationship with mystery, Ephesians 3:2-10 is saturated with apocalyptic mystery language, especially in connection to Paul as a

⁵⁵ Moo, *Epistle to the Romans*, 715.

“steward” of mysteries:

if indeed you have heard of the *stewardship of God’s grace which was given to me for you; that by revelation there was made known to me the mystery*, as I wrote before in brief. By referring to this, when you read you can understand *my insight into the mystery of Christ*, which in other generations was not made known to the sons of men, *as it has now been revealed to His holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit; to be specific*, that the Gentiles are fellow heirs and fellow members of the body, and fellow partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel, of which I was made a minister, according to the gift of God’s grace which was given to me according to the working of His power. To me, the very least of all saints, this grace was given, to preach to the Gentiles the unfathomable riches of Christ, *and to bring to light what is the administration of the mystery which for ages has been hidden in God who created all things; so that the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known through the church to the rulers and the authorities in the heavenly places.* (emphasis mine)⁵⁶

According to Eph 3, God gave (τῆς δοθείσης) Paul the “stewardship of God’s grace” (τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ) for the church (2:2). The next line further explains this notion: “that by revelation there was made known to me the mystery” (κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν ἐγνωρίσθη μοι τὸ μυστήριον; 2:3).

Ephesians depicts Paul’s role of proclamation in 3:8-10: “To me ... this grace was given, ... to bring to light what is the *administration of the mystery* [οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου] which for ages has been hidden in God ... in order that the manifold wisdom of God *might now be made known* [ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν] through the church to the rulers and the authorities in the heavenly places.” The cosmic “rulers and authorities” perceive God’s “manifold wisdom” through Paul’s promulgation of the mystery to the church. In other words, the effect of the mystery to the church is the resounding wisdom of God to the cosmic forces.

In addition, 3:6 says that he has an “insight” (τὴν σύνεσιν) into the mystery of Christ, which is the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (3:6). This mystery “was not made known to the sons of men” (οὐκ

⁵⁶ In Eph 1:9-10, the content of the cosmic mystery is provided, which incorporates the mystery here in 3:2-10: “*He made known to us the mystery of his will* [γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ], ... with a view to an *administration suitable to the fulness of the times* [εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν], ... the summing up of all things in Christ.” It seems as though Paul is portrayed as receiving an eschatological mystery (τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν) that describes God reconciling all things to Christ. But not only did Paul receive an eschatological revelation, he also was put in charge of delivering it to the church (cf. Prümmer, “Zur Phänomenologie,” 142-43; Beale, *John’s Use*, 255; Reumann, “OIKONOMIA,” 157-66; Penna, *Il «Mysterion» Paolino*, 39-41).

ἐγνωρίσθη τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων) in the “other generations” (ἐτέραις γενεαῖς), which no doubt refers to previous prophets (3:5). But in contrast to these ancient prophets, the “holy apostles and prophets” have been privy to such counsel (νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις).

This passage explicitly claims that mysteries were not disclosed to Paul alone but to other “apostles and prophets.” This same language is used at the end of ch. 2 in Ephesians, describing the role of the early church leaders: “you are ... of God’s household, having been built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets” (2:19-20; see 4:11).

To sum up our analysis,⁵⁷ Ephesians portrays Paul and “the apostles and prophets” as receiving the “mystery of Christ.” A Danielic background for the use of mystery in Ephesians lends further support for viewing Paul as a Daniel figure.⁵⁸ Paul is seen as an overseer of the “stewardship” of God’s redemptive plan. This stewardship involves announcing the mystery to the church that, in effect, proclaims God’s wisdom to the cosmic forces.

Therefore, in light of this brief survey, we are able to make some significant conclusions.⁵⁹ First, Paul thought it crucial to proclaim the mystery. This theme has surfaced in almost every example. Second, Paul delivers the mystery to educate the church concerning God’s actions in redemptive history. Third, Paul *and* others have received mysteries. Fourth, in declaring the mystery to the churches, Paul makes known the wisdom of God. Fifth, Paul actively engages the church concerning mysteries, so that they might live in light of this new revelation.⁶⁰

57 Much of what I said in Ephesians could be applied to Col 1:25-29. This passage rehearses Paul’s stewardship of the mystery with respect to its proclamation. It, along with Ephesians, mentions how Paul is a “minister according to the stewardship from God,” he is to “proclaim” the mystery (see Col 4:3), and that the mystery has been revealed to the “saints.” But this passage further emphasizes Paul and the other apostles’ ministry of “admonishing every man and teaching every man with all wisdom” (1:28). That this admonishment and teaching dealt with the mystery in vv. 26 and 27 is likely. It is worthy of note to mention how Paul and the apostles are depicted as taking great care in their delivery of the mystery.

58 Many scholars have noted the Danielic background of mystery in Ephesians (Caragounis, *Ephesian Mysterion*, 23, 123-26, 134-35; Aletti, *Saint Paul Épître aux Éphésiens*, 182-84; Peter T. O’Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* [PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999], 109).

59 Even if Paul did not write Ephesians, at the very least, we have evidence of an early Pauline tradition that conceived of Paul functioning as a mediator of apocalyptic revelation.

60 Bornkamm, in his seminal article on mystery, argues that “In the proclamation of God’s Word, which is the task of the apostle as the διάκονος of the Church and the ὑπηρετής of Christ (1 C. 4:1), the apostle fulfills the mystery of Christ which was

5.7. "Not Beyond What Is Written"

Before concluding, I will examine one final passage that may further our analysis. As we have seen, Paul saturates 4:1-5 with mystery language, but is there a relationship between mystery and "not exceeding what is written"? In 4:6, the argument shifts (Ταῦτα δέ, ἀδελφοί)⁶¹ from Paul functioning as a steward of mysteries to Paul's overall intent of chs. 1-4. Therefore, 4:1-5 is subsumed in 4:6 and is part of Paul's larger argument of 1:10-3:23.

Paul says that he has "transformed" (μετεσχημάτισα) "these things" (ταῦτα) to himself and Apollos. What are "these things"? The last time Paul referred to Apollos was in 3:4-5: "What then is Apollos? And what is Paul?" He then goes on to outline Apollos and his role in ministering to the church: "I planted, Apollos watered, ... I laid a foundation, and another is building upon it" (3:10). But Paul emphatically claims that each "builder" must lay a proper foundation—Jesus Christ (3:11). Thus, since Paul and Apollos are correctly constructing the household of God, they are both building upon Jesus Christ. Paul has just finished his discussion of the centrality of the cross in his ministry and in the lives of the Corinthians, and there can be no doubt that the cross is the proper foundation. Therefore, this line of reasoning extends "these things" into the section of 1:10-3:23.⁶²

The word μετεσχημάτισα is difficult to define. Whatever the exact definition is, we can probably assert that this term means something to the effect of "I have transformed."⁶³ The object of μετεσχημάτισα is ταῦτα, which, as we have just seen, refers to 1:10-3:23. Paul has discussed how he and Apollos are co-laborers in God's field and household (3:4-17) and they are "servants of Christ" and "stewards of the mysteries of God" (4:1). Thus in using the expression "I have trans-

concealed" (μυστήριον, 821; see also Finkenrath, "μυστήριον," 504; Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, 223-24; Erich Dinkler, "Earliest Christianity," in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* [ed. Henry M. Hoenigswald; AOS 38; New Haven: Yale University, 1955], 171-214 [186]; Reumann, "OIKONOMIA," 160-61).

61 Paul's use of δέ along with the vocative ἀδελφοί indicate a thematic shift in Paul's thought (see NA²⁷; NRSV; NIV; NJB; ESV; NASB).

62 See Benjamin Fiore, "'Covert Allusion' in 1 Corinthians 1-4," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 85-102; Hall, D. R. "A Disguise for the Wise: ΜΕΤΕΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ in 1 Corinthians 4.6," *NTS* 40 (1994): 143-49; J. Ross Wagner, "'Not Beyond the Things Which are Written': A Call to Boast Only in the Lord (1 Cor 4.6)," *NTS* 44 (1998): 279-87; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 68.

63 David R. Hall, "A Disguise," 143-49; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 140 (see also Fiore, "'Covert Allusion,'" 85-102; Johan S. Vos, "Der ΜΕΤΕΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ in 1 Kor 4,6," *ZNW* 86 [1995]: 152-72; Winter, *Philo and Paul*, 196-201).

formed (μετεσχημάτισα) these things," Paul claims that he and Apollos are *examples* to the Corinthians in their conduct as field workers, builders, and stewards. Hall claims, "when Paul describes the relationship between himself and Apollos, what he is really concerned about is certain unnamed teachers who were at work in the church at Corinth, and competing for the allegiance of the church members."⁶⁴ This does not mean that Paul's relationship with Apollos is strictly hypothetical, for Paul's examples are real statements about himself and Apollos.⁶⁵ The Apostle has likely used himself and Apollos as two leaders that "get along," so that the divisive Corinthian leaders would do the same. They ought to imitate the paradigm that Paul has set forth.

The implication (in regard to our study) is that just as Paul and Apollos are stewards of the mysteries, these leaders must follow suit.⁶⁶ It is quite interesting to note a shift in illustrations: The agricultural and architectural discussions easily lend themselves to maintaining a spirit of congeniality and peacefulness between leaders, but Paul's use of the stewardship illustration appears to have little application to the immediate situation at Corinth. Nevertheless, Paul's democratization of mysteries in 12-14 may explain this apparent conundrum. The mysteries of God are not to be pent up and locked away but carefully perpetuated. Therefore, the Corinthian leaders are to take seriously their role as stewards and carefully manage the mysteries of God.

Before leaving 4:6, we must interact with the debated τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ᾧ γέγραπται. Since this clause has been widely discussed and summarized, it is unnecessary to once again rehearse the debate in detail. Thiselton lists a total of seven strands of interpretation, but the following are the more prominent interpretations of τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ᾧ γέγραπται: 1) scribal gloss;⁶⁷ 2) church bylaws;⁶⁸ 3) the OT in general; 4) Paul's previous reference to the OT in 1 Corinthians;⁶⁹ 5) a maxim referring to both Scripture in general and Paul's use of Scripture in 1 Corin-

64 Hall, "A Disguise," 144.

65 Ibid., 148 (see Fee, *First Corinthians*, 57 n37).

66 The same applies for Paul's discussion concerning the agricultural (3:6-9) and building (3:10-15) illustrations. The leaders of Corinth are to work cooperatively in God's field, i.e., the church, for God is the true source of growth (3:7). They too, like Paul, must be aware of how they build the church; their efforts must conform to Paul's, who built on the foundation of Christ (3:11).

67 André Legault, "Beyond the Things Which are Written," *NTS* 18 (1971-72): 227-31; John Strugnell, "A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 543-58; Murphy-O'Connor, "Interpolations in 1 Corinthians," 81-94.

68 L. L. Welborn, "A Conciliatory Principle in 1 Cor 4:6," *NovT* 29 (1987): 320-46.

69 Wagner, "Not Beyond," 279-87; Hays, *First Corinthians*, 68-69.

thians (a combination of three and four).⁷⁰ The first option is highly conjectural, while the second is supported with little evidence. The last three options are however founded upon Paul's natural use of γέγραπται.⁷¹

Our aim is not to outline in detail a view of this enigmatic clause but to test the waters. We would like to explore the possibility that Paul connects his role as a steward of the mysteries with τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται, if indeed this clause refers to OT Scripture in 1 Corinthians, which we think to be likely.

Paul's use of mystery in 1:18-2:1-16 is very strategic: Paul employs an eschatological use of mystery to defeat sophistic wisdom, claiming that the mystery was indeed part of God's plan to overthrow earthly wisdom (1:19, 31; 2:16; 3:19-20). Paul considers the wisdom of the cross to be the fulfillment of Isa 29:14: "The word of the cross is to those who are perishing foolishness, ... For it is written, 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the cleverness of the clever I will set aside'" (1:18-19).⁷²

The second quotation in 1:31, "Let him who boasts, boast in the Lord," is probably a coalescing of Jer 9:23-24 and 1 Kgdms 2:10. The passage in Jer 9 speaks of Yahweh's judgment upon the "wise," and 1 Kgdms 2:10 uses the same language to highlight the reversal of fortunes. Hays concludes, "Consequently, when he [Paul] tells them to 'boast in the Lord', he is summoning the Corinthians to reconfigure their self-understanding and conduct in light of Jesus Christ crucified (2:2), the figure to whom Scripture points."⁷³

Furthermore, as we have already discussed, in 2:9 Paul quotes Scripture explaining why the mystery of the cross was largely unrecognized: "Things which eye has not seen and ear has not heard, and which have not entered the heart of man, all that God has prepared for

70 The two other possibilities that Thiselton cites are Paul's reference to the book of 1 Corinthians itself and Paul's appeal to the Corinthian "childish" behavior (*First Epistle*, 352).

71 The perfect γέγραπται exclusively refers to the OT elsewhere in Paul: Rom 1:17; 2:24; 3:4, 10; 4:17; 8:36; 9:13, 33; 10:15; 11:8, 26; 12:19; 14:11; 15:3, 9, 21; 1 Cor 1:19, 31; 2:9; 3:19; 9:9; 10:7; 14:21; 15:45; 2 Cor 8:15; 9:9; Gal 3:10, 13; 4:22, 27.

72 Morna D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things Which are Written: An Examination of 1 Cor. IV. 6" *NTS* 10 (1963): 131, claims, "the gospel which he [Paul] preached was the 'word of the cross' which fulfilled the words of Isaiah that man's wisdom would be destroyed." Hays, "The Conversion of the Imagination," 404, says, "the argument takes its particular force from Paul's conviction that the transforming action of God prophesied by Isaiah *has now taken place* in the crucifixion of Jesus" (italics original).

73 Hays, "Conversion," 406. He also contends that Paul "imaginatively projected the σοφοί at Corinth into the role of the 'wise' and boastful leaders of Israel and Judah who were admonished by the prophetic oracles of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Like those leaders, the Corinthians stand under a warning of God's coming judgment and a summons to change their ways" ("Conversion," 406).

those who love him" (Isa 64:4; italics original). Verse 2:9a is probably a reference to the "rulers of this age" (2:8) as recapitulating the hardened state of Israel, whereas 2:9b concerns the true believers who truly perceive God's work in the cross, similar to those who "wait" in Isa 64:4b.

Adding to our collection of quotations is Isa 40:13 in 2:16: "Who has known the mind of the Lord, that we should instruct him?" This quotation from Isa 40 speaks of the unfathomable heights of God's wisdom in creation and redemption. The Isaianic text expects a negative answer: "No one has known the mind of the Lord." But Paul emphatically reverses this by answering, "But we have the mind of Christ." Therefore, the Corinthians, who possess the Spirit, are able to understand what God has accomplished through the mystery of the cross (2:10-16).

Finally, Paul concludes ch. 3 with two quotations: "He is the one who catches the wise in their craftiness" (Job 5:13) and "The Lord knows the reasonings of the wise, that they are useless" (Ps 94:11). Both of these quotations speak against humanity's attempt to be wise before God. Again, Paul only allows boasting and wisdom to originate in the cross, and any attempt to boast outside of the folly of the cross elevates humanity and transgresses Scripture. All six of these quotations follow suit in that they are all dependent on the event of the cross and all conduct a polemic against human wisdom; God's revelatory wisdom of the cross overturns human wisdom. Therefore, Paul, acting as a steward of mysteries, connects the mystery of the cross with six OT quotations. He is an example (μετεσχημάτισα) of one who does not exceed what is written (τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται).

We must also keep the polemical function of mystery in mind in this regard. The mystery in 1 Cor 2 ushers in fulfillment, bringing about an end to human wisdom. Mystery carries a dynamic role: It uncovers God's hidden plan of the cross, thus, *claiming fulfillment of God's saving activities, while simultaneously debunking human wisdom.*

Furthermore, in many occurrences of mystery, OT quotations and allusions surround the notion of mystery. We have seen that Paul links one quotation with mystery in 1 Cor 2:9 (Isa 64:4) and will evaluate at least one more in 1 Cor 15:45 (Gen 2:7). Five other quotations appear in chs. 1-3 that are at least indirectly attached to the mystery of the cross (Isa 29:14; Jer 9:23-24/1 Kgdms 2:10; 40:13; Job 5:13; Ps 94:11). In Rom 11:26-27, mystery is linked with Isa 27:9, 59:20-21, and 40:13. Romans 16:25-26, though not connected with any OT references, the term mystery is explicitly linked with the OT as a whole: "the revelation of the mystery which has been kept secret for long ages past, but now is

manifested, and by the *Scriptures of the prophets* [γραφῶν προφητικῶν].”

5.8. Overall Conclusion

A significant problem with the church of Corinth is the competitive leadership from within (1:10-17). These leaders were vying for the congregation's allegiance, so Paul uses himself and Apollos as examples of servant leaders. (4:6). Leaders are to serve the church and not vice versa (3:21-23). Paul's third metaphor, stewardship of mysteries, is an example of a church leader that has a proper relationship to eschatological mysteries and understands the gravity of this responsibility.

Stewardship carries with it notions of entrusting and faithfulness. Using a Danielic model, Paul seeks to be faithful to the mysteries (4:2). Only his Master—the Lord—is qualified to judge his faithfulness (4:3-4), who ironically will evaluate the mysteries of Paul's heart at the end-time judgment (4:5).

At Qumran, the Teacher of Righteousness was a steward of mysteries through his interpretative method and distribution of apocalyptic wisdom, while Daniel exhibited his stewardship through conveying inspired interpretation of revelation. When we include our analysis of mystery in Romans and Ephesians/Colossians, the picture begins to encompass both the tradition of the Teacher of Righteousness and Daniel. According to these texts, Paul is not simply concerned with the mystery's content or only its function; rather, Paul's relationship to mystery is dynamic, simultaneously including both of these features.

Finally, “not going beyond Scripture” is also linked to his stewardship, for Paul has consistently used OT Scripture in conjunction with μυστήριον in chs. 1-3. The Apostle exhorts the Corinthians to understand that the mystery of the cross is consistent with OT Scripture and that God has now brought about the fulfillment of these OT promises.

Chapter Six

The Use of Mystery in 1 Corinthians 13:2 and 14:2

6.1. Introduction

Any scholar who has attempted a systematic treatment of the Pauline *μυστήριον* stumbles at 1 Cor 13:2 and then really begins to falter around 14:2. Even Raymond Brown calls 14:2 a “very difficult passage” and a few sentences later concludes that the “text is not very important for the Pauline *mystērion*.”¹ Brown’s words seem unsatisfactory. Paul may not have clearly divulged the contents of mystery in 13:2 or 14:2, but that does not mean these embedded uses are no less integral to the Pauline *μυστήριον*.

We contend that Paul does not stray from his prior usage of *μυστήριον* in chs. 13-14. In fact, mystery, in these demanding verses, fits remarkably well with our previous conclusions. Whether mystery is in the context of prophecy (13:2) or tongues (14:2), the term still remains apocalyptic. We shall even see how mystery takes on different guises, but the “hidden-but-now-revealed” maxim will continue to be discernible.

6.2. Brief NT Context

Chapters 1-4 of 1 Corinthians primarily confront the divisive leaders and their adherents in the Corinthian church. As a result, Paul delivers the main point of the first two chapters in 1:10b (“you be made complete in the same mind and in the same judgment”). Greatly concerned

1 Brown, *Semitic Background*, 47. Cited also in Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 168n50.

with the Corinthian elitism stemming from a skewed view of wisdom (1:17-21), the Apostle portrays Christ as “wisdom from God.” Boasting ought not to be found in a higher or sophistic wisdom but in the crucified Christ (1:31-2:16). Leaders are not to be exalted and placed upon a pedestal but reckoned as servants of Christ and the church (3:1-4:21).

Apparently, immorality has crept into this community, so Paul addresses this issue in 5:3-13. Litigation against church brethren (6:1-11) and other sexual vices plague some Corinthians (6:12-20). Paul addresses other issues such as marriage (7:1-40), food offered to idols (8:1-13), and his own apostolic authority (9:1-27). Chapters 10-11 consist of further moral and ecclesiastical admonitions, such as idolatry (10:7-22), immorality (10:8), various liberties (11:1-16), and the Eucharist (11:20-34).

Finally, gifts or charisms become the central theme in chs. 12-14. These Spirit-enabled gifts are for the community as a whole (12:12-31) and not to be utilized for self-adulation. For without love, these charisms become useless (13:1-13). Tongues, though very attractive to the Corinthians, ought to be restricted to one’s closet (14:3, 14-17), unless they are interpreted, resulting in the edification of the body (14:5). Prophecy, on the other hand, is much more public and beneficial for the community (14:1, 3, 5-12, 20-33), since the church understands the message and is edified.

6.3. First Corinthians 13:2

In 13:1-3, Paul tempers the role of gifts with ἀγάπη (see 8:1, 3). Without love, any gifting becomes unfruitful because it fails to edify the church. Paul uses himself as a hypothetical example to show that even *his* gifts would be worthless without love. We are able to divide this passage into three third-class conditional sentences.

- 13:1 ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων,
 ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
 γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλα-
 λάζον
- 13:2 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν
 καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν
 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν
 ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι
 ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
 οὐθέν εἰμι
- 13:3 κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου
 καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου
 ἵνα καυθήσομαι
 ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
 οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι

The redundant ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω is an obvious discourse marker along with the ἐὰν. In the second and third conditional sentences, Paul appears to elucidate further the protasis.² For example, in the last condition (v. 3), the Apostle proffers that he would be willing to “deliver over” his body and perish aflame (ἵνα καυθήσομαι), which explains further “giving up all his possessions.” The same construction is found in the second to last example (v. 2); Paul may possess “all faith,” even faith that is able to “move mountains” (ὄρη μεθιστάναι). Therefore, in the same way, Paul could possibly illuminate the nature of προφητεία³ in v. 2 with the clause καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν.⁴ Thus, the link between προφητεία, μυστήρια and γνῶσις is very close conceptually here and is crucial for our understanding of the nature of mystery in chs. 12-14. Before we discuss these tightly knit terms, the latter two must be examined first, especially since Paul has already joined these two nouns together with εἰδῶ. We now turn to “knowledge.”

2 Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 94.

3 Most translations translate the second καὶ simply as “and” (e.g., NASB; NIV; TNIV; NRSV; ASV), allowing some discontinuity between prophecy and mystery. Some translations even use an explanatory use of the καὶ in this verse (e.g., NJB: “though I have the power of prophecy, to penetrate all mysteries and knowledge”).

4 A few commentators understand mystery and prophecy to be disassociated in 13:2 (e.g., Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1039), but most do view these two terms to be either indistinguishable or very close in meaning (see discussion below).

6.4. Knowledge in 1 Corinthians

The notion of “knowledge” buoys to the top of 1 Corinthians, floating from one topic to another and as some sort of catchphrase within the epistle.⁵ Compared to its ten uses in 1 Corinthians, the word γνῶσις is only used three times in Romans, six in 2 Corinthians, and once in Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy. Even in the introduction, Paul reminds the Corinthians of the charisms that God furnished them in Christ: “I thank my God always concerning you for the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus, that in everything you were enriched in him, in all speech and all knowledge [ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνῶσει]” (1:4-5).⁶ Though the exact nature of the λόγος and γνῶσις is debated,⁷ we can be somewhat confident that Paul is thankful because God *dispensed* these gifts to the Corinthians for their edification.

Paul’s use of knowledge in 1 Corinthians appears to be a hot topic for the Corinthian church. He begins by recognizing their enrichment of knowledge in 1:5, while correcting its abuse in 8:1-13. Knowledge, though revealed via the Spirit, is not a guarantee of correct behavior; it must be tempered with love. He goes on further to correct the Corinthian situation in chs. 12-14 by showing how γνῶσις and σοφία are gifts from God and not to be flaunted.⁸ Therefore, knowledge appears to be a *revelation* from God and very closely associated with prophecy.

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- 5 As one might expect, Paul’s use of γνῶσις in 1 Corinthians has been hotly debated. The history of religions school, emphasizing that both Paul and his opponents at Corinth adhere to some degree to Gnostic mythology (e.g., Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*; Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions*; R. Bultmann, “γινώσκω,” *TDNT* 1:689-719; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971]), has yet to receive widespread acceptance. These positions have been rightly criticized for the paucity of *early* Gnostic evidence (e.g., Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*) and have been replaced by a more OT and Jewish background (J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La Connaissance Religieuse dans les Epitres de Saint Paul* [Paris: J. Gabalda, 1949]; Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*).
 - 6 It should be noted that this is the only occurrence of γνῶσις within the introductory portion of a Pauline epistle, thus emphasizing its uniqueness and importance to the Corinthian church.
 - 7 See Fee, *First Epistle*, 39; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 92-93; P. T. O’Brien, *Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul*; NovTSup 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 108-20; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 35-38.
 - 8 Dunn is particularly helpful in this instance: “In direct contrast and by way of rebuke to those who make proud boast of their possession of knowledge and wisdom, Paul confines the charisma to the *actual utterance* which expresses (some aspect of) knowledge and wisdom” (italics original; James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 221). He also underscores the fact that “for Paul wisdom and

6.5. Mystery and Knowledge/Wisdom in the OT and DSS

In our examination of the book of Daniel, we concluded that the *μυστήριον* is the *revelation of God's eschatological wisdom*. God, the one who knows all, revealed his wisdom via a dream (2:1-3; 4:1-18) and in writing (5:5), giving each interpretation to Daniel (2:19-45; 4:20-26; 5:25-28). Likewise, God also revealed this same wisdom to Daniel himself in chs. 7-12 with the angel functioning as his interpreter. Furthermore, we also noted the importance of the hymn in Dan 2:20-23. In this particular hymn as in 1 Cor 12-13, wisdom and knowledge are closely tied to mystery:⁹

Daniel said, "Let the name of God be blessed forever and ever, for *wisdom* [אֱחָדָה/הָ סוֹפִיָּא] and power belong to him. It is he who changes the times and the epochs; he removes kings and establishes kings; he gives *wisdom to wise men* [יִתְּנָה אֱחָדָה/סוֹפִיָּא לְטוֹבִים סוֹפִיִּים] and *knowledge to men of understanding* [יִתְּנָה אֱחָדָה/פְּרוֹנְהִיטִין לְטוֹבִים עִידוֹסִין סִינְעִיטִין]. It is he who reveals the profound and hidden things [אֱחָדָה אֱחָדָה/בְּאִתְּהָא וְבִתְּהָא אֱחָדָה]; he knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with him. To you, O God of my fathers, I give thanks and praise, for you have given me *wisdom* [אֱחָדָה/סוֹפִיָּא] and power."

Using the Theodotion version, we are able to list several synonyms that are paired with the notion of *μυστήριον*: *σοφία/σοφός, σύνεσις, and φρόνησις*.¹⁰ Though these terms cover a wide semantic range, each of them is deeply related to the concept of knowledge and wisdom. God, who is all wise, discloses (*ἀποκαλύπτω/הִלֵּן*) his wisdom to Daniel (e.g., Dan 2:19, 28-29, 47).

In addition to Daniel,¹¹ Qumran, as we have already seen, aligns wisdom, knowledge, and mystery. For example, in 1QS IV, 18-22 (*Rule of the Community*), mystery and divine knowledge are deeply intertwined:

knowledge as such are not to be thought of as charismata; only the actual utterance which reveals wisdom or knowledge to others is a charismata" (Jesus and Spirit, 221; italics original; see Fee, First Epistle, 593).

9 Although the word *μυστήριον* is not used in this section, its conceptual presence is throughout. See pgs. 27-31, for a discussion of the relationship between 2:20-23 and mystery, especially as it is used in the subsequent section of Daniel 2.

10 Fee likewise sees Dan 2:19-23, 28 to be part of the background of 1 Cor 13:2 (*First Epistle*, 633).

11 See pgs. 26-31.

God, *in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory* [ברזי שכלו ובהכמות כבודו], has determined an end to the existence of injustice ... He will sprinkle over him [man] the spirit of truth... in order to instruct the upright ones with knowledge of the Most High, *and to make understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven* [והכמות בני שמים להשכיל].

This passage suggests that mystery is found only with God, but he has revealed this “wisdom of the sons of heaven” to the “upright” and “perfect” (cf. 1QS IX, 12-19; XI, 3-16; 1QH^a XX, 13). Furthermore, wisdom and knowledge are eschatological, since they encompass the “end to the existence of injustice.”

6.5.1. Conclusion

Throughout 1 Corinthians, we highlighted Paul’s constant interaction with such notions as divine wisdom and knowledge (2:6-16; 12:8). These terms appear to be catchphrases among the members of the Corinthian church. Their penchant probably stems from a distorted worldview that emphasizes elitism. Therefore, the Apostle shapes and charges these terms with apocalyptic theology and imagery.

In the book of Daniel, *μυστήριον* refers to the unveiling of God’s hidden eschatological wisdom and knowledge to Daniel (Dan 2:20-23, 28). Qumran also supports this definition. We repeatedly see how wisdom and knowledge are associated with God and his eternal redemptive decrees. Not all are able to comprehend this wisdom, for it is hidden from “the sons of men.” Only the chosen ones or the “perfect” have access into these mysteries. Daniel and Qumran affirm at least three things: 1) the locus of wisdom is found with God; 2) this wisdom is hidden and must be divinely revealed; 3) this wisdom seems to be eschatological.

Putting all the pieces together, we are now able to grasp a bit more of the significance of Paul’s assertion in 13:2. In the light of the OT and Jewish background we have briefly surveyed, Paul’s declaration that he “knows all mysteries and all knowledge” is best understood as apocalyptic language. Succinctly, “mysteries” and “knowledge” are revelations of God’s eschatological wisdom. God has bestowed special insight on the Apostle and continues to do so (see 4:1). Richard Hays rightly comments on 13:2, “the background of this language for Paul is the world of Jewish apocalyptic thought, in which the seer receives

revelation of the heavenly mysteries from God. The prototype of the apocalyptic seer is Daniel, to whom ‘the mystery was revealed.’”¹²

6.6. “All Mysteries”

In 13:2, Paul says, “If I have *the gift of prophecy*, and know all mysteries and all knowledge” (italics original). Some authors assert that 13:2 is hyperbolic, because Paul can in no way know *all* mysteries.¹³ Others consider “all mysteries” to be the “sum of religious knowledge attainable on earth”¹⁴ or find a Jewish background to “all mysteries.”¹⁵ In the immediate context of 13:1-2, Paul is referring to the charismata of 12:8-10, when he lists “tongues,” “prophecy,” “knowledge,” and “faith.”¹⁶ So we can at least be confident that the gifts in 13:1-2 are real. Notably, understanding *μυστήριον* is *not* included in 12:8-10 but found here in 13:2 and surrounded by charismata. Paul lists knowledge of mysteries in 13:2 to show that the charismata naturally include the understanding of mysteries, not to argue for them to be on a par with a charism. Nevertheless, Paul lists three items (two are official charisms) in 13:2 and modifies each of them with the adjective “all”: “know all mysteries and all knowledge; and if I have all faith” (τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πάσαν τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πάσαν τὴν πίστιν). Therefore, since Paul uses the adjective to modify each of these concepts and the presence of the third class conditional clauses, a hyperbolic or “ideal” understanding should be preferred.¹⁷ Though Paul may not know “all,” he still knows *some* mysteries (e.g., 2:1, 7; 4:1). Thus, in light of this, the hypo-

12 Hays, *First Corinthians*, 224. Hays even goes on to quote Dan 2:20-22.

13 Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 613; Grudem, *Gift of Prophecy*, 102; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 167.

14 Brown, *Semitic Background*, 46 (see BDF §275[3]).

15 See 1QHab VII, 5; 1QH XII, 20; 1 Enoch 41:1; 52:1; 61:5; 63:3; 71:4; 4QEnGiants^a IX, 3.

16 12:8-10: “For to one is given the word of wisdom through the Spirit, and to another the word of knowledge [γνώσεως] according to the same Spirit; to another faith [πίστις] by the same Spirit, and to another gifts of healing by the one Spirit, and to another the effecting of miracles, and to another prophecy [προφητεία], and to another the distinguishing of spirits, to another various kinds of tongues [γλωσσῶν], and to another the interpretation of tongues.”

17 See Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 471. Paul mentions “all knowledge” in 13:2, but later on in the chapter he declares that even this knowledge is partial (13:9-12; see Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 613).

thetical nature consists of some actual knowledge.¹⁸ Fee rightly interprets, “If one person could embrace the whole range of *charismata* and the full measure of any one of them, but at the same time would fail to be full of love, such a person would be *nothing* in the sight of God” (*italics original*).¹⁹

6.6.1. Content of “All Mysteries”

The exact content of mysteries in 13:2, difficult though it may be, is still attainable, because a few clues are provided in the immediate context.²⁰ If we connect Paul’s use of *μυστήριον* here in 13:2 with his other uses in 2:1, 7, 4:1, 15:51, and elsewhere in the NT, its content becomes clearer. In ch. 2, *μυστήριον* is God’s redemptive work on the cross, while in 4:1 Paul commands the Corinthians to regard him as a steward of apocalyptic wisdom. In 15:51, the *μυστήριον* involves the resurrection, as we will see. Elsewhere, *μυστήριον* is designated as the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (Rom 11:25-35). Furthermore, mystery in Daniel, DSS, and the Pseudepigrapha consists of the eternal reign of God, the oppression of the righteous Israelites, inner workings of the cosmos, etc. Thus, the content of the *μυστήριον* in 13:2, by inference, is probably highly eschatological in nature.²¹ In other words, Paul declares that though he may possess eschatological wisdom and knowledge, without love, such special insight is worthless.

In addition to an eschatological notion, it is possible that interpretations of OT Scripture may be in mind. Some defend the idea that Christian prophecy is distinct from exposition or application of OT

18 Paul’s comments are partially hypothetical. For we know that he prophesies (14:6), speaks in tongues (14:6, 18), knows mysteries (2:7, 4:1; 15:51), and is even willing to become a martyr (Phil 1:20-23). Bockmuehl therefore rightly adds, “knowledge of *all* mysteries belongs only to God” (*italics original*; *Revelation and Mystery*, 167).

19 Fee, *First Epistle*, 632 (see Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 167).

20 Thiselton argues that “what constitutes a *μυστήριον* may well have been at issue between Paul, some at Corinth, and their non-Christian religious environment which may have involved the mystery religions” (*First Epistle*, 1040). In contrast, Bockmuehl thinks that connections with the mystery religions “are probably minimal or non-existent in the author’s (though perhaps not the readers’) mind” (*Revelation and Mystery*, 167).

21 See also Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 167; Fee, *First Epistle*, 632-33; Grudem, *Gift of Prophecy*, 102-3; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 300-1. Dautzenberg rightly says, „Ihr [Geheimnisse] *Umfang und Inhalt* ist von 1 Kor. 12-14 aus nur durch den Vergleich mit der Vorstellung von Geheimnissen in der jüdischen Apokalyptik einigermaßen beschreibbar” (*italics mine*; Gerhard Dautzenberg, “Botschaft und Bedeutung,” 138).

Scripture.²² A hard line is drawn between prophecy and teaching. For instance, Grudem, a representative of this position, explains,

prophecy must be the report of a spontaneous revelation from the Holy Spirit. So the distinction is quite clear: If a message is the result of conscious reflection on the text of Scripture, containing interpretation of the text and application to life, then it is (in New Testament terms) a *teaching* (italics original).²³

While I do agree with the majority of commentators that prophecy is generally spontaneous, that does not preclude the possibility of occasional inspired exegesis.

Paul's articulation of prophecy in 1 Cor 14 does not, unfortunately, reveal its content, but rather its function. Paul draws a distinct line between tongues and prophecy. Prophecy edifies the congregation, while tongues edify the individual (14:3-19, 26). In addition to the edifying nature of prophecy, the manner in which prophecy is regulated from within the church required correction. If a member received a revelation while another prophesied, the one prophesying is to cease and allow the "new revelation" to commence (14:29-33, 40). Thus, outside of 14:24-25, we have no insight into the content of prophecy.²⁴

Though, *prima facie*, we are unsure about the content of prophecy, we are able to observe its placement with other charisms. In 14:6, Paul lists four charismata: "If I come to you speaking in tongues, what shall

22 Aune comments, "evidence is sufficiently distributed throughout the NT to indicate that it ["charismatic exegesis"] was indeed widely practiced. There is virtually no evidence, however, that this activity was carried out by those who were labeled prophets in early Christianity" (*Prophecy*, 345; see also his discussion of inspired exegesis in his later essay "Charismatic Exegesis," 143-46). Aune, in his latter work ("Charismatic Exegesis"), lists Rom 11:25-26, 16:25, and 1 Cor 2:6-16 as examples of inspired exegesis (145-46). Though he does not admit that these examples are evidences of "prophetic" acts, he is right in seeing the use of mystery in light of the OT. I am not sure why he does not make the connection between prophecy and mystery in 13:2, for this would shed light on 1 Cor 2:6-12 and Rom 11:25-26. Aune and Grudem are reluctant to view prophecy as "inspired exegesis" because they claim to have no *explicit* examples of *prophets* interpreting in this manner. I think that this conclusion fails on several points: 1) they fail to connect 1 Cor 13:2 with Paul's other uses of mystery; 2) they disassociate teaching and prophecy; 3) they do not view Paul as functioning as a prophet in 1 Cor 2:6-16 (see discussion below and Sandnes, *Paul*, 102-16).

23 Grudem, *Gift of Prophecy*, 120.

24 Christopher Forbes gives a helpful definition of prophecy: "According to Luke and Paul, Christian prophecy was the reception and immediately subsequent public declaration of spontaneous, (usually) verbal revelation, conceived of as revealed truth and offered to the community on the authority of God/Christ/the Holy Spirit" (*Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment* [WUNT 75; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995], 236).

it profit you, unless I speak to you either by way of *revelation* [ἀποκαλύψει] or of *knowledge* [γνώσει] or of *prophecy* [προφητεία] or of *teaching* [(διδασχῇ)?” This list appears to be in no specific order. The revelatory nature of the first three charisms and its association with teaching ought to be highlighted (cf. 12:28-29; Rom 12:7; Col 3:16). Furthermore, Paul lists teaching again in 14:26 with other revelatory gifts (if tongues are revelatory): “When you assemble, each one has a *psalm* [ψαλμὸν], has a *teaching* [διδασχὴν], has a *revelation* [ἀποκάλυψιν], has a *tongue* [γλῶσσαν], has an *interpretation* [ἐρμηνείαν].” Therefore, in both cases where teaching is mentioned in ch. 14, Paul lists other inspired utterances. It seems probable that teaching is more than mere human exposition of the Scriptures or general edification but is a Spirit-led occasion.²⁵ Now how much teaching overlaps with prophecy is greatly debated.²⁶ The point in mentioning inspired teaching is to show that inspired utterances, prophecy and teaching, can consist of *inspired instruction and exposition*.²⁷

With this brief overview in mind, we must continue to reckon with Paul’s statement in 13:2: ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια

25 Fee concludes, “Probably this [teaching] has to do with a Spirit-inspired utterance that took the form of instruction, rather than with the more common usage that implies formal teaching of some kind” (*First Epistle*, 663). Further unpacking this position, Dunn offers this suggestion: “In 1 Cor. 14.6, 26 he [Paul] obviously has in mind *particular* teachings. That a charismatic insight is in view is strongly suggested by the companion contributions to the assembly’s worship listed in vv. 6 and 26” (*Jesus and Spirit*, 237).

26 See Forbes, *Prophecy*, 229-37 and bibliography therein.

27 Hill suggests that Rom 11:25-32 and 1 Cor 15:51 are “examples of prophetic μυστήρια.” They are “prophetic instruction ... which builds up the church, giving warning ... comfort as well” (“Christian Prophets as Teachers or Instructors in the Church” in *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament* [ed. J Panagopoulos; NovTSup 45; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 117-18). Hill is right to emphasize the “instructing” and “comforting” aspect of mystery. In the previous chapter, Paul was a faithful steward of mysteries in his *appropriation* of mysteries to the church. We saw this specifically in the use of μυστήριον in Rom 11, Eph 1 and 3. Note our earlier conclusion regarding Paul’s use of mystery:

Paul thought it crucial to proclaim the mystery. This theme has surfaced in almost every example [Rom 11:25-32; Eph 3:2-10; Col 1:25-29; 4:3]. Second, Paul delivers the mystery to educate the church concerning God’s actions in redemptive history. ... Fourth, in declaring the mystery to the churches, Paul makes known the wisdom of God. Fifth, Paul actively engages the church concerning mysteries, so that they might live in light of this new revelation” (pg. 186).

Hill aptly concludes, “If Christian prophets revealed μυστήρια in the manner of the Apostle, that activity belonged to their ministry of παράκλησις and παραμυθία: their inspired knowledge of the eschatological secrets is turned to the service of the community in advice, encouragement and warning” (“Christian Prophets,” 118).

πάντα. Somehow apocalyptic wisdom and prophecy virtually coalesce, as most commentators agree.²⁸ Since prophecy may include inspired interpretations of OT Scripture, it may not be unusual for Paul to place μυστήρια alongside of prophecy in this regard.²⁹ Though Grudem admits that mysteries and prophecy are deeply connected, he fails to relate the two.³⁰ But where Grudem stops short,³¹ Forbes explores further. In engaging the debate as to whether or not prophecy entails "inspired exegesis," Forbes perceptively studies the use of μυστήριον and its relationship with OT Scripture (he notes the clear relationship between the OT and mystery in several key passages³²). After examining Rom 11:25-26 and 16:25-26, he concludes, "From these passages, with the explicit linkages they draw between the revelation of mysteries and the exposition of the Bible, we can conclude safely that as far as Paul himself is concerned, *the inspired interpretation of the O.T. may be at least one part of the role of the prophet*"³³ (italics mine). Moreover, we need to

28 E.g., Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 167; Aune, *Prophecy*, 333; Sandnes, *Paul*, 94; Clint Tibbs, *Religious Experience of the Pneuma: Communication with the Spirit World in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14* (WUNT 230; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 224 Deden, "Le 'Mystère' paulinien," 410; contra Harvey, "Use of Mystery," 332, who roots Paul's use of mystery here in the mystery religions.

29 As previously mentioned in our brief analysis of the Targums, the term mystery is explicitly used in connection with prophecy: "And when he made petition he prostrated himself upon his face, and the mysteries of prophecy were revealed to him" (Tg. Neof Num 24:16; cf. Tg. Ps. J Num 24:16).

30 Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy*, 103.

31 Grudem is convinced that prophecy and "charismatic exegesis" are entirely separate:

No prophecy in New Testament churches is ever said to consist of the interpretation and application of texts of Old Testament Scripture. Although few have claimed that the prophets in the New Testament churches gave "charismatically inspired" interpretations of Old Testament Scripture, that claim has hardly been persuasive, primarily because it is hard to find in the New Testament any convincing examples where the "prophet" word group is used to refer to someone doing this kind of activity. (*Gift of Prophecy*, 120; italics original)

Unfortunately, Grudem appears to have not explored the relationship between mystery (that he claims is deeply related to prophecy) and the OT, and Paul's prophetic role in this connection.

32 First Corinthians 13:2; 14:6, 29-30; Eph 2:19-20; 3:4-6.

33 Forbes, *Prophecy*, 234. E. Earle Ellis, strongly argues that prophecy, particularly in the book of Acts, is intimately related to the OT. Unfortunately, he barely makes the connection between Paul's use of mystery and the OT (citing only Rom 16:25 and Eph 3:3-5 in passing; *Prophecy and Hermeneutics*, 137-38). He does, however, provide much support from an OT and early Jewish perspective that prophecy and interpretation go hand in hand (see pgs. 129-44). E. Cothenet argues for charismatic exegesis throughout Judaism and the NT. His study is a bit broader than Ellis who is more focused on Acts; though citing several texts in Paul, he does not articulate Paul's use of μυστήριον with the OT ("Les prophètes chrétiens comme exegetes charismatiques

keep in mind that charismatic exegesis was practiced in the OT (e.g., Dan 9:2-27)³⁴ and especially at Qumran;³⁵ recall that the use of mystery is deeply attached to the inspired *pešer* hermeneutic.

It appears as though we have broached the purported gap between prophecy (13:2) and inspired teaching (14:6, 26). After investigating how much of prophetic speech is dedicated to “charismatic exegesis,” Forbes rightly concludes that, though inspired exegesis is a prophetic task, it is not characteristic of the Christian prophet.³⁶ The NT simply lacks sufficient evidence to conclude that Christian prophets were thoroughly charismatic interpreters. But even though NT prophets were not characterized by inspired exegesis, we should not surmise then that this form of prophecy is less important or that it did not exist.

6.7. First Corinthians 14:24-25

As we have seen in our above discussion, Paul strongly associates the notion of prophecy with mystery. In this passage, though the word *μυστήριον* does not occur, does the concept exist? If so, then this would further link *μυστήριον* and prophecy. Fortunately for us, Paul has provided a window into the function of prophecy in 14:24-25: “But if all prophesy [*προφητεύωσιν*], and an unbeliever or an ungifted man enters, he is convicted by all, he is called to account by all; the secrets of his heart are disclosed [*τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερά γίνεται*]; and so he will fall on his face and worship God, declaring that

de l'Écriture” in *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament* [ed. J. Panagopoulos; NovTSup 45; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 77-107).

Dunn also supports this notion of charismatic exegesis in Rom 8:25-32; though he strongly separates teaching and prophecy, he nevertheless supports the notion of inspired teaching: “In Paul’s view the activity of teaching (*διδάσκων*) is also a charismatic act (Rom. 12.7). ... the particular insights of teaching are probably to be distinguished from the particular utterances of prophecy in that prophecy would express a new word from God as such, whereas teaching would tend to denote more a *new insight into an old word from God*” (*Jesus and Spirit*, 237; italics original). For others who view the validity of inspired exegesis in early Christianity, see Larry Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 73-74.

34 Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 454-56.

35 Brownlee, “Biblical Interpretation,” 54-76; Mandel, “Midrashic Exegesis and Its Precedents,” 149-68; J. A. Fitzmyer, “Explicit Old Testament Quotations,” 3-58; Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas for Citation,” 30-70; Rabinowitz, “Peshar/Pittaron,” 226-30; Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis*; Finkel, “The Peshar of Dreams and Scriptures,” 383-98; Aune, “Charismatic Exegesis,” 126-50.

36 Forbes, *Prophecy*, 236.

God is certainly among you.” Unlike tongues, prophecy is a sign of God’s gracious presence in the church (14:21-23).³⁷ So when an unbeliever enters a prophesying congregation, the “secrets of the heart” are revealed.³⁸ The community as a whole acts as God’s mouthpiece in this great prophetic act of judgment.³⁹

The revelation of an individual’s heart has deep tortuous roots, spreading throughout Second Temple Judaism, twisting around other concepts as well.⁴⁰ The discussion here focuses primarily on the correlation between the revelation of what is in a human heart and *μυστήριον*. Instead of sifting through countless passages involving the heart, we will come at it more directly.

The terms *κρυπ/φαν* may be used in a non-apocalyptic context with no reference to mystery (John 7; 2 Cor 4; Tob 12:11; Wis 6:22; 14:23), but *κρυπ/φαν* does occur *with* *μυστήριον* in the NT (Mark 4:22; Luke 8:17; Col 1:26). Deuteronomy 29:29, 2 Macc 12:41, and *Let. Aris.* 132 employ this language exclusively for God’s knowledge of an individual’s heart.⁴¹ Three NT texts—Mark 4:22, Luke 8:17, and Col 1:26—attribute this language to God’s revelation of a mystery. Paul’s use of hidden and manifest gives us some direction, for these words connect the notion of mystery with 1 Cor 14:25. First Corinthians 14:25 may combine both of these aspects: mystery and God’s knowledge of the human heart.

37 Fee, *First Epistle*, 687.

38 It appears as though only the unbeliever is conscious of this revelatory act. The only public display is the actual effect or conversion (Lindmann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief*, 310-11) of the unbeliever when he “falls on his face and worships God” (see Schrage, *erste Brief*, 3:413).

39 In 14:24, two key words bring out the notion of conviction and judgment *ἐλέγχεται* (see John 8:46) and *ἀνακρίνεται* (1 Cor 4:3-5). Sandnes comments, “The prophet, in addressing the unbeliever directly, brings him proleptically before the judgment of God. ... so that the unbeliever here gets an opportunity to repent” (*One of the Prophets*, 95; see also Grudem, *Gift of Prophecy*, 152-54; Fee, *First Epistle*, 686).

40 E.g., 1 Sam 16:7; Ps 139; Jer 17:10; Mark 2:6-8; 1 Cor 4:5; Heb 4:12-13.

41 Several other texts further intimate that God alone possesses such knowledge such as Ps 139:3-5 and 2 Sam 14:20 (see Sandnes, *Paul*, 96). One text in particular combines judging with the hiddenness of an individual’s heart: “He will surely judge those who are in his world, and will truly inquire into everything with regard to all their works which were sins. He will certainly investigate the secret thoughts and everything which is lying in the inner chambers of all their members which are in sin” (2 Bar. 83:2-3).

6.7.1. Daniel 2:46-47 in 1 Cor 14:24-25

If the concept of mystery lies behind 14:25, which appears to be the case given the above lexical associations elsewhere, then other similarities pertaining to apocalypticism may likewise be present in the immediate context. Commentators have noted a pastiche of OT and Jewish allusions in 1 Cor 14:24-25; they often divide 14:25 into two or three different OT allusions. They claim that τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται is a thoroughly Jewish notion, alluding to such passages as 1 Sam 16:7, Ps 139, Jer 17:10, *Midr Ps.* 14:1, and so on.⁴² Whereas the second allusion—*πесὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον*—is viewed as a reference to Gen 17:3, 17, Lev 9:24, Num 16:22, Ezek 11:13, and 1 Kings 18:39.⁴³ And the last allusion (which is sometimes combined with the second), ὅντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν, recalls 1 Kings 18:39,⁴⁴ Isa 45:14,⁴⁵ Zech 8:23,⁴⁶ and Dan 2:47.⁴⁷ These commentators correctly discern an OT background; however, closer examination of the passages shows that Paul has at least one or two primary OT texts in mind—Dan 2:46-47 and Isa 45:14—along with an amalgam of secondary texts such as 1 Kings 18:39 and Zech 8:23. Though these OT texts are very similar to 1 Cor 14:25, Dan 2:46-47 is the closest allusion.⁴⁸ Daniel 2:46-47 is the

42 So Fee, *First Epistle*, 686-87; NA²⁷; Hübner, *Biblische Theologie*, 2:197; Sandnes, *Paul*, 96-98.

43 Heil, *Rhetorical Role of Scripture*, 194; Hübner, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, 290.

44 1 Kings 18:39: καὶ ἔπесεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν καὶ εἶπον ἀληθὺς κύριος ἐστίν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὁ θεός.

45 Isaiah 45:14: οὕτως λέγει κύριος σαβαωθ ἐκοπίασεν Αἴγυπτος καὶ ἐμπορία Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ οἱ Σεβων ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ ἐπὶ σὲ διαβήσονται καὶ σοὶ ἔσονται δούλοι καὶ ὀπίσω σου ἀκολουθήσουσιν δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι καὶ ἐν σοὶ προσεύξονται ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ θεός ἐστίν καὶ ἐροῦσιν οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς πλὴν σου.

46 Zechariah 8:23: τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐὰν ἐπιλάβωνται δέκα ἄνδρες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν γλωσσῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἐπιλάβωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου λέγοντες πορευσόμεθα μετὰ σοῦ διότι ἀκηκόαμεν ὅτι ὁ θεός μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐστίν.

47 Scholars who see any combination of these are: Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1130; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 653; Schrage, *erste Brief*, 3:414; Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 331-33; Heil, *Rhetorical Role*, 195; NA²⁷; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 327; Hübner, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, 290; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 243-44; Hill, "Christian Prophets," 113. Str-B 3:463-64; Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 3; H.-D. Wendland, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (NTD 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 129.

48 I do think that Dan 2:46-47 is in the same thematic vein as 1 Kings 18:39, Zech 8:23, and esp. Isa 45:14 (most commentators treat 14:25c as a partial quotation from Isa 45:14), and that Paul could have these other OT texts secondarily in mind; however, it seems that these texts ought to be viewed through the lens of Dan 2:46-47, for the Danielic allusion appears to be most prominent, especially, in the light of Paul's discussion of prophecy and mystery in 13:2.

only text in the LXX that combines all three items⁴⁹—“hidden things” (κρυπτὰ) being made “manifest” (φανερὰ), “falling down and worshipping God” (πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκυνήσει τῷ θεῷ), and a declaration about God (ὅντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν):

Dan. 2:46-47 (LXX-OG)	1Cor. 14:25
⁴⁶ τότε Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασι- λεὺς <u>πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον</u> χαμαὶ <u>προσεκύνησε</u> τῷ Δανιηλ καὶ ἐπέταξε θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ ⁴⁷ καὶ ἐκφωνήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Δανιηλ εἶπεν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς <u>ὑμῶν θεὸς τῶν θεῶν</u> καὶ κύριος τῶν βασιλέων ὁ <u>ἐκφαίνων</u> ⁵⁰ μυστήρια <u>κρυπτὰ</u> μόνος ὅτι ἐδυ- νάσθης δηλῶσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο	<u>τὰ κρυπτὰ</u> τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ <u>φανερὰ γίνεται</u> , καὶ οὕτως <u>πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσ-</u> <u>κυνήσει</u> τῷ θεῷ ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι <u>ὄντως ὁ θεὸς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστίν</u> .

Though most commentators only see an allusion to Dan 2:47, a few scholars (Heil, Wilk, Lindemann, and Hays) have noted the allusion to Dan verses 46 and 47 along with the other OT references (e.g., Isa 45:14; Zech 8:23)⁵¹ and have intimated this relationship between 1 Cor 14:25 and Dan 2:46-47. The wider context of Daniel 2 adds to our understanding of μυστήριον in 1 Cor 14:25. This allusion to Dan 2:46-47 concerns Nebuchadnezzar and his relationship to the mystery given him in 2:26-45. In order for us to understand fully Paul's OT reference, a brief examination of Dan 2 is needed.

Even after discussing Dan 2 in some detail, we still need to re-examine one particular aspect. Nebuchadnezzar “had dreams; and his spirit was troubled” (2:1). The king desired to understand what his dream meant, so he assembled his “wise men” for its interpretation (2:3). After failing to give both the dream and its interpretation, the wise men declare, “There is no one else who could declare it to the king except the gods, whose dwelling place is not with *mortal* flesh” (2:11;

49 As far as I can tell, only Wilk has made this identical claim: „in Kombination mit den übrigen – in der Übersicht markierten – Motiven steht sie aber nur in Dan 2” (*Die Bedeutung*, 331).

50 Each time the verb is used in the LXX of Daniel, it is always in the context of revealing the mystery (2:19, 30, 47).

51 Heil, *Rhetorical Role*, 195; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 332; Lindemann, *Der Erste Brief*, 310-11; Hays, *Conversion of the Imagination*, 3.

italics original). Finally, God gives Daniel the dream and its interpretation, and he proceeds to deliver it to the king. But in 2:28-30, we learn that the mystery is intimately *connected* to Nebuchadnezzar:

There is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries,...This was your dream *and the visions in your mind* [תְּחִלָּתְךָ וְחִזְיוֹנֶיךָ/τὸ ὄραμα τῆς κεφαλῆς σου {OG}] while on your bed. As for you, O king, while on your bed your thoughts turned to what would take place in the future; and he who reveals mysteries has made known to you what will take place. But as for me, this mystery has not been revealed to me for any wisdom residing in me more than *in any other living man*, but for the purpose of making the interpretation known to the king, *and that you may understand the thoughts of your mind* [וְכִי תֵּדָעַתְּ לִבְרִיךָ/ἃ ὑπέλαβες τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ἐν γνώσει {OG}/τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῆς καρδίας σου γνῶς {Theo}; italics original].⁵²

This passage repeatedly states that the revelation of the mystery is a further unveiling of what Nebuchadnezzar had already known; it is a revelation of the dream that had been placed upon his heart (Dan 2:1). Nebuchadnezzar apparently already knew what he had dreamt but did not divulge its content to Daniel; the dream that was hidden within Nebuchadnezzar is now being disclosed to Daniel (2:19). Finally, in 2:47, the king falls down and pays obeisance to Daniel because he had unveiled both what God placed upon the king's heart *and* what it meant, which the king had not known. Furthermore, the entire thrust of Dan 2:1-47 is to show that Daniel's God is wiser than the "wise men" of Babylon and that God has the ability to communicate his wisdom. Nebuchadnezzar thus recognizes this supernatural event—the revelation of the dream and its interpretation—and venerates God for its disclosure. He surmises that only Daniel's God has the power (Dan 2:20-23) to reveal such a "deep" and "hidden" thing.

Coming back to 1 Cor 14:25, we are thus able to observe the following in light of Dan 2. This unbeliever in 14:25 who has entered into a community of prophesying believers undergoes a very similar process: *Just as God unveiled the mystery hidden in Nebuchadnezzar's heart through the prophet Daniel, so God discloses that which is hidden in the unbeliever's heart through the Christian prophets.* In other words, the prophet Daniel was God's instrument in prying out the mystery of Nebuchadnezzar, just as God uses the Corinthian prophets to uncover the mystery of the unbeliever's heart. Wilk comes strikingly close to this observation: „Der Anspielung auf Dan 2:46f. ist daher zu entnehmen, daß das prophetische Wirken der Gemeinde für Paulus in einem typologischen

52 Aquila reads βουλή τῆς καρδίας instead of ἃ ὑπέλαβες τῇ καρδίᾳ, which is very close to 1 Cor 4:5.

Entsprechungsverhältnis zum Wirken Daniels steht.”⁵³ Though I do not see a typological relationship between these two events, Wilk is heading in the right direction by connecting the narrative of Dan 2:46-47 with 1 Cor 14:25.

In addition, the main point of 14:22-25 is the proclamation of the unbeliever in 14:25c, “God is really among you” (TNIV). The unbeliever confirms that the revelation of his heart is a divine activity, hence, prophecy. No human is capable of probing the inner chambers of an individual’s heart. Nebuchadnezzar’s veneration is very similar to this particular unbeliever.⁵⁴ In both accounts, not only is God revealing the mysteries of the heart, but also the individual *recognizes this process as a divine act*.⁵⁵

6.7.2. The DSS and 1 Cor 14:24-25

This wording—“the secrets of his heart are disclosed”—is highly reminiscent of our previous discussion of 4:5⁵⁶

53 Wilk, *Die Bedeutung*, 332.

54 We do need to note one important difference: In 1 Cor 14:25, God is convicting the individual through the unveiling of his sin, whereas in Dan 2:46-47, God is not convicting Nebuchadnezzar of personal sin or embedded guilt but is revealing to him his dream and its interpretation. Though there is a marked difference between these two texts in this regard, the rhetorical aim is still significant. The same God who is characterized by revealing great eschatological mysteries (e.g., Dan 2:22, 28-30, 47) is now using his same power and wisdom (Dan 2:20-23) to reveal the hidden things of an individual’s heart. In other words, nothing is able to escape the knowledge and wisdom of God, though it may be tucked away within the crevices of the human heart.

55 Heil rightly perceives Paul’s rhetorical aim in the quotation of 14:21 (Isa 28:11-12) and the allusion(s) to the OT in 14:25: “whereas with the scriptural quotation in 14:21, Paul persuades his Corinthian audience against speaking in unintelligible tongues in the worshiping assembly, because it is a sign that results in unbelief in God, with the scriptural allusion in 14:25 he complements his rhetorical strategy by persuading his audience to prophesy, because it is a sign that results in belief in God” (*Rhetorical Role*, 202).

56 Commentators have noticed the thematic connection between 4:5 and 14:25 (Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 95; NA²⁷; Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief*, 310. It may even be possible for 4:5 and 14:25 to be connected to 2:10-13, especially v. 10: “For to us God revealed them through the Spirit; for the Spirit searches all things, even the depths [τὰ βάθη] of God.”

1 Cor 4:5	1 Cor 14:25
ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκοτούς καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλάς τῶν καρδιῶν	τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται

The concept of judgment is prominent in both of these passages, and I argued at some length for the influence of Dan 2:22-23 in 4:5, describing Paul's personal apocalyptic judgment. Roughly, the same argument is also warranted in 14:25, for the notion of *μυστήριον* or hidden wisdom is possibly in mind.⁵⁷

The DSS seem to support this conclusion. In several texts, wisdom, knowledge, judgment, and mystery are all intertwined but in regard to personal evaluation.⁵⁸ The *Community Rule* articulates both a corporate and individual eschatological judgment, combining themes of wisdom, knowledge, and mystery:

God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory [ברִי שְׂכָלִי וְיִדְבַּח כְּבוֹדוֹ וְיִבְחַח כְּבוֹדוֹ], has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time of the visitation he will obliterate it for ever. ... Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost

57 In 4:5, we argued for an allusion to Dan 2:22-23a, whereas in 14:25 I propose an allusion to Dan 2:46-47. I still think these allusions are made to different Danielic texts, despite the amount of shared vocabulary between 1 Cor 4:5 and 14:25. Though these texts in 1 Corinthians are thematically and linguistically connected, there are still enough differences to posit different OT allusions. For example, 1 Cor 4:5 mentions "light," "darkness," "praise," and "motives" that are not found in 14:25 but are traceable in Dan 2:22-23a. The same for 1 Cor 14:25; "falling on the face," "worshipping God," and declaring "God is among you" are enough to suggest other texts outside of Dan 2:22-23a. But the continuity between these two texts is still discernable. The common denominator between these two texts is not only the common use of vocabulary exhibited in the above textual comparisons but also the concept of mystery, and, therefore, it is not surprising that some inkling of Dan 2:20-23 lies behind 14:25 (see pgs. 27-31, for a discussion on the importance of Dan 2:20-23 and its relationship with mystery).

58 Mystery, hiddenness, and revealing are also somewhat frequent in Jewish non-apocalyptic literature. For example, Tob 12:7 says, "It is good to guard the mystery of a king, but gloriously to reveal the works of God" (*μυστήριον βασιλέως καλὸν κρύπτειν τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλύπτειν ἐνδόξως*; see Tob 12:11; Wis 6:22; 14:23; T. Ab. [A] 3:4, 12; T. Ab. [B] 3:4; *Sacr* 60-62). T. Ab. [A] 3:12 adds, "Abraham saw the wonder and was astonished, and he picked up the stones secretly and hid the mystery, keeping it in his heart." It is possible that this language in 14:25 is non-apocalyptic and is used in a more secular or profane sense, but the immediate context may provide clues that intimate an apocalyptic notion. It appears as though the community is prophesying and laying bare the "mysteries" of the unbeliever's heart in the context of judgment.

part of his flesh [מִתְּכַמִּי בִשְׂרִיר], and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deed (*italics mine*).⁵⁹

This passage affirms God's knowledge *and* judgment of an individual's heart, while placing it in the larger scope of redemptive history. "Mysteries" and wisdom refer to God's plan of redemption and judgment that were formerly hidden but will be revealed in the end. Moreover, this same theme is also picked up in *1QHodayot*⁶⁰:

These things I know through your knowledge, for you opened my ears to *wondrous mysteries* [לְדַרְזֵי פִלְאָ] although I am a creature of clay, ... Everything has been engraved before you with the stylus of remembrance for all the incessant periods and the cycles of the number of everlasting years in all their predetermined times, and they will not *be hidden* [נִסְתָּרוּ], and will not be lacking from before you. *How will a man count his sin? How will he defend his iniquities? How will an unjust respond to a just judgment?* (*italics mine*; IX, 21-26)

Again, we have the repetition of revealing eschatological mysteries as a part of the unfolding of redemptive history with the mentioning of judgment. Because God has planned and knows the future, including the destiny of all humans, then, of course, human sin is clearly discernable by God and is the basis for judgment.

2.7.3. The Pseudepigrapha and 1 Cor 14:24-25

As we have previously seen in our analysis of the *Similitudes* of 1 Enoch, God judges the righteous and the wicked. Several texts portray God revealing the "secrets of the heart":

When the secrets of the righteous are revealed, he shall judge the sinners.⁶⁰ (38:3)

He [the Elect One] shall judge the secret things. And no one will be able to utter vain words in his presence. (49:4)

And when he shall lift up his countenance in order to judge the secret ways of theirs. (61:9)

Your power exposes every secret thing from generation to generation and your glory is forever and ever. Deep are all your mysteries. (63:2-3)

⁵⁹ IV, 18-21.

⁶⁰ So mss B C and Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:125.

Here the term “secrets” most likely refers to the private works of the individual (cf. 38:2; 45:1-6; 50:1-5; 61:5), for God holds each individual accountable. Keeping in mind the larger scope of the *Similitudes*, the book largely consists of Enoch’s travels through the cosmos and his insight into the inner workings of God. Enoch discovers that God is not only sovereign over the cosmos but also sovereign over the human heart. We learn that there are heavenly *and* human secrets awaiting revelation.

Therefore, in light of our analysis of Dan 2:28-30, 46-47 and various texts in the DSS and Pseudepigrapha, we are able to surmise that prophecy in 14:24-25 is a revelation of the mysteries of the unbeliever’s heart. Sandnes argues that a prophet “through revelations, shares God’s knowledge of hidden things, both in space and time”;⁶¹ and goes on to say “insight into the mysteries of time and men’s hearts, is something reserved for the Divine.”⁶² The prophesying community, analogous to Daniel, brings to light the hidden “mysteries” of the heart.

By way of summary, Paul has alluded to Dan 2:46-27 in 1 Cor 14:25. This allusion, albeit subtle, keeps the reader’s attention on the Danielic mystery and rhetorically admonishes the church to curtail their glossolalic emphasis and prefer the gift of prophecy in a public setting. We highlighted Paul’s deployment of *μυστήρια* in 13:2 and its *modus operandi* in 14:25. Even Qumran and 1 Enoch attest to the validity of this use of mystery. The prophesying community in 14:24-25, the very mouthpiece of God, exposes the mysteries of an unbeliever’s heart analogous to Daniel exposing the hidden mystery in Nebuchadnezzar’s heart (Dan 2:28-30). In both cases, the unbeliever and Nebuchadnezzar affirm the supernatural act of disclosure, declaring that God is truly in their midst.

6.8. Apocalyptic Tongues and Mysteries

Seeing that Paul’s use of *μυστήρια* in 13:2 is highly revelatory, we are now poised to move on to 14:2 and add to our previous reference to it. The Apostle says, “For one who speaks in a tongue does not speak to men, but to God; for no one understands, but by the Spirit he *speaks mysteries* [λαλεῖ μυστήρια].” Verse 2 grounds (γὰρ) the previous exhortation—“especially that you may prophesy” (14:1)—and breaks it into two parts: “The one who speaks in a tongue does not speak to men

61 Sandnes, *One of the Prophets*, 95.

62 Ibid., 96.

but to God” and “For no one understands him, but by the Spirit he speaks mysteries.” The second part of verse 2 grounds the first—“one who speaks in a tongue speaks to God, *because no one understands* [οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει⁶³], but by the Spirit speaks mysteries” (italics and trans. mine).

A full analysis of tongues in chs. 12-14 is beyond the scope of this work, for much has been written on this particular topic in the latter half of the twentieth century. We will sideline the discussion about the nature of glossolalia and briefly come back to this discussion later (it does, however, appear as though glossolalia are human and angelic languages).⁶⁴ Instead, various perspectives on their *function* will be discussed.

63 Paul’s word here for understand—ἀκούει—is particularly interesting. Though this word can mean to “understand” elsewhere (e.g., Acts 22:9; Gal 4:21), it more naturally means to “hear” (e.g., Matt 2:3; Mark 2:17; Luke 4:23; 1 Cor 5:1; 11:8) or “obey” (Matt 17:5; Luke 9:35; Acts 3:22). Could Paul use this particular verb in order to connect it with 1 Cor 2:9 (οὓς οὐκ ᾔκουσεν)? Furthermore, elsewhere in the NT, ἀκούω is used in conjunction with an individual’s ability (or lack thereof) to comprehend or understand mysteries (e.g., Matt 13:9-43; Mark 4:3, 9-12; Luke 8:8-15; Rom 11:8, 25; 1 Cor 2:7, 9; Eph 3:2-3, 9). Paul may thus be picking up on this theme (see my discussion of this notion in Appendix B) and applying it to a situation where mysteries are communicated but without proper interpretation; hence, the inability to comprehend revelation.

64 Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 972-88, lists six major positions concerning the nature of tongues: 1) tongues as angelic speech (e.g., Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 69-71; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 244; Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth*, 282; G. Dautenberg, “γλῶσσα,” *EDNT* 1:251-55; Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 223; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 300; Fee, *First Epistle*, 598; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 585, lists this interpretation as a possibility); 2) tongues as foreign languages (e.g., Forbes, *Prophecy*, 61-65; Craig Keener, *1-2 Corinthians* [NCBC Cambridge: Cambridge, 2005], 113; Robert H. Gundry, *Survey of the New Testament* [4th ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003], 382); 3) liturgical or rhythmic utterances (e.g., C. F. G. Heinrici, *Das erste Sendschreiben des Apostel Paulus an die Korinther* [Berlin: Hertz, 1880], 374-94); 4) ecstatic speech (e.g., H. Kleinknecht, “πνεῦμα,” *TDNT* 6:345-48; S. D. Currie, “Speaking in Tongues: Early Evidence Outside the New Testament Bearing on ‘Glössais Lalein,’” *Int* 19 [1965]:274-94; L. T. Johnson, “Tongues, Gift of,” *ABD* 6:596-600); J. Behm, “γλῶσσα,” *TDNT* 1:724; 5) unconscious speech and conscious interpretation (Theissen, *Psychological Aspects*, 276-341); 6) unconscious speech (K. Stendahl, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles* [London: SCM, 1977], 109-24; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 985-88; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 585-86). A combination of the first and second options appears to be most likely (see G. Hovenden *Speaking in Tongues: The New Testament Evidence in Context* [JPTSUP 22; Sheffield: Sheffield, 2002], 126, 128-30). The first option does justice to the apocalyptic vocabulary in 13:1-2 and 14:2 and early Jewish background, most notably the DSS. The second option, readily defended by Forbes, satisfies the usage of glossolalia in Acts 2 and the LXX. Whatever the combination or the exact delineation may be, glossolalia ought at least to be understood as cognitive (D. A. Carson, *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12-14* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1987], 77-106).

According to Forbes,⁶⁵ three dominant opinions exist: 1) tongues function as praise and prayer (1 Cor 14:15-16)⁶⁶; 2) they are "signs" (14:21-25)⁶⁷; 3) glossolalia are revelatory (14:2).⁶⁸ It is sufficient to note that these three views are all facets of a revelatory notion. For example, as we will see toward the end of this chapter, "prayer and praise" intimate a revelatory perspective. For our purposes, we will focus on this last function and determine whether or not this adds to this present study of *μυστήριον*. We ought to remind ourselves that each of these functions may be correct and that there is probably not one monolithic function or mode of tongues, for Paul himself iterates that there are "kinds of tongues" (*γένη γλωσσῶν*; 12:10, 28).

Though the relationship between Acts 2 and 1 Cor 12-14 is under considerable debate, it is still worthwhile to mention that Luke interprets tongues at Pentecost in 2:4-13 with Joel's prophecy concerning the democratization of the Spirit (Acts 2:17-21). Opening the gates of communication, the Spirit of God is poured out on individuals, enabling them to receive various forms of revelations (2:17-18). This effusion of the Spirit is directly related to individuals speaking in foreign tongues (*xenoglossolalia*).⁶⁹

Secondly, prophecy, a thoroughly revelatory gift in the NT and 1 Corinthians (13:2; 14:6, 24-25), functions in a very similar capacity to *interpreted* glossolalia. For instance, in 14:3, prophecy is public because it "speaks to men for *edification* [*οἰκοδομῆν*] and exhortation and consolation." Although Paul does admit that tongues are generally inferior to prophecy (they are for personal edification [14:2, 4, 14-17]), he gives one important exception: "Greater is the one who prophesies than one who speaks in tongues, *unless he interprets* [*εἰ μὴ διεμνηεύῃ*], so that

65 Forbes, *Prophecy*, 91-99.

66 T. M. Crone, *Early Christian Prophecy: a Study of its Origin and Function* (Baltimore: St. Mary's University, 1973), 219; G. Dautzenberg, *Urchristliche Prophetie* (BWANT 104; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975), 227; K. Stendahl, "Glossolalia and the Charismatic Movement," in *God's Christ and His People* (ed. J. Jervell and W. Meeks; Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), 122-29.

67 H. W. House, "Tongues and the Mystery Religions at Corinth," *BSac* 140 (1983): 134-50; S. L. Johnson, "The Gift of Tongues and the Book of Acts," *BSac* 120 (1963), 309-11; O. P. Robertson, "Tongues: Sign of Covenantal Curse and Blessing," *WTJ* 38 (1975), 43-53.

68 Forbes, *Prophecy*, 94-95; Robertson, "Tongues," 50; T. L. Wilkinson, "Tongues and Prophecy in Acts and 1 Corinthians," *VR* 31 (1978): 1-20; M. E. Boring, *Sayings of the Risen Jesus: Christian Prophecy in the Synoptic Tradition* (SNTSMS 46; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982); Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 244; Hill, "Christian Prophets," 117; E. E. Ellis, "Prophecy in the New Testament Church — and Today," in *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today* (NovTSup 45; ed. J. Panagopoulos; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 46-57.

69 See also Forbes, *Prophecy*, 95.

the church may receive *edifying* [οἰκοδομῆν]” (14:5). If some glossolalia are by extension (i.e., interpreted) *for* the community, then it seems quite natural that they consist of various revelations because the glossolalia have, in effect, a target audience beyond the individual.⁷⁰ Lastly, according to 14:13, the glossolalist on public occasions ought to “pray that he may interpret” (προσευχέσθω ἵνα διερμηνεύῃ). The inference is that only God can grant the individual the interpretation, further highlighting the initial revelation of glossolalia.⁷¹ Therefore, in light of these observations it is possible that glossolalia in part consists of revelation.⁷²

Now that we have understood tongues to be revelatory, at least to some degree, we are in a position to apprehend 14:2c, πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια. But we must first determine the meaning of the word πνεύματι and then we can attempt to understand “speaking mysteries” (λαλεῖ μυστήρια). We are presented with two options for understanding the noun πνεῦμα: a human spirit⁷³ or God’s Spirit.⁷⁴ Syntactically, either option is possible. In 12:1-11, Paul outlines the role of “spiritual gifts” (πνευματικά). Though a multiplicity of gifts, they all stem from “the same Spirit” (τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι; 12:9). Each one of these charismata is a “manifestation of the Spirit.” Wisdom, knowledge, faith, and healing are given to the believer “by the Spirit” (repeated four times in vv. 8-9).⁷⁵ Even different “kinds of tongues” (ἑτέρω γένη γλωσσῶν) and the “interpretation of tongues” (ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν) are a manifestation of the Spirit (12:10).⁷⁶ Therefore, the gifting of tongues according to Paul is thoroughly a result of the Spirit’s work in the believer.

Confusion arises, however, with Paul’s discussion of “spirit” and “mind” in 14:14-16. But in v. 14, Paul adds a possessive pronoun to

70 The community that receives edification is however still secondary in terms of order to the individual’s personal edification (14:4).

71 Cf. Forbes, *Prophecy*, 100-1; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 248. In 12:10, “interpretation of tongues” (ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν) is a manifestation of the Spirit’s work in the community. Furthermore, “interpretation” is closely associated with “revelation” (ἀποκάλυψις) in 14:26.

72 See also the very close association between prophecy, tongues, and knowledge in 13:8. Both prophecy and knowledge are revelatory (see above discussion), which further affirms the revelatory character of glossolalia. Cf. Richard Gaffin, *Perspectives on Pentecost: New Testament Teaching on the Gifts of the Holy Spirit* (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing Company, 1979), 80-81.

73 NASB; NIV; KJV; ASV; Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 168.

74 NET; ESV; NRSV; NLT; NJB; TNIV; Fee, *First Epistle*, 656; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1086; Tibb, *Religious Experience*, 227-28.

75 First Corinthians 12:8-9: ὃ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλω δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἑτέρω πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι. ἄλλω δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι.

76 The ταῦτα in 12:11 probably refers to all of the gifts in vv. 8-10.

"spirit," so that there would be no ambiguity: "For if I pray in a tongue, *my spirit prays* [τὸ πνεῦμά μου], but *my mind* [νοῦς μου] is unfruitful."⁷⁷ Therefore, it seems likely that πνεύματι in 14:2 means "by the Spirit,"⁷⁸ because of the Spirit's work in the charisms, especially glossolalia. In addition, the Spirit in 1 Cor 2:10-16 is the agent who reveals the apocalyptic wisdom (2:7) to the believer. It would thus be very natural for the Spirit again to be involved in further revelations. But even if we grant the interpretation that πνεύματι is an individual's spirit, the thrust of the passage would not be significantly altered.⁷⁹

There are a few different ways to interpret μυστήρια in 14:2. Some take the term in a mundane sense (i.e., the glossolalist simply communicates "secrets" to God).⁸⁰ There are also those who take this clause adverbially—"speaking mysteriously"⁸¹ or as referring to mystery cults.⁸² Tibb argues that μυστήρια refers here to "hidden languages."⁸³ Finally, μυστήρια could refer to the glossolalist speaking worshipfully to God a multiplicity of eschatological revelations via the Spirit.⁸⁴ In light of these possibilities, the third option appears to be the most probable in the immediate context (note our above discussion concerning the revelatory nature of tongues). But whatever one concludes, one ought to remain very tentative, because interpretative clues are scant.

Since Paul's use of mystery in 14:2 is ambiguous, the search for a closely related passage might yield a better grasp of 14:2; we need not

77 Then in vv. 15-16, Paul drops the pronoun when he refers to his "spirit" and his "mind," for it would be quite redundant to include the pronoun.

78 Several mss. read πνεῦμά instead of πνεύματι, perhaps intimating "the Spirit" (F G b vg^{mss}).

79 The thrust of the passage is the fact that the glossolalist is speaking mysteries; whether or not this is by the Spirit or in an individual's spirit is secondary.

80 E.g., Fee, *First Epistle*, 656. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1085-86; Bruce, *Apostle of the Heart Set Free*, 143; O'Brien, "Mystery," 621-23; Caragounis, *Ephesian Mysticism*, 27.

81 N. I. J. Engelsens, "Glossolalia and Other Forms of Inspired Speech" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1970), cited in Forbes, *Prophecy*, 96; Coppens, "'Mystery' in the Theology of Saint Paul," 137-38.

82 House, "Tongues and the Mystery Religions," 134-50; Harvey, "The Use of Mystery," 332.

83 *Religious Experience*, 228.

84 See Brown, *Semitic Background*, 47; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 244; Bornkamm, "μυστήριον," 822; Kim, *Origin*, 78; by implication, Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 223. Contra Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 168, who claims, "μυστήρια are in no way identified as God's saving designs; they seem rather to designate in a general sense the envisioned 'furniture' of the heavenly world." Bockmuehl's reticence to designate mysteries as eschatological in 14:2 stems from the "unintelligibility of these mysteries without proper 'interpretation'" (168), but that is partly the point of having a correct interpretation: The interpretation or "articulation" of the mystery makes the revelation intelligible.

journey too far, for we quickly arrive at 13:2. We have already discussed at length Paul’s use of mystery in 13:2—“all mysteries and knowledge”—and surmised that *μυστήρια* refers there to eschatological revelations (see 14:25), even further interpretations of OT Scripture. We are not surprised, therefore, that Paul continues to use *μυστήριον* into 14:2. In addition, every other use of *μυστήριον* in 1 Corinthians is eschatologically charged (2:1, 7; 4:1; 15:51). Forbes surmises, “He [Paul] believed glossolalia could function as inspired prayer and praise to God, in which God placed into the believer’s mouth praise related to revelations of God’s secret purposes, now coming to light: in a word, mysteries.”⁸⁵ The main objection to this argument is that it would make little sense for the Spirit to speak back “revelations” to God (14:2, 28).⁸⁶ In my opinion, the greatest defense that can be marshaled against this critique is the Qumran worldview. As we shall see, within various sectors of Second Temple Judaism, tongues and mysteries join together in one location—the heavenly throne room.

6.9. “Tongues of Men and Angels”

Setting us on the right track in our search for the nature of *μυστήρια* of 14:2, Paul divulges an interesting tidbit in 13:1, “If I speak *with the tongues of men and angels* [ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων], but do not have love, I have become a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal.” That tongues and angels⁸⁷ are associated in 13:1 is significant, since tongues in connection to angelic speech is found in Judaism.

Though some are hesitant to see an apocalyptic connection with 13:1 and 14:2, a brief perusal of a few pertinent texts sheds some light on 14:2. Recently, many have conducted detailed studies of angelic prayer and worship in Judaism, making several pertinent conclusions.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Forbes, *Prophecy*, 98.

⁸⁶ So Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1085.

⁸⁷ The importance of angels in 1 Corinthians is noticeable, for the word ἄγγελος is found four times throughout the book (4:9; 6:3; 11:10; 13:1). The other occurrences of the term total ten times elsewhere in the Pauline tradition (Rom 8:38; 2 Cor 11:14; 12:7; Gal 1:8; 3:19; 4:14; Col 2:18; 2 Thess 1:7; 1 Tim 3:16; 5:21). Thus, for the Corinthian church, angels appear to be a salient characteristic.

⁸⁸ Bilhah Nitzan, “Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 163–83, labels this form of praise in relation to angels as “communionist”: “This approach acknowledges the possibility that those human beings who are righteous ... may recite praises in company with the angels and thus attain a spiritual experience of communion with the celestial entourage. This motif is clearly expressed in the apocalyptic literature (1 Enoch 39:7, 61:12) and even more so in Qumran” (167; see also Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 290–91). Even more

In several Jewish texts, we find the visionary joining the angels in their veneration of God. In the *Apoc. Ab.* 17:1-18:14, Abraham participates in the recitation of an angelic song, "I recited the song which he [an angel] had taught me. And he said, 'Recite without ceasing.' And I recited, and he himself recited the song" (17:7). *Testament of Job* 48:3 likewise presents the same notion, "But she [Hemera] spoke ecstatically in the angelic dialect, sending up a hymn to God in accord with the hymnic style of the angels. And as she spoke ecstatically, she allowed 'The Spirit' to be inscribed on her garment" (see also 49:1-50:3).

The *Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 9:33-36 is very similar to 1 Cor 13:2 (though it is probably written after 1 Corinthians), for Isaiah worships the Lord via the Spirit: "I also sang praises with them [angels and other saints]; ... And I asked the angel who led me and I said to him, 'Who is this one?' And he said to me, 'Worship him, for this is the angel of the Holy Spirit who has spoken⁸⁹ in you and also in the other righteous" (see also 9:27-32; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8:1-5). Here, as in *T. Job*, the Spirit is associated with an individual participating in angelic praise.⁹⁰

recent is Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 48; ed. Esther G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35-47, who also concludes about one aspect of liturgy at Qumran: "The distinction between human and angelic praise is dropped, the veil between the realms is removed, and the human worshippers conceive of themselves as actually present with the angels, apparently experiencing a sense of elevation to angelic heights" (43; see also Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 169; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*; and to some degree Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 70). Forbes, though advocating a revelatory use of glossolalia in 14:2, is very leery about connecting angelic languages or praises to glossolalia (*Prophecy*, 182-87). His reticence is probably due to a reluctance in seeing the phenomenon of "ecstatic speech" in tongues (which I think is correct [Forbes, *Prophecy*, 53-56, 182]) and confining glossolalia to human language (44-72); but, in my opinion, Forbes overreacts. First of all, I am not sure if "ecstasy" is present in most of these texts that describe communicating in angelic tongues (except *T. Job*), especially at Qumran. The Qumran texts are not "ecstatic" but rather *liturgical*. Furthermore, in his critique of heavenly glossolalia, Forbes evaluates several proposed Jewish texts (e.g., *T. Job*; *Mart. Ascen. Isa.*; *1 En.*) yet fails to reference any Qumran documents except in one footnote: "Qumran references appear to add nothing significant to the case [angelic praise]." Therefore, despite the claims of Forbes, there still remains ample evidence that angelic speech and worship may help inform Paul's use of glossolalia.

89 Two other texts, Latin 2 and Slavonic, read "speaks."

90 The *Hist. Rech.* 16:8a-g, which appears to be a later Christian interpolation but based on a Jewish text (so J. H. Charlesworth, "History of the Rechabites: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [vol 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983], 444-45), further develops the participation in the angelic praise and the intermediary status of angels:

And again God, our Creator, has given us this (privilege): we hear voices of the spirits and the praises of the angels, the hosts, and the heavenly orders, who continually praise God. When they praise (God), so also we in our land praise

And finally, our last text derives from the *Similitudes* (the only extant copy is in Ethiopic). Within this book, we find an early Jewish account of Enoch likewise sharing in angelic praise and through the agency of angelic beings: “I fell on my face, my whole body mollified and my spirit transformed. Then I cried with a great voice by the spirit of power, blessing, glorifying, and extolling. And those are the blessings which went forth out of my mouth, being well-pleasing in the presence of that Antecedent of Time (71:11-12).” This “praise” follows Enoch’s ascent into the divine throne room, where Michael had shown him “all the secrets” of mercy, righteousness, and creation (71:3-4).

Moving beyond the Pseudepigrapha and into the DSS, several Qumran hymns describe the speaker’s identification with the angelic host. 4QHodayot^a 7 I, 7-19 (4Q427=1QH^a 26 top; 4Q471b 1-3) is exemplar:

[... who is like me] among the gods ... [... I am friend of the kin]g, companion of the holy ones, ... Sing, favoured ones, sing to the king of [glory, rejoice in the assem]bly of God, exult in the tent of salvation, praise in the [holy] residence, [e]xalt together with the eternal host, ... Bless the one who does amazing wonders, and shows the might of his hand seal[ing] up *mysteries* [רִיזִים] and revealing hidden things [וְלִגְלוּת נִסְתָּרוֹת], ... [con]firming majestic [רִיזִי] *mysteries* [רִיזִי] and establishing glorious [wond]ers.

The speaker in this passage clearly identifies himself with the praise of the angelic host.⁹¹ Furthermore, this participation of worship in the divine throne room naturally engenders a recognition of God’s mysteries, for the throne room itself is the locus of wisdom. One other passage in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*^a (1QH^a) confirms this previous passage:

And I know that there is hope for someone you fashioned out of dust for an everlasting community. The depraved spirit you have purified from great offence so that he can take a place with the *host of the holy ones* [צִבְיָה קְדוֹשִׁים], and can enter in communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven. You cast eternal destiny for man with the spirits of knowledge, so that he praises your name in the community of jubilation, and tells of your wonders before all creatures. (1QH^a XI, 20-23; see also 1QH^a III, 21-22; italics mine)

(him). And the angels receive and transmit our prayers and our praises (by) entering and worshipping in love before that divine and mystic throne, (which) knows secrets.

This translation, based on the Syriac, portrays the earthly community participating with the angelic cohort: “When they praise (God), so also we in our land praise (him). Furthermore, the close association between “angels” and “secrets” is noteworthy.

91 1QRule of Benedictions (1Q28b) IV, 25 further supports this notion: “May you be like an angel of the face in the holy residence for the glory of the God of Hos[ts]” (see 1Q28a II, 8-9).

In 1QS XI, 5-9 (*Rule of the Community*), a very important text concerning the nature of mystery at Qumran, the speaker comments on the hidden nature of mystery along with the inclusion of the community among the heavenly beings:

From the spring of his justice is my judgment and *from the wonderful mystery* [מְרִי פֶלְאִי] is the light in my heart. My eyes have observed what always is, *wisdom that has been hidden* [הוֹשִׁיָּה אֲשֶׁר נִכְתְּרָה] from mankind, knowledge and prudent understanding (hidden) from the sons of man, ... To those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones. He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the Community.

As we previously saw, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* sheds light on this topic. We concluded that the Shirot reveal the Qumran community's participation with angelic worship.⁹² Just as the angels possess and pronounce "mysteries," so, too, the Qumran community possesses and proclaims apocalyptic wisdom. Dunn comments, "[*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*] contain songs of praise to be offered to God by angels in the heavenly temple ... and that the community itself (or at least its priests) joined with the angels in reciting these songs of heavenly worship."⁹³ For the sake of space, only three pertinent texts of *The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* are provided here:

Sing with joy, those of you *enjoying* [his knowledge, with] rejoicing among the wonderful gods. Proclaim his glory *with the tongue of all who proclaim knowledge* [בְּלִשְׁזֵן כֹּל הוֹגֵי דַעְתָּ], his wonderful songs with the mouth of all who proclaim [him. For he is] God of all who sing {knowledge} for ever, and Judge in his power over the spirits of understanding. ... Chant to the pow-

92 See pgs. 78-80.

93 For those who see the Qumran community as participating in angelic worship in light of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 181; cf. idem, *Jesus Remembered: Christianity in the Making* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 752; April D. De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century" in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 316; Harold Weiss, *A Day of Gladness: The Sabbath Among Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2003), 25-26; Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 181; James VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), 234; Str-B 3:449-50; Daniel F. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 127-54; James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (ECDSS 6; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 88-93.

erful God with the chosen spiritual portion, so that it is [*a melo*]dy with the joy of the gods [בשמחה אלהים ל[מזמור]), and celebration with all the holy ones, for a wonderful song in eter[nal] happiness. With them praise all the fou[ndations of the holly of holies, the supporting columns of the most exalted dwelling, and all the corners of the building. Si[ng] to Go[d, aw]esome in power, [all you *spirits of knowledge* and of light], to [exal]t together the most pure vault of [his] holy sanctuary. (4Q403 1 I, 36-42; italics mine)

And the offering of their tongues [שבע רזי דעת ברוי הפלא] ... [lacunae] seven *mysteries of knowledge in the wonderful mystery* [שבע רזי דעת ברוי הפלא] of the seven regions of the holly of holies ... The *tongue* [ילשין] of the first will be strengthened seven times with the *tongue* [בלשין] of the second to him. The *tongue* [לשין] of the second to him will be strengthened] seven times with (that) of the third to [him. The *tongue*] [ילשין] of the thi[r]d will be strengthened seven times. (4Q403 1 II, 26-28; italics mine)

Sing with joy, those of you [*enjoying his knowledge*,] [with rejoic]ing among the [wonderful] god[s. Proclaim his glory with the *tongue* {בלשין} of all who proclaim] [*knowl*]edge; [his wonderful] songs, [with the mouth of all who proclaim him. For he is] God of al[l who sing for ever, and Judge in his power over all the spirits of understanding.] Give thanks, all [majestic] divinities, [to the king of majesty; for to his glory all] [the *divin*]ities of *knowl*-edge give thanks, and al[l the spirits of justice give thanks to his truth. And they make their knowledge acceptable]. (4Q404 4, 2-7=4Q403 1 I; 4Q405 4, 5, 6, 57, 58, 69)

In light of these passages from *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, we are able to make a few observations: 1) Angels/Qumranites praise God with their “tongues”; 2) This worship consists of celebrating God’s holiness, knowledge, and “mysteries”; and 3) Angelic/Qumran worship includes “enjoying” and “proclaiming knowledge.” Therefore, Paul’s declaration that glossolalia includes worship/prayer (14:14-19), “tongues of angels” (13:2), and “mysteries” (14:2) resonates with these documents. In fact, some of these parallels strike close to 1 Corinthians, showcasing the glossolalist participating in angelic worship in the divine throne room.

In sum, these Jewish texts from the Pseudepigrapha and Qumran, though some are later than the first century, situate angelic speech as communication taking place at the divine throne. Not only did individuals participate in heavenly worship and languages, but they also praised God for his immeasurable knowledge and mysteries.⁹⁴ It is

94 As previously noted on pg. 88-90, Qumran believed that God transforms individuals in order that they may participate in heavenly worship. This is clearly the case in 1QH^a XIX, 6-14:

I will bless your name continually, I will recount your glory among the sons of Adam, and in your abundant goodness my soul will delight. ... your compas-

particularly difficult textually to connect any of these texts to this situation at Corinth, but, at the very least, some sectors of Judaism and early Christianity (if the passage in *Hist. Rech.* 16:8a-g is valid) promote the idea that humans were able to communicate in a heavenly dialect with the angels at the divine throne room. Bockmuehl thus concludes, "But if Paul in 1 Cor 14:2 refers to the charismatic worshipper conversant in 'tongues of angels' (13:1) as one who 'speaks mysteries' to God in his spirit, it seems a reasonable working hypothesis to locate such notions ... in the realm of Jewish apocalyptic and early mysticism."⁹⁵ It may not be such a difficult step for a glossolalist also to speak mysteries if he were already participating in angelic praise in the divine throne room (see 2 Cor 12:1-10). Furthermore, these Jewish passages are thoroughly situated in liturgical worship much like the Pauline attestation of glossolalia (14:13-17).

6.10. Interpretation of Tongues

As with every aspect of glossolalia in chs. 12-14, the nature of the glossolalic "interpretation" is heavily debated.⁹⁶ But even though many many contest the nature of interpretation, Paul's emphasis on the importance of its use is not (14:5, 14, 27-28; cf. 12:10, 30). If we are right

sion for all the sons of your approval, for you have taught them the basis of your truth, and have instructed them *in your wonderful mysteries* [פלאכה השכלתם] [ובריו]. For the sake of your glory, you have purified man from offence, so that he can make himself holy for you from every impure abominations and guilt of unfaithfulness, to become united w[ith] the sons of your truth and in the lot with your holy ones, *to raise worms of the dead from the dust* [מפער תולעת מתים] [להרים], to an ever[lasting] community and from a depraved spirit, to [your] knowledge, so that he can take his place in your presence with the perpetual host and the spirits [...], to renew him with everything that will exist, and with those who know in a community of jubilation.

Since individuals has been transformed or spiritually "resurrected" (notice the striking phrase "raising worms of the dead from dust" [cf. Isa 26:19; Dan 12:1-2]), they are now enabled to worship with the heavenly host. Relevant to our discussion, 1QH^a XIX, 6-14 weds "mysteries" and worship in heaven. It is even worthwhile to rehearse Nickelsburg's comments on the notion of resurrection and worship at Qumran: "By his entrance into the community, the author — previously alienated from God — has been brought to the knowledge of God and into the communion with the angels. He already shares in the blessings of the *eschaton* and participates in eternal life" (*Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 156; cf. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory of Adam*, 112)."

95 Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 169-70.

96 See discussion in Anthony. C. Thiselton, "The Intepretation of Tongues: A New Suggestion in Light of Greek Usage in Philo and Josephus," *JTS* 30 (1979): 15-36.

about the revelatory nature of tongues and mysteries and their subsequent interpretation in ch. 14, then we come admirably close to the pattern of apocalyptic wisdom. In Daniel, we saw how God revealed to Nebuchadnezzar the μυστήριον concerning the statue (Dan 2:28-29) and then its interpretation to Daniel (2:19, 30, 47; 4:9). This same twofold pattern is likewise found in Qumran, particularly in the *pešer* method. Therefore, that Paul describes tongues as speaking mysteries makes much sense because of the well-established twofold pattern of apocalyptic wisdom.

Pushing a bit further, we are now able to understand why glossolalia functions similarly to prophecy with regard to mysteries. Prophecy, as Paul adamantly contends, serves to edify the church. It is a revelation that has been given to the Christian prophet and subsequently related to the individual or community. In other words, prophecy is complete revelation and has reached its intended goal—communal edification. Glossolalia, on the other hand, can be both incomplete and complete. If tongues are left without an interpretation, then they are incomplete; even the individual does not understand their meaning (14:13-17). But, if the initial revelation receives a second or final revelation, then the entire revelation is complete; the individual's mind or the community is edified (14:5, 14-15). Bockmuehl explains, "where a partaker of heavenly secrets does not also receive and express their [glossolalia] meaning and content, such revelation remains abortive."⁹⁷

Overall Conclusion

Unlike 1 Cor 2:7 and 15:51, μυστήρια is not developed as clearly in 13:2 and 14:2. Instead, Paul uses the term more ambiguously, demanding that the reader pay close attention to other details in the surrounding context. In our extrapolation of "other details," we discussed and reviewed the revelatory nature of knowledge and wisdom in 1 Corinthians. This analysis thus underscores the revelatory character of μυστήρια in 13:2. Mystery, wisdom, and knowledge are part of Jewish apocalyptic, most notably Dan 2:20-23 (see also 1QS IV, 18-22; IX, 12-19; XI, 3-16; 1QH^a XX, 13; 1 En. 106:19). In addition to eschatological revelations, μυστήρια in 13:2 may also be related to inspired exegesis or fur-

97 Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 168.

ther insight into OT Scripture. This aspect of mystery rests on Paul's other uses of mystery (e.g., 1 Cor 2:9; 15:51-52; Rom 11:26-27) and the relationship between mystery and prophecy.

The relationship between mystery and prophecy is further confirmed by the allusion to Dan 2:46-47 in 1 Cor 14:25. This particular use is very similar to 4:5, where Paul says he will undergo a similar judgment. In each case, the mystery is the unveiling of the hidden things of an individual's heart (Dan 2:28-30; 1QS IV, 18-21; 1QH^a IX, 21-26; 1 *En.* 63:1-12). Those who have previously examined Paul's use of mystery, as far as I can tell, have only developed how mystery fits into God's eschatological program. But this new use of mystery may open up another dimension of the Jewish and Pauline concept of μυστήριον—the mystery of the heart, which is inextricably linked to eschatology.

The notoriously difficult phrase in 14:2, "speaking mysteries by the Spirit," appears to find its background in apocalyptic Judaism and especially Qumran. The glossolalist participates in the angelic praise of God. Part and parcel of this veneration is the recognition and utterance of God's hidden knowledge or mysteries. Even the interpretation of glossolalia may intimate the twofold nature of the Danielic and Jewish mystery. Therefore, both in 13:2 and 14:2, Paul's usage of μυστήριον is highly compatible with our previous study of mystery, and, at some points, developing further this apocalyptic term. It may not be that difficult after all.

Chapter Seven

The Use of Mystery in 1 Corinthians 15:51

7.1. Introduction

Scholars often cite 1 Cor 15:51 as Paul's mystery *par excellence*, because of the poetic nature of the passage, apocalyptic features, and the importance of the resurrection in Paul's thought. But despite the term's popularity, μυστήριον in 15:51 has yet to receive adequate attention. Moreover, the prominent quotation of Gen 2:7 in 15:45a and Paul's elaboration of it in vv. 45b-50 have hardly been related to mystery. As we shall see, μυστήριον in 15:51 concerns the transformation of believers through the agency of the Spirit and Christ as the last Adam.

7.2. Resurrection at Corinth

Determining the *Sitz im Leben* of 1 Cor 15 is a notoriously difficult task. The majority of scholars presuppose that Paul is confronting certain opponents who deny the resurrection.¹ Granting the opponents' existence, commentators then determine the opponents' beliefs in order to ascertain *why* they oppose the resurrection of the dead. One popular suggestion for Paul's lengthy treatment on the resurrection is the Cor-

1 For an in-depth survey of the differing identifications of the Corinthian opponents and their views, see Jack H. Wilson, "The Corinthians Who Say There is No Resurrection of the Dead," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 90-107; Joost Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia: A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15* (NovTSup 84; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 35-40; Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Corinthians Who Say 'There is No Resurrection of the Dead' (1 Cor 15, 12)," in *The Corinthian Correspondence* (ed. R. Bieringer; Leuven: Leuven University, 1996), 251-61.

inthian over-realized view of eschatology.² This interpretation has gained a large following in recent years. Others contend that Paul polemicalizes against those who hold to a Hellenistic-Jewish doctrine of wisdom that denies a bodily resurrection;³ still others advance a Gnostic approach.⁴ Another popular view is that Paul confronts those who adhere to a pagan view of the afterlife whereby only the spirit is immortal.⁵

The problem with this entire approach is that it presupposes the existence of opponents, which has led to complex and, at times, contradicting theories. Unlike Paul's other letters, such as Galatians, 2 Corinthians, and Philippians, he does not explicitly identify his opponents. The only information that Paul betrays is in 1 Cor 15:12: "how do *some among you* [ἐν ὑμῖν τινες] say that there is no resurrection of the dead." As Asher suggests, it is probably better to view the ἐν ὑμῖν τινες as a subgroup within the larger Corinthians congregation and not a distinct set of opponents.⁶ Paul, therefore, does not polemicalize but rather instructs the subgroup, so that they may harmoniously live⁷ with other Corinthian believers.⁸

7.3. Brief NT Context

From vv. 1-11, Paul argues for the reality of Christ's resurrection. He appeared to the disciples and other important figures within the early

2 Julius Schniewind, "Die Leugner der Auferstehung in Korinth," in *Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze* (ed. Ernst Kähler; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1952), 110-39; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 347-48; Anthony C. Thiselton, "Realized Eschatology at Corinth," *NTS* 24 (1978): 510-26; Dahl, "Paul and the Church at Corinth," 333.

3 Gregory E. Sterling, "'Wisdom Among the Perfect': Creation Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism and Corinthian Christianity," *NovT* 37 (1995): 355-84; Richard Horsley, "'How Can Some of You Say There is No Resurrection of the Dead?': Spiritual Elitism in Corinth," *NovT* 20 (1978): 203-31.

4 Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 140-41.

5 Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 104-36.

6 Jeffrey R. Asher, *Polarity and Change in 1 Corinthians 15: A Study in Metaphysics, Rhetoric, and Resurrection* (HUT 42; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000), 36-48; cf. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 696, who follows Asher.

7 Cf. Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, 283-91.

8 Even if there was an official group of opponents, there must have been good reason to deny the resurrection of the dead. In my opinion, the "some among you" challenged the resurrection because it conflicted with their former pagan view of matter and flesh. According to them, the body was unfit for heavenly existence, a fact with which Paul agrees (15:50; cf. Hays, *First Corinthians*, 269). But whatever the case may be, determining the precise belief of the Corinthian subgroup does not largely affect the following argument.

church (vv. 5, 7) and five hundred more (v. 6). Finally, even Paul testifies to his resurrection on the road to Damascus (v. 8). Verses 12-34 demonstrate that since Christ has been raised, believers will therefore be raised, since Christ is the “firstfruits” of the resurrection (v. 23). To deny the resurrection, like some at Corinth, is to deny the very received traditions of the apostles, even Paul himself.

In v. 35, the question is posed: “But someone will say, ‘How are the dead raised? And with what kind of body do they come?’” Verses 36-57 constitute Paul’s lengthy reply to this question. Asher has cogently and persuasively argued that Paul uses a type of deliberative and didactic rhetoric that would have been familiar in Corinth—a sophisticated argument in vv. 35-57 consisting of adaptation or “accommodation” of the audience’s currently held beliefs, followed by Paul’s correction.⁹ In vv. 36-38, Paul condemns his audience or the “pupil” (note “fool” in v. 36) for *denying* God’s power in creation: “That which you sow does not come to life unless it dies; ... God gives it a body just as he wished.” In other words, as demonstrated in nature, God is able to *transform* a dead seed to a living plant or tree.

Verses 39-41 unpack the nature of spatial polarities: “there is *one flesh* of men, and another flesh of beasts ... birds and ... fish. There are also heavenly bodies and earthly bodies, but the glory of the heavenly is one, and the *glory* of the earthly is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars” (italics original). Contrary to a number of scholars, Paul’s point is not to explain the presence of a multitude of “glories” or flesh;¹⁰ rather, Paul has in mind only two polarities: earthly and heavenly.¹¹ Furthermore, some of the Corinthians probably even affirmed such a distinction, which led to their denial of the resurrection in the first place.¹²

In vv. 42-44a, Paul brings together his two previous points—God can transform things in nature from death into life (vv. 36-38) and that two polarities indeed exist (vv. 39-41)—and, therefore, makes an inference concerning the nature of the resurrection: “*So also* [οὕτως καὶ] is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown a perishable body, it is raised an imperishable body [cf. vv. 36-38] ... it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body [cf. vv. 39-41].” By bringing together these two previous points, Paul has, in effect, made room for a doctrine of the

9 Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 48-90. Much of my understanding of Paul’s basic structure in vv. 35-54 is based upon Asher’s work. For a more detailed and thorough analysis, see his pgs. 91-175.

10 E.g., Fee, *First Epistle*, 782-84.

11 So Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 103-6.

12 As mentioned above, the Corinthians apparently denied God’s creative ability to transform creation from death to life in vv. 36-38 (cf. 15:50-53).

resurrection within his established framework. God is able to transform (vv. 36-38) a terrestrial body to a heavenly one (vv. 39-41).

Moving beyond the spatial polarities in vv. 39-44a, he now argues for a temporal polarity in addition to the spatial in vv. 44b-47: "If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. So also it is written, 'The first man, Adam, became a living soul.' The last Adam *became* a life-giving spirit. However, the spiritual is not first, but the natural; then the spiritual. The first man is from earth, earthly; the second man is from heaven" (italics original). The terms "first" and "last" set a chronological distinction, whereas "natural" and "heavenly" reveal a spatial distinction.¹³ Apparently, Paul's interpretation of Gen 2:7 fuses the temporal and spatial polarities¹⁴ and provides the basis for such a claim. The next two verses, vv. 46-47, reinforce temporal polarity of the first and last Adam. Verses 48-49 then relate the believers' identification with the first and last Adam. Those in the image of the first Adam are "earthly," and those in the image of the last Adam are "heavenly." Finally, Paul's argument and the answer to the question in v. 35 culminate in vv. 50-53. Paul, in v. 50, explicitly states what has been implicit thus far: "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable." By means of synonymous parallelism,¹⁵ Paul contends, probably in agreement with the Corinthians, that the "earthly" are unable to dwell in a "heavenly" environment. But unlike those in Corinth, Paul believes that God has the ability to refashion and transform those in their earthly bodies into a heavenly one, a point that he has previously made in vv. 36-38. The answer, Paul emphatically declares, is a mystery—the transformation of all believers into the heavenly image of Adam (vv. 51-52). Therein lies the key that was "hidden" from the Corinthians. Verse 53 grounds the μυστήριον and further describes the nature of the transformation.

13 R. Bultmann contends that "spiritual" in this context means ethereal (*Theology of the New Testament*, 1:190-203), and, unfortunately, some have followed his lead. But this interpretation is to be strongly rejected for several reasons: 1) the nature of Christ's resurrection was bodily (1 Cor 15:1-23); 2) the adjective πνευματικός concerns the influence and the recreation of the body by the Spirit (1 Cor 2:14-15); 3) the believers resurrected body is likened unto Christ's *physical* resurrection (1 Cor 15:20-22, 49-57). Cf. Ronald J. Sider, "The Pauline Conception of the Resurrection Body in 1 Corinthians XV. 35-54," *NTS* 21 (1977): 428-39; N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (London: SPCK, 2003), 354-61; Andrew T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 41-42; Robert Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology* (SMTMS 29; Cambridge University: Cambridge, 1976), 164-66. The following analysis of vv. 44-58 will lend further evidence in favor of this connection.

14 In v. 45, notice the language of "first" and "last" (temporal) along with "natural" and, implicitly, "spiritual" (spatial).

15 See discussion below.

Believers are transformed from their earthly existence to a heavenly one, reconciling the spatial polarity with Paul's Adamic framework, the temporal polarity. Paul concludes with the results of the resurrection in vv. 54-55, the main point of vv. 35-55. At the resurrection, death will be consummately destroyed in fulfillment of Scripture (Isa 25:8; Hos 13:14).

7.4. Genesis 2:7 in 1 Cor 15:45

The use of Gen 2:7 in 15:45 continues to be a source of considerable debate, especially, Paul's interpretation that Christ became a "life-giving Spirit."¹⁶ In addition, the relationship between Gen 2:7 and *μυστήριον* in 15:51 has only been tacitly connected. Therefore, we will analyze Gen 2:7 in its immediate context and then determine the significance of the quotation in 1 Cor 15. After we evaluate the quotation, we will then proceed to see if it is connected to *μυστήριον* in v. 51.

First Corinthians 15: 45 can be easily arranged as the following:

45a	ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος	ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ	εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,
45b	[ἐγένετο] ὁ ἔσχατος	Ἀδὰμ	εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν.

Gen 2:7 ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν (LXX)

Verse 45a is obviously a quotation from Gen 2:7¹⁷ but, surprisingly, 45b appears syntactically identical to 45a. Commentators have offered various suggestions as to the significance of 45b and its relationship to 45a; however, despite these attempts, none, as far as I am aware, have investigated the use of Gen 2:7 in much detail and related it to 45b.

16 E.g., Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 284, argues, "This exegesis [15:45b] cannot be derived from the Old Testament text."

17 The addition of *πρῶτος* in 45a is probably for the sake of Paul's overall argument (vv. 46-47) and does not represent another textual tradition (so Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 208). The addition of *Ἀδὰμ* in 45a is, however, a bit more complex, since two LXX mss., namely, Theodotion and Symmachus, read, καὶ ἔπλασεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ χεὶρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀδάμα καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τοὺς μυκτῆρας αὐτοῦ ἀναπνοὴν ζωῆς καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. The inclusion of *Ἀδὰμ* in this reading is probably to reinforce the notion that the individual Adam was from the "ground," hence, the addition of *ἀδάμα* in 2:7a. Therefore, it is possible that Paul drew from a similar textual tradition, which already included the name *Ἀδὰμ*. However, the addition of *Ἀδὰμ* in 1 Cor 15:45a may also be a Pauline creation because of the immediate context (15:22). In the end, whether or not *Ἀδὰμ* is part of the original quotation makes little interpretative difference.

Thus, we will attempt to analyze Gen 2:7 in its original context and then proceed to relate it to the surrounding context of 1 Cor 15:45.

7.4.1. Brief OT Context of Gen 2:7

Attempting to evaluate any quotation in the book of Genesis, or for that matter, Genesis 1-3, is quite daunting. Divergent views on every imaginable option accost the reader, demanding rigorous investigation. Fortunately, since we are only concerned with the final form of the Pentateuch, the form with which that Paul was deeply familiar, we will begin with the narrative of Gen 1-3.

Chapter 1 begins with the creation of the cosmos and climaxes with the creation of man on the sixth day in 1:26-28. This first creation account primarily describes the purpose of the creation of Adam and Eve, namely, that they are to “subdue,” and “rule” over all things (cf. 1:22). Just as God rules over the entire cosmos, so mankind, created in the “image” of God, was to rule over the earth and its inhabitants.¹⁸ Furthermore, immediately after God emphatically creates “man in His own image” (1:27),¹⁹ Adam and Eve are charged with the mandate to “be fruitful and multiply, and fill the Earth” (1:28). Apparently, the couple, created in God’s image, was commissioned to produce a family of image bearers. They too were to pass on God’s image to their progeny.

In ch. 2, we are provided more information concerning the creation of Adam:

18 Many commentators argue that “image” in Gen 1 corresponds to the function of images in the ANE, whereby the deity is functionally represented by the idol or image. Cf. John Walton, *Genesis* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 130-31; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (trans. M. Kohl; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 160; Bernard F. Batto, “The Divine Sovereign: The Image of God in the Priestly Creation Account” in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 143-86; D. J. A. Clines, “The Image of God in Man,” *TynBul* 19 (1968): 53-103.

19 It is interesting to note the repetition of image and its relationship to “ruling” and “multiplying” in 1:26-28. In 1:26, God creates Adam and Eve in his image and then immediately he commands them (note the jussive *קָדַד*) to “rule” over the earth. Then in 1:27 God “created man in His own image, in the image of God he created them,” which immediately precedes the command to “multiply” in 1:28. In other words, “image” is directly related to “ruling” and “multiplying.” But in what way is it related? In Gen 1:26-28, God creates Adam and Eve in his image primarily to accomplish a twofold task: “rule” and “multiply.” Just as God rules over the cosmos, so Adam and Eve are to rule over the earth. Furthermore, just as God created Adam and Eve in his image, so they are to create others in their image that ultimately reflects the image of God. Multiplying may therefore be a constitutive part of being in the image of God.

Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being. The Lord God planted a garden toward the east, in Eden; and there he placed the man whom he had formed. ... Then the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden to cultivate it and keep it. (2:7-8, 15)

In 1:26-27, Adam and Eve, made in the image of God, are to rule over the created order and fill it with divine image bearers through their progeny. Here in 2:7-8, 15 Adam receives the "breath of life." In the first creation account, Adam is created in the image and likeness of God, whereas in the second account Adam receives the "breath of life."²⁰ According to the narrative, therefore, receiving the "breath of life" is perhaps parallel in some way to being created in the image of God,²¹ particularly the notion of being created from the "dust" may be

20 It is common to view "man" in 1:26-28 and 2:7 as distinct from 5:3. Cf. Richard S. Hess, "Splitting the Adam: The Usage of Genesis I-V," in *Studies in the Pentateuch* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 1-15. Typically, when אָדָם appears without the article, then it is translated "Adam." But if the noun is articular (הָאָדָם), then the general noun "mankind" is normally used. Perhaps the root cause of this confusion is the so-called "J" and "P" traditions. Sections 1:1-2:4a and 5:1-28 are the "P" document and 2:4b-4:26 is "J." The two documents purportedly reflect two creation accounts. But, in 5:1 the P tradition uses the proper name "Adam," whereas in 1:26-27 the generic "mankind" is used (see Victor Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17* [NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 160, for a discussion of this higher-critical problem.) Though in 2:7 "man" occurs, in the remainder of the narrative in 2-3 (esp. 3:17-21) "Adam" and "Eve" are certainly names. Therefore, though "man" (אָדָם) occurs in 1:26-28 and 2:7, in the light of 5:1 and 3:17-21, it is appropriate for us to view these accounts as the creation of Adam and Eve.

21 This is pointed to further in "The Instruction for King Meri-ka-re": "He [Re] made the breath of life (for) their nostrils. They who have issued from his body are his images" (translated by John Wilson [ANET, 417]). Many commentators even note the connection between receiving the "breath of life" and being created in the image of God (cf. James K. Hoffmeier, "Some Thoughts on Genesis 1 and 2 and Egyptian Cosmology," *JANESCU* 15 [1983]: 47; Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 158-59; Walter Wifall, "The Breath of His Nostrils: Gen 2:7b," *CBQ* 36 [1974]: 238-39). Another text describes the Egyptian deity Amon giving Amen-hotep III divine breath: "My beloved son, receive my likeness in this nose" (Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948], 161). Furthermore, not only does the pharaoh receive "divine breath," he, in turn, issues "breath" to others. For example, Thut-mose III is seen imparting "breath of life" to his princes in the "Scenes of Asiatic Commerce in Theban Tombs" (translated by John A. Wilson, *ANET*, 249): "Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, kissing the ground to the good god by the princes of every land, ... seeking that there be given them the breath of life." Similarly, we find the same event under Thut-mose IV: "Presenting the tribute of Retenu and the produce of the northern countries ... by the princes of all foreign countries, when they come to make supplication to the good god and to beg breath for their nostrils" (*ANET*, 249). Likewise, we also read of another account in the Theban tombs: "Presenting tribute to the Lord of the Two Lands, ... The princes of the Upper Retenu, who knew not Egypt since the time of the god, begging for peace before his majesty. They say: '[Give] us the breath which thou givest!'" (*ANET*, 249). One Egyptian inscription taken from Amen-hotep III's temple mentions the pharaoh being in the image of the deity and imparting the "breath of life" to others: "Words spoken by Amon-Re, King

likened unto kingship.²² In addition, God appoints Adam to “cultivate” and “keep” the garden (2:15), a reference to the cultic work of laboring within the garden that possibly should be paired with “subdue” and “rule” in 2:15.²³

In 5:1-2, the creation account is rehearsed, which is strikingly similar to 1:26-28:

5:1-2	1:26-28a
This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day when <u>God created man</u> , he made him in the <u>likeness of God</u> . He <u>created them male and female</u> , and <u>he blessed them</u> and named them Man in the day when <u>they were created</u> .	Then God said, “Let us make man in our image, according to <u>our likeness</u> ”; ... <u>God created man</u> in his own image, in the image of God <u>he created him; male and female he created them</u> . <u>God blessed them</u> .

The rehearsing of the creation account at this point in the narrative is telling. This is the second genealogy thus far. Genesis 4:17-26 comprises the first, but, unlike that genealogical section, this is prefaced with a review of 1:26-28. Therefore, perhaps 5:1-32 is viewed, according to the Genesis narrative, as the beginning fulfillment or continua-

of the Gods: —My son, of my body, my beloved, Neb-maat-Re, my living image, whom my body created, ... I make the countries of the ends of Asia come to thee, bearing all their tribute upon their backs. They themselves present to thee their children, seeking that thou mightest give to them the breath of life” (“From Amen-hotep III’s Building Inscription,” translated by John A. Wilson, *ANET*, 376). Lastly, on the “Israel Stela” we see how, at sight of Mer-ne-Ptah, “breath enters into their nostrils” (“Hymn of Victory of Mer-ne-Ptah [The ‘Israel Stela’], translated by John A. Wilson, *ANET*, 376). These pharaohs, who have received the “breath of life,” are certainly viewed as imparting “breath of life” to foreigners and others, perhaps in the same way they received breath from the deity. Whether or not or to what degree Paul may have been aware of such a background, this reinforces the “image of God” / divine breath parallelism in Genesis 1-2, with which, as we will argue below, Paul seems to reflect some acquaintance.

- 22 Walter Brueggemann, “From Dust to Kingship,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 1-18, contends that the motif of elevation from “dust” stems from a well-known royal tradition (cf. 1 Sam 2:6-8; 1 Kgs 16:2-3; Ps 113:7). He claims, “Adam, in Gen 2, is really being crowned king over the garden with all the power and authority which it implies” (12). If this is the case, which appears likely, then Adam created in God’s image to rule over the earth in 1:26-28 is very similar to God elevating him to kingship in 2:7.
- 23 Cf. J. Cohen, “*Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master It*” (Ithaca, N.Y. and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 18.

tion of the 1:26-28 mandate and blessing,²⁴ juxtaposed with the genealogical section of blessing is the ungodly line in 4:17-26.²⁵

Genesis 5:3 literally reads: “he begot (a son) in his likeness, according to his image” (וַיֵּלֶד בְּדְמוּתוֹ בְּצִלְמוֹ). Some translations unfortunately miss this emphasis. The thrust of 5:3 is not Adam “becoming a father”²⁶ but the impartation of his image to Seth.²⁷ The verb יָלַד is uniquely modified by two words—בְּדְמוּתוֹ and בְּצִלְמוֹ.²⁸ This is the only occurrence in the HB that יָלַד is paired with either of these terms. In addition, the verb uniquely occurs without an object,²⁹ further highlighting the manner in which Adam begot Seth. As Hamilton suggests, Adam is doing to Seth what God has done to him: “The reference to Gen. 1 at the start of this chapter [ch. 5] permits a contrast between a divine creative act and human creative acts. In a sense, Adam and his posterity are doing what God did.”³⁰ In other words, just as God imparted his image to Adam, so also Adam imparts his image to Seth. The language of “likeness” and “image” in 5:3 immediately recalls 1:26a (“Let us make man in *our image, according to our likeness* [בְּדְמוּתֵנוּ בְּצִלְמוֹנוּ]”), further suggesting this correspondence.

If this is the case, Adam’s unique image and likeness is passed to his son Seth. While most believe that Adam did indeed pass on the

24 Cf. Howard N. Wallace, “The Toledot of Adam,” in *Studies in the Pentateuch* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 23-24.

25 The importance of the blessed line through Seth’s descendants is rehearsed in the OT. For example, in Gen 4:26 we readily detect a continuation of a godly seed: “To Seth, to him also a son was born; and he called his name Enosh. Then men began to call upon the name of the LORD.” The same can be said for 1 Chr 1:1: “Adam, Seth, Enosh” (cf. Luke 3:38).

26 For example, NASB translates Gen 5:3b as “he became the father of a son in his own likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth” (cf. NRSV; ESV).

27 NIV: “he had a son in his own likeness, in his own image; and he named him Seth” (cf. ESV; NET; JPS; NJB; ASV).

28 The prepositions prefixed to both of these key nouns could be synonymous in meaning when used with these nouns, since they are reversed in 1:26 (בְּדְמוּתוֹ בְּצִלְמוֹ). The LXX confirms this in both instances when it uses the preposition *κατά*, describing the manner in which God created man. In 1:26, we read, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον *κατὰ* εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ *καθ’* ὁμοίωσιν. Similarly, 5:3 says, καὶ ἐγέννησεν *κατὰ* τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ καὶ *κατὰ* τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ. See the careful discussion of these prepositions in W. Randall Garr, *In His Own Image and Likeness: Humanity, Divinity, and Monotheism* (CHANE 15; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 95-115.

29 Not surprisingly, the editors of the MT want to insert בֶּן. The verb יָלַד almost always has an object, especially, in genealogies (e.g., Gen 4:17, 18; 5:4, 6-10; 10:1, 8, 13, 15, 21).

30 Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 255. Garr agrees, “Just as God’s דְמוּת is intimately involved in the birth of Adam/humanity, Adam’s is intimately involved in the birth of Seth ... *ad infinitum*. ... God and Adam each create אדם ויולדת אדם in a manner that is appropriate to their nature. God ‘creates’ the human race (Gen 5:1bα.2a); Adam ‘fathers’ a son (v.3aβ); and, afterwards, ‘likeness’ is a mechanical, genealogical, and self-perpetuating inheritance” (*In His Own Image and Likeness*, 127); cf. George W. Coats, *Genesis* (FOITL 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 71.

divine image to Seth,³¹ some claim that Adam simply passed on his physical appearance to Seth.³² Several factors militate against this latter position³³: 1) if Adam were simply passing on his human appearance to Seth, why do we not see the image language in the previous genealogy (4:16-24)?³⁴ The reason why this language appears in the second genealogy stems from the emphasis on God's blessing upon those particular descendants; 2) Adam's creative act parallels God's act in creation in 1:26-28. God did not pass on a physical representation of himself to Adam but instead made Adam *as* a representative;³⁵ 3) Related to the first point, Gen 5:1-32 is intended to be read in light of 1:26-28 as a continuation or fulfillment, thereby implying that Adam's descendants have begun to "rule" and "subdue" the earth and not merely reflect Adam's physical appearance. Therefore, if Adam's impartation of the divine image to Seth is more than simply a human appearance, Adam appears to be begetting a blessed line that will remain faithful to God, albeit imperfectly as that may be (e.g., Noah).³⁶ After a detailed analysis of "image" and "likeness" in 1:26-28 and 5:3, Garr concludes,

31 S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (15th ed.; London: Methuen & Co., 1948), 76; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis* (rev. ed.; trans. John H. Marks; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 70; Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis* (IBC; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 68; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: SPCK, 1984), 360-61; Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (WBC 1; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1987), 127.

32 E.g., Jeffrey H. Tigay, "'He Begot a Son in His Likeness after His Image' (Genesis 5:3)," in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (ed. Mordechai Cogan, Barry L. Eichler, and Jeffrey H. Tigay; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 139-47; Clines, "Image of God," 100. See also *Targ. Ps-J*, *Targ. Onq*, and *Targ. Neo* on Gen 5:3.

33 For further argumentation that Adam did not merely pass on his human appearance, see Garr, *In His Own Image and Likeness*, 117-76.

34 The targums explain this conundrum by interpreting 4:1 as a reference to sexual union between Eve and Sammael and not Adam, therefore, maintaining that Adam imparted his image only to Seth (see *Targ. Ps-J* 4:1). In 5:3, *Targ. Ps-J* says,

When Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years, he begot *Seth*, who resembled his image and likeness. For before that, Eve had borne Cain, who was not from him [Adam] and who did not resemble him. Abel was killed by Cain, and Cain was banished, and his descendants are not recorded in the book of the genealogy of Adam. But afterwards he begot one who resembled him and he called his name Seth.

35 Cf. Walton, *Genesis*, 130.

36 *Rab. Gen.* 4.8 comments, "And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skins, and clothed them ... They were robes of honour which subsequent firstborn used. When Adam died he transmitted them to Seth. Seth transmitted them to Methusaleh. When Methusaleh died he transmitted them to Noah." Other Jewish commentators also spoke of Seth as the beginning of a godly or righteous line (*Midr. Tanh* 1.26). *Pirq R. El.* 26a. i. likewise comments, "Hence thou mayest learn that Cain was not of Adam's seed, nor after his likeness, nor after his image. (Adam did not beget in his own image) until Seth was born, who was after his father Adam's likeness and image" (cf. *Midr. Ps.* 117.1; *Rab. Gen.* 23.5; *b. Erub.* 18b; *L.A.E.* 38:4 [Apoc]).

The early Priestly tradition presents a consistent picture of human “likeness” and “image”. An ever-narrowing branch of male descendents from Seth shares the (cap-) ability to reproduce, proliferate, and maintain an ever-lasting human genealogy. They are depicted as co-creators of the world. The same branch also holds royal power to rule the world’s creatures, control the land, and regulate human behavior by administering justice.³⁷

Therefore, in 1:26-28 Adam and Eve are created in the image of God and commanded to build a community of image bearers that will eventually rule and subdue the created order. Though the fall obviously hampers and brings serious dilemmas to humanity’s mandate, Adam and Eve begin to fulfill Gen 1:28 and continue to produce other legitimate image bearers, albeit imperfectly. God’s blessing does not flow through the line of Cain (4:1-24) but Seth (4:25-5:32) who has replaced Abel (4:25). Adam passes on his unique image to Seth³⁸ and

37 Garr, *In His Own Image and Likeness*, 174-75.

38 Ezekiel 37, though a notoriously difficult text, adds some further insight. Speaking of the restoration of Israel, God tells the prophet Ezekiel, “Thus says the Lord God to these bones, ‘Behold, I will cause *breath* [רוּחַ] to enter you that you may come to life [חַיִּים]” (37:5). An even clearer allusion is 37:9 (cf. 3:1-10, 14):

Ezek 37:9	Gen 2:7
Then He said to me, “Prophecy to the breath, prophesy, <i>son of man</i> [בְּנֵי אָדָם], and say to the <i>breath</i> [רוּחַ], ‘Thus says the Lord God, “Come from the four winds, O <i>breath</i> [רוּחַ], and <i>breathe</i> [פָּחַי] on these slain, that they come to life [חַיִּים].””	Then the LORD God formed <i>man</i> [אָדָם] of dust from the ground, and <i>breathed</i> [נָפַח] into his nostrils the <i>breath of life</i> [נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים]; and man <i>became a living being</i> [וַיֵּהְיֶה חַי נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה].

Many commentators have noticed several allusions to Gen 1-3 in Ezek 37, especially, Gen 2:7 (Block, *Ezekiel*, 379; Michael Fox, “The Rhetoric of Ezekiel’s Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones,” *HUCA* 51 [1980]: 14-15; Lawrence Boadt, “The Dramatic Structure of Ezekiel 37, 1-14,” in *Palabra, Prodigio, Poesía* [AnBib 151; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico], 201-2; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48* [WBC 29; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1990], 185; G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* [ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951], 399; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* [trans. James D. Martin; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 261; cf. Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Resurrection of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* [New Haven: Yale University, 2006], 159; *Rab. Gen.* 14.8-9). According to the Genesis account, God “forms” Adam, “breathes” into him the “breath of life,” and places him in Eden. Likewise, in Ezek 37 God re-“forms” Israel, imparts his “breath” to them, and places Israel once again in another garden, their promised land. John F. Kutsko, *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel* (BJSUC 7; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns: 2000), 133-34, agrees,

The imagery of 37:1-8 appears directly to reflect and develop the scene of the creation of man in Genesis 2, using a constellation of imagery that relates to recreation with creation. ... the description of this valley of very dry bones suggests imagery of the parched earth, which no man has yet cultivated. Second, man is formed but becomes a living being only after God breathes life into him

ultimately Noah (5:28-32), who functions as a second Adamic figure (cf. 9:1-17). Hamilton agrees, "That Adam reproduces himself through Seth, and Seth through Enosh, etc., demonstrates that God's blessing has become effective. They are not only created by God but blessed by God. Such blessing is manifested in multiplication."³⁹

7.4.2. Paul's Adamic Christology

Paul's understanding of Gen 2:7 is directly related to the more general problem of the origins of his Adam Christology, which is, in turn, linked to how one interprets the general background of Paul. The *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* obviously locates Paul (and his Adam Christology) within the broad spectrum of Hellenism, incorporating Gnostic and Philonic paradigms.⁴⁰ Although these backgrounds have similar

(Gen 2:5-7). Third, God plants a garden in Eden and sets (נָתַן) the man there (Gen 2:15), just as God promises to set (נָתַן) the reformed people back in their land (Ezek 37:14).

Relevant for our purposes is the inextricable relationship between Gen 2:7 and the restoration of Israel. In addition, not only does Ezek 37 describe the restoration of Israel (cf. 36:24-38; 37:16-28), but this eschatological event is peppered with resurrection language: "breath to enter" (37:5), "come to life" (37:5, 14), "put sinews on you, make flesh grow back on you, cover you with skin, and put breath in you that you may come alive" (37:6), "I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves" (37:12; cf. v. 13). Jewish commentators interpret Ezek 37:5-14 as referring to the resurrection of the dead (see *Sib. Or.* 2.224; *Odes Sol.* 22.9; *Midr. Ps.* 78:5; *Rab. Gen.* 13:6; 14:5, 8; 73:4; 96:5; *Rab. Ex.* 48:4; *Rab. Lev.* 14:9; *Rab. Deut.* 7:6; *Rab. Song.* 1:189; 7:9; *Pesiq. Rab.* 1.6; 42:7; *Pirqe R. El.* 41a. i.; *Sipre Deut.* pisk 306; *Tanḥ* 12.3; *Tan. Debe* 24). Ezekiel 37 portrays the restoration of Israel, at least, metaphorically as a resurrection event (cf. Isa 26:19; Dan 12:1-3). Since it appears almost certain that Ezek 37 alludes to Gen 2:7, the pairing of Gen 2:7 and resurrection (even metaphorically) is highly significant for its use in 1 Cor 15:45. Furthermore, it may not be a coincidence that 37:9-10 depict the prophet Ezekiel or the "son of man" (בֶּן־אָדָם), a possible Adamic figure, as summoning "breath" to enter into refashioned Israel, for, as we have seen in Gen 5:1-3, Adam passed his image on to Seth.

39 Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 255.

40 For those who see Paul confronting a Philonic view of Adam, see, e.g., Schrage, *Der erste Brief*, 4:303; Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1284; Sellin, *Der Streit um die Auferstehung*; Pearson, *Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology*, 15-26; Horsley, "Pneumatikos vs. Psychikos Distinctions," 269-88. The Corinthians, as they argue, held a vertical view of the "spiritual" body over against a "natural" body, wherein Paul counters these beliefs with an eschatological and horizontal view of redemption. Stephen J. Hultgren astutely notes that this view merely explains the Corinthian perspective and not primarily Paul's own Adam Christology: "At most it might explain the mind-set against which Paul reacts. To find the origin of Paul's own thought we must search elsewhere ("The Origin of Paul's Doctrine of the Two Adams in 1 Corinthians 15:45-49," *JSNT* 25 [2003]: 343-70 [344]); see also his extensive criticisms concerning a Philonic and general Hellenistic-Jewish background on pgs. 344-57). The Philonic view along with Gnosticism (see Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 169-70; Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1:174) is unable to explain Paul's Adamic framework,

language and even a few points of contact with Paul at best, they remain superficial and unconvincing. The proponents base their findings upon too much speculation, and, with respect to Gnosticism, late sources. Others see Paul developing his thought against the background of the OT and Second Temple Judaism.⁴¹ In this respect, some argue that Paul's Adamic Christology had its seeds in the Damascus road encounter with Christ,⁴² and that Paul further developed this Christology in the light of the OT and early Jewish tradition. The following analysis will adduce evidence that the OT and Second Temple Judaism are the dominant influences on Paul's notion of Christ as Adam. Of course, the first indication of this in 1 Cor 15:45-57 is the formal quotation of Gen 2:7 in 15:45.

for they primarily depend on later reconstructions (see the critique of Egon Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus* [WMANT; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962] by A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Adam and Christ: An Investigation into the Background of 1 Corinthians XV and Romans V 12-21," [PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1970], 177-209 and Kim, *Origin*, 159-92). As Albert Schweitzer so aptly puts it, "The Second Adam is, in Paul, an eschatological not a mythical conception" (*Mysticism of Paul*, 167). Moreover, instead of trying to perceive the opponents' view, especially in 1 Cor 15:35-57, perhaps the language of "natural" and "spiritual" is based not on a Hellenistic-Jewish debate, but on the Genesis narrative itself (cf. Hultgren, "Origin of Paul's Doctrine," 357; Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 112; note the overwhelming allusions to the Genesis narrative in 1 Cor 15). But even if these terms, viz., "natural" and "spiritual," did not originate from the Genesis narrative, they were at least used similarly throughout early Christianity (e.g., Gal 6:1; Jas 3:15). Note a very similar text in Jude 19: "These are the ones who cause divisions, worldly-minded, devoid of the Spirit [ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες]." The juxtaposition of ψυχικοί and πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες is nearly identical to Paul's contrasting of ψυχικός and πνευματικός.

41 Some think that Paul's understanding of the two Adams depends upon rabbinic thought (e.g., Hultgren, "Origin of Paul's Doctrine," 359-66; Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966], 86-89). But the main problem with this view is simply the late date of the rabbinic texts (cf. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 45-46).

42 Seyoon Kim convincingly demonstrates how Paul's Adamic framework is dependent on the Damascus Christophany (*Origin*, 193-268; cf. Fee, *First Epistle*, 793; Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 46-50). Since Paul saw Christ as the image of God and the Wisdom of God, he then worked backward, using the OT and later Jewish developments, and determined that Christ is indeed the last Adam who has come to restore Israel and bring about the new creation. Kim's reconstructions are, it seems, plausible in that they adequately account for the kernel of Paul's gospel. However, although Hultgren attempts to explain Paul's use of Gen 2:7 against the backdrop of Kim's reconstruction of Paul and rabbinic exegesis, I still do not think that he can adequately account for the peculiar language of 15:45b ("the last Adam became a life-giving Spirit"). Hultgren himself even says, "This [Damascus road] experience alone cannot explain Paul's doctrine of the two Adams, because Paul derives the doctrine *exegetically* from Gen 2.7" (italics original; Hultgren, "Origin of Paul's Doctrine," 369-70).

7.4.3. Hermeneutical Use of Gen 2:7 in 1 Cor 15:45

From all appearances, Paul typologically recasts Gen 2:7 and applies it to Christ. The quotation is simply reconfigured to fit Paul's immediate purpose. Goppelt concludes, "This is not an inference that Paul makes, but something he perceives [in Gen 2:7] to be a typological fulfillment with respect to Christ."⁴³ The first Adam is from the earth, whereas Christ is from heaven (cf. 15:47). Death is the result of Adam's failure and eschatological life is the result of Christ's obedience (15:21). However, does the typological interpretation strictly fit Paul's use of Gen 2:7 as Goppelt and others contend? The phrase "life-giving spirit" (πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν) seems to indicate otherwise. Paul appears to *surpass* the type, for we expect to read the following: "the first man Adam became a living soul [ψυχὴν ζῶσαν], and last Adam became a living spirit [πνεῦμα ζῶν]." In other words, how can Paul typologically infer from the Genesis narrative that the last Adam is not simply a "living Spirit" but a "life-giving Spirit"?

A few scholars understand 15:45 as a distinct unit comprised of the Gen 2:7 quotation *and* its interpretation.⁴⁴ Paul is following the syntax of the LXX in both 45a and 45b. Since this is the case, Paul appears ostensibly to be utilizing a well-known Jewish technique called *pešer*,⁴⁵ whereby a scriptural passage is given an "inspired" interpretation and applied to the present situation, usually as it relates eschatologically. In v. 45a, Paul quotes almost verbatim Gen 2:7: "The first man, Adam, became a living soul." Then in v. 45b Paul *interprets* Gen 2:7 as referring to Christ: "The last Adam became a life-giving spirit."

43 Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (trans. Donald H. Madvig; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 134; cf. Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 43; Geerhardus Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1930), 169n19; J. Jeremias, "Αδάμ," *TDNT* 1:142. Wright takes issue with the typological interpretation and prefers the label "narrative" (*Resurrection*, 354n128). He explains that Paul's use of Scripture is, in addition to the narrative of Gen 1-3, dependent upon 15:20-28 and vv. 35-41. However, he does not explain why Paul calls Christ a "life-giving Spirit."

44 E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 143n3; Heil, *Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians*, 234-35; cf. Stanley, *Paul*, 209n99; Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 114.

45 Several scholars argue that Paul is indeed using the *pešer* technique in 15:45. Scott Brodeur, *The Holy Spirit's Agency in the Resurrection of the Dead* (TGST 14; Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1994), 104; Michael F. Hull, *Baptism on Account of the Dead* (1 Cor 15:29): *An Act of Faith in the Resurrection* (SBLABib 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 202; Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 42; Fee calls this a "midrash pesher" (*First Epistle*, 788). Pearson even labels this an "eschatological targum" of Gen 2:7 (*Pneumatikos-Psychikos*, 24). Ellis agrees that this is an instance of *pešer* and even surmises that this interpretation of Gen 2 existed before Paul, circulating as "testimonia" (*Paul's Use*, 97).

But, in light of our analysis of Gen 1-5, the former interpretation appears more likely—Paul typologically interprets Gen 2:7. Unlike most scholars who restrict the typology to Gen 2:7, it is best to include Gen 5:3, since it is alluded to only four verses later in clear development of the Gen. 2:7 quotation in v. 45. Being created as a “living being” and receiving the “breath of life” is functionally equivalent to being made in the image of God (Gen 1:27-28). *Adam was created in God’s image (1:27-28), and he passed that divine image on to his son, Seth (Gen 5:3).* The allusion to Gen 5:3 is thus conceptual.

Not only must we widen the OT background to include Gen 5:3, we should also incorporate the immediate context of 1 Cor 15:45b. Verses 50-53 constitute the climax of Paul’s argument thus far and the answer to the question in v. 35. Paul, in v. 50, takes the argument to its logical conclusion: “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable.” But unlike those in Corinth, Paul believes that God has the ability to refashion and transform those in their earthly bodies into a heavenly one, a point that he previously has made in vv. 36-38. Paul then in vv. 51-52 asserts that all individuals must be *changed*. Therein lies the key that was “hidden” from the Corinthians. The only way for earthly humans to be “clothed” (v. 53) or to bear the “image of the heavenly” (v. 49), whether dead or alive, is to change from one mode of existence to another.⁴⁶ In v.45b, Christ and the Spirit are the agents of transformation outlined in vv. 49-53. Christ functions therefore as a “life-giving Spirit” by transforming believers into his image.

Putting all the pieces together, just as the first Adam imparts his image to Seth and continues the line of blessing,⁴⁷ so now the last Adam imparts his image to believers giving them eschatological and consummate blessing (cf. 15:22-23). This interpretation is much more in line with the OT conception of Adam bestowing his image to Seth and

46 Cf. Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 157-72.

47 Jewish commentators spoke of Seth as the beginning of a godly or righteous line (*Midr. Tanh* 1.26). *Pirq R. El.* 26a. i. likewise comments, “Hence thou mayest learn that Cain was not of Adam’s seed, nor after his likeness, nor after his image. (Adam did not beget in his own image) until Seth was born, who was after his father Adam’s likeness and image” (cf. *Midr. Ps.* 117.1; *Rab. Gen.* 23.5; *b. Erub.* 18b; *L.A.E.* 38:4 [Apoc]). In addition, Seth receives the Adamic title “image of God” in *L.A.E.* 10:12 [Apoc] and 12:2 [Apoc], thus affirming his prominence and close association with Adam (see Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 90-91; A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* [NovTSupp 46; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 1-47). Even note the prominence of Seth and Gen 5:3 in Gnostic literature (see Birger A. Pearson, “The Figure of Seth in Gnostic Literature,” in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the Conference at Yale New Haven, Connecticut, March 28-31, 1978* [SHR 41; ed. Bentley Layton; Leiden: Brill, 1981], 2:472-504).

offers a less problematic interpretation of Christ functioning as “the life-giving Spirit.”

Finally, in 15:49, as a number of commentators have pointed out, Paul linguistically alludes to Gen 5:3.⁴⁸

Gen 5:3	1 Cor 15:49
He begot (a son) in his likeness, according to his <i>image</i> [τὴν εἰκόνα].	Just as we have borne the image of the earthy, we will also bear <i>the image</i> [τὴν εἰκόνα] of the heavenly.

Paul contends that believers will “bear”⁴⁹ the “image” of the last Adam or “represent him in their appearance.”⁵⁰ “Bearing” or “donning” the image of the last Adam parallels Seth receiving Adam’s image. Pertinently, *Rab. Gen.* 4.8 comments, “*And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skins, and clothed them ... They were robes of honour which subsequent firstborn used. When Adam died he transmitted them to Seth. Seth transmitted them to Methusaleh. When Methusaleh died he transmitted them to Noah.*”

If we thus connect v. 45b with v. 49-52, then the picture is relatively clear: Christ, as the last Adam, imparts his image to believers at the resurrection. What was a tacit and conceptual reference to Gen 5:3 in v. 45b finally becomes explicit in v. 49. In v. 45b, Christ and the Spirit are the focus, whereas in v. 49 believers receive the attention. The event and the typology remain the same, but the focus shifts. Paul therefore alludes to Gen 5:3 in order to assert that Christ functions as an Adamic figure (vv. 45-47) by passing on his image to believers or “sons” (vv. 49-52; cf. Rom 8:14; Gal 3:26; 4:6-7).

48 So NA²⁷; Heil, *Rhetorical Role*, 243; Barrett, *First Epistle*, 377-78; Collins, *First Corinthians*, 572; Wright, *Resurrection*, 356; Usami, “How are the dead raised?,” 488; Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 2:208; Schrage, *erste Brief*, 4:311-12. Lindemann is unsure whether or not εἰκόν in v. 49 alludes to Gen 5:3 or Gen 1:27, but he is at least willing to make the intertextual connection (*Erste Korintherbrief*, 362-63).

49 Whether or not the text should read the cohortative “let us bear” (φορέσωμεν), it does not affect the inter-textual link. Although external support for the subjunctive is quite strong (P⁴⁶ Ⲙ A C D F G Ψ 075 0243 33 1739 M latt bo Ir^{lat}), many retain the future φορέσωμεν because of internal evidence such as Paul’s overall didactic approach in the immediate context and the emphasis on the final resurrection (e.g., Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 502).

50 BDAG, 1064; cf. Heil, *Rhetorical Role*, 243; Fee, *First Epistle*, 794; Brodeur, *Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 138.

7.4.4. Christ's Spirit or Holy Spirit?

Understanding the phrase πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν is quite difficult because of the ambiguous πνεῦμα. Does this refer to the Holy Spirit or Christ's mode of existence? Though some have argued rather persuasively for Christ's spirit or mode of existence,⁵¹ the former position is to be preferred.⁵² In my opinion, the key to this interpretation is a definition of πνευματικός. In the immediate context, Paul distinguishes between two bodies "natural" and "spiritual": "It is sown a *natural* [ψυχικόν] body, it is raised a *spiritual* [πνευματικόν] body. If there is a *natural* [ψυχικόν] body, there is also a *spiritual* [πνευματικόν] body. ... However, *the spiritual* [τὸ πνευματικόν] is not first, but *the natural* [τὸ ψυχικόν]; then *the spiritual* [τὸ πνευματικόν]" (vv. 44, 46). These two bodies refer to two types of existence: earthly and heavenly. That seems obvious enough. However, are we to infer in the immediate context that a spiritual body only alludes to a heavenly new creational existence without any reference to the Holy Spirit? This distinction, I think, is not viable.

The best piece of evidence that πνευματικός refers to a body characterized by the Holy Spirit's eschatological activity is 1 Cor 2:12-15:

Now we have received, not the *spirit* [πνεῦμα] of the world, but the *Spirit* [πνεῦμα] who is from God, so that we may know the things freely given to us by God, which things we also speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but in those taught by the *Spirit* [πνεύματος], combining *spiritual thoughts* [πνευματικά] with *spiritual words* [πνευματικοῖς]. But a *natural man* [ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος] does not accept the things of the *Spirit* [πνεύματος] of God, for they are foolishness to him; and he cannot understand them, because they are *spiritually* [πνευματικῶς] appraised. But he who is *spiritual* [ὁ δὲ πνευματικός] appraises all things, yet he himself is appraised by no one.

First Corinthians 2:12-14 and 15:44-46 are the only places in all of the Pauline literature where πνευματικός and ψυχικός are juxtaposed. Clearly in 2:12-14 πνευματικός denotes a believer who possesses the Holy Spirit and is able to discern certain apocalyptic revelatory truths (2:10-11). Furthermore, the spiritual individual is part of the new eschatological era (2:6-7). On the other hand, the natural individual is part of "this age" (1:18-20) and unable to comprehend apocalyptic wis-

51 NASB; ESV; NRSV; NIV; NJB; ASV; Fee, *First Epistle*, 789-90; Peter Jones, "Paul Confronts Paganism in the Church: A Case Study of First Corinthians 15:45," *JETS* 49 (2006): 713-37, argues, "πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν is a way (an unusual way, certainly) of speaking about the eschatological, heavenly, new-creational mode of being, just as ψυχὴν ζῶσα describes the natural, creational mode of existence" (716-17).

52 See Wright, *Resurrection*, 354-55.

dom. Therefore, when we interpret 15:44-46, we must maintain this apocalyptic and eschatological distinction between πνευματικός and ψυχικός, for the Spirit indwells the πνευματικός. Andrew Johnson comments,

In chapter 2, it is the Spirit who acts upon the *psychikos* person and effects a radical *epistemological* transformation whereby he or she becomes a *pneumatikos* person fitted with glasses that enable her or him to see by the standards of the “new creation”. Here [1 Cor 15] it is the “making alive Spirit” who will act upon the naked *psychikon* body, the body of “this age”, and make it alive by effecting a radical transformation of it into a *pneumatikon* body, a body appropriate for the “new creation” when it arrives in its fullness.⁵³

In addition to the support of 2:12-14, the relationship between the Spirit and the verb ζωοποιέω solidifies this interpretation. In the parallel text of John 6:63, the Holy Spirit is clearly in view: “It is the Spirit who gives life” (τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ζωοποιῶν). Again, in 2 Cor 3:6 we read, “who also made us adequate *as* servants of a new covenant, not of the letter but of the Spirit; for the letter kills, *but the Spirit gives life* [τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ]” (cf. Rom 8:11; 1 Pet 3:18). Paul consistently attributes the function of “giving life” to the Spirit.⁵⁴

53 Johnson, “Turning the World Upside Down,” 303-4; cf. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians*, 132; Brodeur, *Holy Spirit's Agency*, 122.

54 A Trinitarian dilemma is created because of the ostensible collapse of the distinction between Christ and the Spirit. There tends to be two responses to this problem. Fee argues that Paul's thrust in 1 Cor 15:45 is soteriological rather than Christological and pneumatological: Paul's point is to demonstrate two kinds of bodies: “natural” and “spiritual.” He adds, “the language [of 15:45b] has been dictated both by the Genesis text and the concern to demonstrate that Christ is the foundation of believers' receiving a ‘spiritual body.’” According to Fee, πνεῦμα does not designate a non-physical body but a new creational body, a body made in the image of the last Adam. It does not refer to the Holy Spirit. (*First Epistle*, 790; idem, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* [Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007], 116-19). Even though the contrast is between the first and last Adam, we should not strait-jacket the last Adam's correspondence to the first. Despite the first Adam becoming a “living being,” it does not necessitate that the last Adam solely become a “spiritual being” or a “new creational body” hence, the appellation “life-giving.” Moreover, Fee's interpretation of πνευματικός tends to separate it from Paul's earlier discussion in 2:12-14. In 2:12-14, πνεῦμα/πνευματικός certainly refers to the Spirit. As far as I am aware, the best response to Fee is Richard Gaffin, “Life-Giving Spirit’: Probing the Center of Paul's Pneumatology,” *JETS* 41 (1998): 573-89 (esp. 580-81). Gaffin claims that “to deny a reference to the Holy Spirit in v. 45 at the very least undercuts a reference to his activity in the cognate adjective ‘spiritual’ in v. 44” (580). Secondly, Fee argues that Paul is making a soteriological claim and not a Trinitarian one, but Gaffin responds by noting that despite Paul's emphasis on soteriology, he can nevertheless make a Trinitarian claim as well (580-81). On the other hand, there are others who affirm a Spirit Christology in 15:45b, thereby blurring the ontological lines between the Spirit and Christ (e.g., James D. G. Dunn, “1 Corinthians 15:4 — last Adam, life-giving spirit,” 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, 1973], 139-41). In this particular view, Christ

7.4.5. "Life-Giving" Spirit

Why does Paul call the Christ a *life-giving* πνεῦμα? A simple word study is elucidating in this regard. The word ζωοποιέω occurs six times in the LXX and eleven times in the NT. In the OT, this verb is sometimes found with a creational topos where God is almost exclusively the subject:⁵⁵ "When the king of Israel read the letter, he tore his clothes and said, 'Am I God, to kill and to make alive [ζωοποιῆσαι]'" (4 Kgdms 5:7); "You have made the heavens, the heaven of heavens with all their host, the earth and all that is on it, the seas and all that is in them. You give life to all of them [ζωοποιεῖς]" (Neh 9:6; cf. likewise Ps 70:20 [LXX]; Eccl 7:12; Job 36:6). Moreover, in the NT this word is often found in the context of resurrection:⁵⁶

For just as the Father raises the dead and *gives* them *life* [ζωοποιεῖ], even so the Son also *gives life* [ζωοποιεῖ] to whom he wishes. (John 5:21; cf. John 6:63)

In the presence of him whom he believed, even God, *who gives life* [τοῦ ζωοποιούντος] to the dead and calls into being that which does not exist. (Rom 4:17)

But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead *will* also *give life* [ζωοποιήσῃ] to your mortal bodies through his Spirit who dwells in you. (Rom 8:11)

For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all *will be made alive* [ζωοποιηθήσονται]. (1 Cor 15:22; cf. 15:36)

The overwhelming connotation of the word is resurrection, which obviously fits well within the immediate context of 1 Cor 15:45.⁵⁷ There-

and the Spirit are virtually the same person. See Fee's rebuttal of Dunn's Spirit-Christology ("Christology and Pneumatology in Romans 8:9-11 — and Elsewhere: Some Reflections on Paul as a Trinitarian," in *Jesus of Nazareth Lord and Christ* [ed. Joel B. Green and Max Turner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 320n34). Obviously, all three members of the trinity are agents in the resurrection (e.g., John 5:21; Rom 8:11; Gal 6:8). In 1 Cor 15:45 Paul simply desires to highlight the role of Christ and the Spirit and their relationship to "natural" and "spiritual" bodies.

55 Cf. Bernardin Schneider, "The Corporate Meaning and Background of 1 Cor 15:45b—'O Eschatos Adam Eis Pneuma Zoiopoioun,'" *CBQ* 29 (1967): 153n27.

56 The Pseudepigrapha likewise uses ζωοποιέω in a similar fashion: "Just as love wants to bring the dead back to life [ζωοποιῆσαι] and to recall those under sentence of death, so hate wants to kill the living" (*T. Gad* 4:6). In other pseudepigraphical texts, this verb denotes God's creative power similar to the LXX (*Let. Aris* 16; *Jos. Asen.* 8:2, 10; 27:8). Cf. R. Bultmann, "ζωοποιέω," *TDNT* 2:874-75.

57 Other texts use this term in a similar fashion by ascribing to it the notion of new creation in an already-and-not-yet manner: "for the letter kills, but the Spirit *gives life* [ζωοποιεῖ]" (2 Cor 3:6); "For if a law had been given which was able to impart life [ζωοποιῆσαι], then righteousness would indeed have been based on law" (Gal 3:21); "so that He might bring us to God, having been put to death in the flesh, but *made alive* [ζωοποιηθείς] by the Spirit" (1 Pet 3:18).

fore, for Paul and other NT authors, “giving life” is nothing short of the impartation of eschatological and new creational resurrection life.

Perhaps we can paraphrase v. 45 as the following: The first man, Adam, became a natural body. The last Adam imparts resurrection and new creational life through the Spirit. In effect, Paul says that Christ and the Spirit are the *agents* of physical and spiritual renewal. Christ has been transformed by the Spirit and inherited a new creational body. But not only has Christ been transformed upon receiving the Spirit, he has become *functionally* at one with the Spirit in this regard (cf. Acts 2:32-33⁵⁸). Gaffin comments on 15:45b, “It concerns the conjoint activity of Christ and the Spirit in giving life, resurrection (= eschatological) life. In this sense, then, the equation in view may be dubbed ‘functional’ or perhaps ‘eschatological’ ... without in any way obliterating the distinction between the second and third persons of the triune God.”⁵⁹ Christ is therefore the one who sends forth the Spirit to recreate “natural” bodies and fit them with eschatological bodies capable of living in the eschaton.⁶⁰

7.4.6. The Breath of God

In the original context of Gen 2:7, one thing is clear—Adam receives the “breath” of God. Genesis 2:7a says, “Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and *breathed into his nostrils the breath of life* [נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים/וַיִּפֹּחַ בָּאָזְנוֹ/καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοήν ζωῆς].” The phrase “breath of life” (נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים/πνοή ζωῆς) simply refers to God’s impartation of life to Adam’s body.⁶¹ Though this exact phrase (נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים) does not occur anywhere else in the OT, the term “breath” (נִשְׁמָה) occurs twenty-four times and is sometimes

58 Cf. Schneider, “Corporate Meaning,” 158.

59 Gaffin, “Life-Giving Spirit,” 582. Cf. Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 44. François Altermath also comments on 15:45b, “En effet, pour l’apôtre, le Christ et l’Esprit ont une fonction identique dans l’œuvre rédemptrice” (*Du corps psychique au corps spirituel: interpretation de 1 Cor. 15, 35-49 par les auteurs chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr {Paul Siebeck}, 1977], 41).

60 That Christ is said to “become” the “life-giving Spirit” is slightly confusing. It sounds as though Christ has *become* the Spirit. Before the resurrection, Christ was not the *consummate* last Adam; he was not functioning in the same capacity as he is presently. At his resurrection, Christ was transformed by the Spirit, thereby inheriting a new creational/eschatological body. Christ became the firstfruits of the new creation (cf. Rev 3:14). But not only has Christ been transformed, he has received the Spirit and become functionally at one with the Spirit in this regard, since he, like the Spirit, is able to give resurrection life to others (cf. Acts 2:32-33). Cf. Brodeur, *Holy Spirit’s Agency*, 116-17; Altermath, *corps psychique*, 41.

61 Cf. Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 159; Herman Gunkel, *Genesis* (trans. Mark Biddle; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University, 1997), 6.

synonymous with “spirit” רֹחַ. For example, Gen 7:22 is reminiscent of 2:7:⁶² “of all that was on the dry land, all in whose nostrils was the *breath of the spirit of life* [נִשְׁמַת־רוּחַ הַיִּים], died.” This construct chain is highly significant for our purposes, since “spirit” (רוּחַ) is imbedded in our key phrase נִשְׁמַת הַיִּים. Apparently, the annihilated creatures have, like Adam, received the “breath of life,” which is associated with the “spirit.”

Even more illuminating is Isa 42:5: “Thus says God the LORD, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread out the earth and its offspring, who gives *breath* [נִשְׁמַת] to the people on it and *spirit* [רוּחַ] to those who walk in it.” Obviously, this passage has creation in mind, but its pairing of “breath” with “spirit” is also explicit. Here, God furnishing humans with “breath” is parallel to “giving” the “spirit” (cf. Isa 57:16). The same can be said of Job 27:3: “For as long as *life is in me* [נִשְׁמַתִּי], and the *breath of God is in my nostrils* [רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּאַפִּי]” (cf. Lam 4:20) and Job 33:4: “The *Spirit of God* [רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים] has made me, and the *breath of the Almighty* [נִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי] gives me life” (cf. esp. Job 32:8; 34:14).⁶³ These references suggest that Gen 2:7 may, at least implicitly, refer to God imparting his “spirit” to Adam.⁶⁴

62 Cf. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 60.

63 Several places in early and late Judaism affirm the synonymy of “breath” and “spirit” in Gen 2:7 (intriguingly, Gen 2:7 is not quoted in the Apostolic Fathers). For example, *Apoc. Adam* 2:5 says, “Do you not know that I am God who created you, and that I breathed into you a spirit of life for a living soul?” 4 *Ezra* 3:5 reads, “Yet he was the workmanship of your hands, and you breathed into him the *breath of life* [spiritum uitae], and he was made alive in your presence.” Josephus likewise says, “God fashioned man by taking dust from the earth and instilled into him *spirit* [πνεῦμα] and *soul* [ψυχήν].’ Now this man was called Adam” (*Ant.* 1.34). Philo’s view of Adam is obviously dependent upon Platonic thought; however, a few passages are still worthy of notice. In *Opif.* 135, we have an extended discussion concerning the breath in Gen 2:7: “After this he says that ‘God formed man by taking clay from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life [πνοήν ζωής]’ ... the formation of the individual man, ... is a composite one made up of earthly substance and *Divine breath* [πνεύματος θείου] ... for that which He breathed in was nothing else than a *Divine breath* [πνεῦμα θεῖον] ... man is on the borderland between mortal and immortal” (cf. *Her.* 57; *Spec.* 4.123). But then Philo goes on to comment in *Alleg. Inter.* 1.42,

He uses the word “breath” [πνοήν] not “spirit” [πνεῦμα], implying a difference between them; for “spirit” [πνεῦμα] is conceived of as connoting strength and vigour and power, while a “breath” [πνοή] is like an air or a peaceful and gentle vapor. The mind that was made after the image and original might be said to partake of *spirit* [πνεύματος], for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness; but the mind that was made out of matter must be said to partake of the light and less substantial air.

Here Philo is discussing his two-Adam schema, where the first Adam is “heavenly” and the second Adam is from the “earth.” The same can be said for *Alleg. Inter.* 3.161: “For there are two things of which we consist, soul and body. ... ‘for God breathed into his face a *breath of life* [πνεῦμα ζωής], and man became a living soul.”

Consequently, Paul's interpretation that Christ is a "life-giving Spirit" may very well be an implicit claim that *just as God gave his "breath" or "spirit" to Adam, thereby creating him in his own image, so now the last Adam imparts the eschatological Spirit to individuals, fashioning them into his image.*⁶⁵ We have already seen how the last Adam is also functioning as the first Adam in this regard, so that Christ imparts his image through the Spirit to believers, as a type of Adam imparting his image to Seth. In addition, we are now suggesting that Christ could also be seen as having a divine function because of his functional identity with the divine Spirit, recalling that it was God in Gen 2:7 who breathed the Spirit into the first Adam. If so, we have a dual christological affirmation: Christ is an eschatological Adam and exercises the eschatological divine function of raising the dead. The divine identification is enhanced also from remembering that God was the one expected to raise the dead in the latter days (e.g., as Ezek 37:1-14).

Notice how Philo intentionally replaces πνοή with πνεῦμα in his translation of Gen 2:7 (see also *Det.* 80). Similarly, the targums add to Gen 2:7 that Adam became a "spirit" enabled to speak: "And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the breath became in the body of Adam a spirit capable of speech" (Tg. Ps.-J); "and breathed into {the nostrils of} his face the breath of life and it became in Adam a spirit uttering speech" (Tg. Onq); "and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and Adam became a living being endowed with speech" (Tg. Neof.). Worthy of note is Pirque R. El. who connects Gen 2:7's "breath of life" and "spirit" along with the general discussion of resurrection: "He breathed with the spirit of the breath of His mouth, and cast a soul into him, as it is said, 'And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life' ... In the future life, when the Holy One, blessed be He, calls to the earth to return all the bodies deposited with it, ... it raises up all the body" (43b. ii. [ch. 34]).

64 Except for Job 33:4, these texts probably do not have in mind the third member of the Trinity. The term "spirit" (רוח) in these references indicates semantic overlap with "breath" (נְשָׁמָה) or synonymity (cf. Wenham, *Genesis*, 60; H. Lamberty-Zielinski, "נְשָׁמָה," *TDOT* 10: 71). However, Paul, in 1 Cor 15:45 may understand this synonymous relationship but takes advantage of it for the sake of his argument. Though he does not believe that נְשָׁמָה in Gen 2:7 is a reference to the Holy Spirit, he finds a perfect opportunity to make a play on words: God gave breath to Adam and now the last Adam gives true "breath" or the "Spirit" to others.

65 A few scholars rightly note that the participle "life-giving" (ζωοποιούν) in 15:45 reflects Gen 2:7a (e.g., Fee, *First Epistle*, 788; Pearson, *Pneumatikos-Psychikos*, 24; Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 114), but, unfortunately, they fail to tease out the implications. Schneider however comments, "In the first creation man lives contingently by the breath of God breathed into him which will one day return to God ... In the last creation man will live completely by the very Spirit of God, the very source of life, as the risen Christ" ("Background of 1 Cor 15:45," 154). And Beale notes, "Paul sees that God's breathing of earthly life into the first Adam contains an antithetical pattern of the glorious and heavenly resurrection life imparted to the last Adam" (*John's Use*, 253).

7.5. First Corinthians 15:50-52

After typologically interpreting Gen 2:7, Paul further specifies the redemptive-historical sequence or spatial polarity of the two Adams: “the spiritual is not first, but the natural; then the spiritual” (15:46). Verses 47-49 then affirm the earthly and heavenly bodies of the two Adams and the believers’ relationship to the prototypes. The first Adam is from earth, and all those in his image are, therefore, earthly. The last Adam originates from heaven, and those in his image are heavenly. The relationship between vv. 49 and 50 is important for the interpretation of 50-54; however, this logical relationship is not completely obvious, especially, in light of the ambiguous *Τοῦτο δέ* at the beginning of v. 50.⁶⁶ Many understand v. 50 as introducing a new section.⁶⁷ Jeremias popularized the view that vv. 50-57 answer the first question posed in v. 35 (“how are the dead raised”), thereby, bifurcating vv. 36-49 and vv. 50-57.⁶⁸ Furthermore, with *Τοῦτο δέ* at the beginning of v. 50, Paul seems to intimate here a new thought, for *τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἄδελφοί* is repeated verbatim in 7:29, which likewise appears to introduce a new topic. These assumptions, however, have not been without their criticisms.

In 7:29, it is not obvious that Paul uses the expression *τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἄδελφοί* to make the transition into a completely new topic. Instead, Paul merely summarizes his discussion on marriage (7:25-28) and then continues to develop that thought in 7:29-35.⁶⁹ In addition to the parallel in 7:29, Paul, in 15:50-57, builds upon the previous context of 15:35-49. For in vv. 50-57, Paul’s concern with the resurrection body at the parousia is a mere progression of the discussion of the earthly and heavenly *σῶμα*. In the previous context (vv. 35-49), Paul argues that God is indeed able to transform a dead seed into a living plant (vv. 36-38) and that a distinction between spatial and temporal polarities exists (vv. 39-49). In addition, Paul discusses the believers’ relationship

66 Translations differ on their rendering of *τοῦτο δέ*. Some leave the phrase untranslated (ESV, NIV, RSV), others use “now,” intimating discontinuity with the preceding material (NASB, ASV, KJV), and a few attempt to connect v. 50 with the previous context with the translation “what I am saying, brothers and sisters, is this” (NRSV, NET, NLT).

67 E.g., Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1290-91; J. Jeremias, “Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50),” *NTS* 2 (1955-56): 154-55.

68 “‘Flesh and Blood,’” 156-57. Jeremias contends that vv. 36-49 answer the second question (“with what kind of body do they come”) and vv. 50-57 respond to the first question (“how are the dead raised”). Though attractive, it is probably better to view these two questions as one, so that the second question refines the first (so Fee, *First Epistle*, 780; cf. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 727; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 280; Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 38).

69 Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 151-52.

with Adamic prototypes, but here in vv. 50-57 the Apostle more fully states *how* believers will put on the image of the last Adam—they will be changed.⁷⁰ As I will argue below, Paul has intimated this transformation of believers in v. 45 with the phrase πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν but does not explicitly express this notion until vv. 50-57.

Therefore, Paul, in v. 50, summarizes and moves the argument forward from vv. 35-49:

Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί,
σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται
οὐδὲ ἡ φθορά τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ.

A number of scholars claim that Paul here executes “synthetic parallelism,” whereby “flesh and blood” (σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα) is to be distinguished from the “perishable” (ἡ φθορά). The phrase “flesh and blood,” they claim, refers to the living, whereas “perishable” is a reference to the dead. Jeremias popularized this view⁷¹ and it has since claimed a number of followers.⁷² But, Paul’s point here is not to draw a distinction between the living and the dead but to relate a general maxim—those in the image of the first Adam are unfit for the kingdom.⁷³ Note the use of φθορά elsewhere in the NT where it refers to

70 Cf. Fee, *First Epistle*, 797-98; Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 157-65; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 739; Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 274.

71 See discussion in John Gillman, “Signals of Transformation in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18,” *CBQ* 47 (1985): 310-11, for the background of this view.

72 E.g., Barrett, *First Epistle*, 379; Robertson and Plummer, *First Epistle*, 376; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 289. Thiselton, *First Epistle*, 1291.

73 See also Fee, *First Epistle*, 799; Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 741; Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 152-54; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 310; Wright, *Resurrection*, 359; Herman Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 94; James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 72; E. Schweizer, “σὰρξ, σαρκικός, σάρκινος,” *TDNT* 7:98-151 (128-29); A. C. Perri-man, “Paul and the Parousia: 1 Corinthians 15.50-57 and 2 Corinthians 5.1-5,” *NTS* 35 (1989): 513-14; Sebastian Schneider, *Vollendung des Auferstehens: Eine exegetische Untersuchung von 1 Kor 15,51-52 und 1 Thess 4,13-18* (FB 97; Würzburg: Echter, 2000), 192-95. Most NT texts that mention flesh and blood do not explicitly connect the phrase to “corruptibility” or any such notion (Matt 16:17; John 1:13; Gal 1:16; Eph 6:12; cf. Sir 14:17-18). Hebrews 2:14-15 relates flesh and blood with slavery of death: “Since the children share in *flesh and blood* [αἵματος καὶ σαρκός], he himself likewise also partook of the same, that through death he might render powerless him who had the power of death, that is, the devil, and might free those who through fear of death were subject to slavery all their lives.” But the most significant text in this regard comes from the Pseudepigrapha. In the Book of Watchers 15:4, a text predating the NT, Enoch is commanded to castigate the Watchers for their illicit relationships with humans: “Surely you, you [used to be] holy, spiritual, the living ones, [possessing] eternal life; but (now) you have defiled yourselves with women, and with the blood of the flesh [ἐν αἵματι σαρκός] begotten children, you have lusted with the blood [ἐν αἵματι] of the people, like them producing blood and flesh [σάρκα

corruption in general and not dead corpses (Rom 8:21; Gal 6:8; Col 2:22; 2 Pet 1:4; 2:12, 19). Furthermore, in Rom 1:23, Paul says, “and exchanged the glory of the incorruptible [ἀφθάρτου] God for an image in the form of corruptible [φθαρτοῦ] man.” Clearly the cognate φθαρτός refers to the living. Paul even intimates that the living are indeed corruptible in 15:42 (“it is sown a perishable *body* [ἐν φθορᾷ], it is raised an imperishable *body*” [italics original]).

Therefore, this verse is set in typical Hebrew synonymous parallelism, the latter clause restates the former. The “perishable” is “flesh and blood,” which cannot gain entrance into the “kingdom” or the “imperishable.” If we define “flesh and blood” as those who are in the corruptible image of the first Adam, both living and dead (the thrust of the previous context), then we may conclude the following: Those created in the image of the first Adam are unable to participate in the new creational kingdom. Paul then grounds this thesis in vv. 51-52. The μυστήριον provides the basis for Paul’s assertion that flesh and blood cannot partake of the kingdom.

David Aune⁷⁴ rightly regards vv. 51-52 as a distinct unit composed of oracular or prophetic material. According to Aune, this oracle is stylistically arranged into two strophes:

Behold, I tell you a mystery

a We shall not all sleep,

b but *we shall all be changed* (ἀλλαγησόμεθα),
in a moment,

c in the twinkling of an eye,
at the last trumpet (σάλπιγγι).

c’ for the trumpet will sound (σαλπίσει),

a’ and the dead will be raised imperishable,

b’ and *we shall be changed* (ἀλλαγησόμεθα).

The oracle is prefaced with the demonstrative particle ἰδοῦ. The importance of this particle should not be overlooked given the paucity of occurrences in the Pauline literature.⁷⁵ In the OT, ἰδοῦ (הִנֵּה/הִנְּ/וֹ/וֹ) is ubiquitous, found in almost every genre, especially, narratives, oracles, and apocalypses. Relevant to our discussion is its use within prophetic and apocalyptic material. Typically, it introduces an oracle, command

καὶ αἶμα], (which) *die and perish* [ἀποθνήσκουσιν καὶ ἀπόλλυνται].” The relevancy of this apocalyptic passage is obvious: flesh and blood refer to decaying humanity, which will inevitably “die and perish” (cf. Gillman who examines Hellenistic parallels [e.g., Philo *Opif.* 119; Wis. 9:14-15] and affirms that Paul does indeed equate flesh and blood with corruptibility [“Transformation,” 316-17]).

74 Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity*, 250-51; cf. Gillman, “Transformation,” 321.

75 Rom 9:33; 2 Cor 5:17; 6:2, 9; 7:11; 12:14; Gal 1:20.

ding that the listener “pay attention”⁷⁶ to what follows.⁷⁷ The term ἰδοῦ is often found in apocalyptic contexts at the beginning of a vision or revelation. Daniel 4:10 reads, “Now these were the visions in my mind as I lay on my bed: I was looking, and *behold* [ἰδοὺ/ἰδῶ], there was a tree in the midst of the earth and its height was great.” Daniel 7:2 likewise says, “I was looking in my vision by night, and *behold* [ἰδοὺ/ἰδῶ], the four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea”⁷⁸ (cf. Joel 3:1, 7; Obad 2; Nah 1:15, etc.).

The prefixing of the demonstrative particle before or even during revelation should not surprise us given the reoccurring theme of sensory language commonly attached to both prophetic and apocalyptic revelatory material (e.g., Isa 6:9-10).⁷⁹ The NT confirms and develops this theme. For instance, the Parable of the Sower, in Mark 4:3-12, is introduced and concluded by sensory language: “Listen to this! Behold [ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ], the sower went out to sow. ... And he was saying ‘He who has ears to hear, let him hear [ὁς ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκονέτω].’” Jesus, according to Mark, commands his audience to awaken and *perceive* the revelatory parables.⁸⁰ In other words, the readers (or listeners) must prepare themselves for the revelation that they are about to receive.⁸¹ In 1 Cor 15:51, following suit of apocalyptic mediators,⁸² Paul commands the Corinthians to *comprehend* the following revelation.

Paul, after instructing the hearers to understand, says, “I tell you a mystery” (μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω).⁸³ The fronting of μυστήριον proba-

76 The particle ἰδοῦ is an aorist middle imperative of εἶδον.

77 KB 1:252; Aune, *Prophecy*, 250.

78 For other pertinent apocalyptic texts that include ἰδοῦ, see Dan 2:31; 4:13, 26, 31, 34; 7:5, 8, 13, 19; 8:5, 15, 19; 9:21; 10:5, 13, 16, 20; 11:2; 12:5 (OG); Zech 1:8, 11, 18; 2:1, 3, 9; 3:9; 4:2; 5:1, 9; 6:1, 8. 1 Enoch 13:8 reinforces this observation: “And behold [ἰδοὺ] a dream came to me and visions fell upon me, and I saw a vision of plagues” (cf. 9:10; 12:3; 14:8, 15; 106:8; 2 Bar 13:1; 14:1).

79 See Appendix B, for a thorough analysis of sensory language and its relationship to mystery.

80 Cf. E. J. Pryke, “ΙΑΕ and ΙΑΟΥ,” *NTS* 14 (1968): 418-24; Roger Van Otterloo, “Towards an Understanding of ‘Lo’ and ‘Behold’: Functions of ἰδοῦ and ἴδε in the Greek New Testament,” *OPTAT* 2 (1988): 34-64.

81 Cf. Peter Fiedler, *Die Formel “Und Siehe” im Neuen Testament* (SANT 20; München: Kösel-Verlag, 1969), 81. In addition, the book of Daniel and Revelation provide additional evidence, using very similar language. For example, Dan 8:17 says, “he [Gabriel] said to me, ‘Son of Man, understand that the vision pertains to the time of the end’” (cf. Dan 10:11). Even the common phrase “He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches” in the book of Revelation coheres with this same line of thought (Rev 2:7, 17; 3:6, 13, 22; 13:9).

82 Cf. Rev 2:10, 22; 3:8, 20; 4:1; 5:5; 6:2, 5; 7:9; 9:12; 11:14; 12:3; 14:1, 14; 16:15; 19:11; 21:3, 5; 22:7, 12.

83 Bockmuehl raises the question: “the Apostle here discloses publicly a teaching of the kind which 2:6ff. seemed reserved for the τέλειοι. Why should Paul have taken this unexpected measure?” (*Revelation*, 172.) Bockmuehl’s concern is, I think, answered

bly reinforces the importance of the following revelation. Furthermore, it may also be notable that Paul prefaces the revelation with the expression “I tell you a mystery.” Most often, Paul introduces the term mystery as “this is a mystery” or “it is a mystery.”⁸⁴ What interpretative difference is there, if any, in the different formulation in v. 51?

In 4:1, Paul declares, “Let a man regard us in this manner, as servants of Christ and *stewards of the mysteries of God* [οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ].” We previously concluded that Paul highly regarded his role as a mediator of revelation and lived accordingly (4:2-5; cf. Eph 6:19; Col 4:3). Furthermore, we also concluded that Paul carried out his mediatorial role at his coming to Corinth: “And when I came to you, brethren, I did not come with superiority of speech or of wisdom, *proclaiming* [καταγγέλλων] *to you the mystery of God*. . . *we speak* [λαλοῦμεν] *God’s wisdom hidden in a mystery* (2:1, 6; italics mine). Paul is speaking biographically of his arrival at Corinth in 2:1, and, in 2:6-16, he discloses the nature of his message. In the same way, in 15:51 Paul once again identifies himself as a mediator of revelation by using the language of the mystery of the resurrection.

7.6. Mystery of Transformation

There are those who contend that μυστήριον here in 1 Cor 15:51 does not refer to a specific new doctrine, but is rather a general description of God’s redemptive activity in Christ.⁸⁵ On the other hand, many commentators affirm that the μυστήριον constitutes the transformation of only the living. Richard Hays argues accordingly: “The mystery is that *even the living will undergo transformation into a new form*, receiving their resurrection bodies without having to pass through death” (italics original).⁸⁶ This view places the emphasis on the living, whereas others

by the particle ἰδοῦ. Paul here knows that only those who have “eyes to see” and “ears to hear” (i.e., the τέλειοι) will understand the mystery in 15:51-52, for, in 2:6-16, he has already related to the Corinthians that they currently enjoy such capacity to understand mysteries. So, in a very real sense, the mystery is not as “public” as Bockmuehl contends (cf. D. Deden, “Le ‘Mystère’ paulinien,” *ÉTL* 13 [1936]: 410).

84 Rom 11:25; 16:25; 1 Cor 4:1; 13:2; 14:2; (cf. Eph 1:9; 3:3, 9; 5:32; Col 1:26; 2:2; 2 Thess 2:7; 1 Tim 3:9, 16).

85 E.g., Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 59.

86 Hays, *1 Corinthians*, 274; cf. Fee, *First Epistle*, 801; Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” 419; Kim, *Origin*, 78; Bornkamm, “μυστήριον,” 823; Bockmuehl, *Revelation*, 172; G. Finkenrath, “Secret, Mystery,” 3:505; Schrage, *Der erste Brief*, 371-72; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 310. Thiselton *First Epistle*, 1295, likewise argues for Paul’s emphasis on the transformation of both the living and the dead; however, he is unwilling to commit to an apocalyptic connotation of the term:

advance a similar yet distinct view that mystery is the transformation of the living *and* the dead.⁸⁷ Perhaps we could frame the question in the following way: Does *μυστήριον* refer to the new idea that living believers will be transformed into a resurrected existence without experiencing death or is it that all will be transformed at the end?

In order for us to determine the precise content of the mystery, we must remember the previous context. Verses 36-38 describe God's power in transforming a dead seed into a living plant—a fact that the Corinthians apparently did not consider. In vv. 39-41, Paul sets forth a polarity—"natural" and "spiritual" bodies, which corresponds to the earthly Adam and the heavenly Adam later in vv. 45-48. In vv. 42-44a, Paul brings together his two previous points that God can transform things in nature from death to life (vv. 36-38) with the understanding that two polarities indeed exist (vv. 39-41), thus inferring the nature of the resurrection.

Paul advances the argument by contending for a temporal polarity in addition to the spatial in vv. 44b-47. The language of "first" and "last" Adam creates a chronological distinction, whereas the language of "earthly" and "heavenly" reveals a spatial distinction. Verses 48-49 then relate the believers' identification with the first and last Adam. Those in the image of the first Adam are "earthly," and those in the image of the last Adam are heavenly.

Finally, vv. 50-53 constitute the climax of Paul's argument thus far and the answer to the question in v. 35. Paul, in v. 50, takes the argument to its logical conclusion: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable." But unlike those in Corinth, Paul believes that God has the ability to refashion and transform those in their earthly bodies into a heavenly one, a point that he previously has made in vv. 36-38. Paul then in vv. 51-52 asserts that all individuals must be *changed*. Therein lies the key that was "hidden" from the Corinthians. The only way for earthly

There may be two distinct nuances to Paul's use of *μυστήριον* in v. 51a. It would accord with his use of the term elsewhere to denote what was once hidden but has now been disclosed by divine revelation. On the other hand, many interpreters explain it in a way which is closer to its modern meaning in English. ... It may be that Paul uses this word consciously to convey both senses of the term. Alternatively, the latter nuance may sufficiently account for its use.

Here in 15:51 apocalyptic notions surround the term: resurrection, trumpet, last Adam, garments, "behold," etc. Furthermore, most commentators agree that this is one of the clearest examples of Paul delivering a new revelation!

87 Jeremias, "'Flesh and Blood,'" 159; Brown, *Semitic Background*, 47; E.-B. Allo, *Première Épître aux Corinthiens* (2d ed.; Paris: Gabalda, 1956), 432; Coppens, "'Mystery' in the Theology of Saint Paul," 143.

humans to be “clothed” (v. 53) or to bear the “image of the heavenly” (v. 49), whether dead or alive, is to change from one mode of existence to another.⁸⁸

That transformation is stressed is apparent; however, Paul seems to nuance *μυστήριον* in vv. 51-52. After he declares, “I tell you a mystery,” Paul immediately states a negative “we will not all [πάντες] sleep”⁸⁹ along with the positive “but we shall all [πάντες] be changed.”⁹⁰ The first use of πάντες refers to the “living” (obviously, only the living can die or “sleep”), whereas the πάντες in the second clause likely refers to both the living *and* the dead.⁹¹ It is possible to understand the second πάντες as referring to only the living; however, it seems preferable to include the living and the dead because of the wider and immediate context. Since v. 35, Paul has discussed at length the nature of earthly and heavenly bodies. So Paul advances the argument to the next level in v. 51, claiming that *everybody, both the living and the dead, will undergo a bodily transformation* (“flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God” [v. 50]).⁹²

A description of the *μυστήριον* continues in v. 52a: “in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for the trumpet will sound.” These phrases temporally locate the event of the resurrection—at the *parousia*. In v. 52b, the Apostle elaborates on the second πάντες in v. 51, thereby stressing both clauses: “The dead will be raised imperishable and we will be changed.” The clause in v. 52b, “the dead will be raised imperishable,” obviously refers to only the

88 Cf. Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 157-72.

89 The future *κοιμηθῶμεθα* is a common euphemism, describing the temporal condition of believers upon death and the certainty of the resurrection (cf. Matt 27:52; John 11:11; Acts 7:60; 13:36; 1 Cor 7:39; 11:30; 15:6, 18, 20; 1 Thess 4:13-15; 2 Peter 3:4).

90 Five textual variants exist for v. 51: 1) πάντες οὐ κοιμηθῶμεθα. πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῶμεθα (B D² Ψ 075 0243^c 1881 M [K L P] syr^p, h cop^{sa, bo} eth geo² slav; 2) πάντες [μὲν] κοιμηθῶμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῶμεθα (Σ C F G 0243* 33 1241 1739 it^{mg, s}); 3) πάντες οὐ κοιμηθῶμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῶμεθα (P⁴⁶ A^c); 4) οἱ πάντες μὲν κοιμηθῶμεθα, οἱ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῶμεθα (A*); 5) ἀναστήσομεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῶμεθα (D* itar, b, d, f, (o) vg). The current consensus is that πάντες οὐ κοιμηθῶμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγῶμεθα is the original reading, because all the other variants can be adequately explained as corruptions of it. The second variant may assume that since Paul and his contemporaries have died, the text must be emended (so Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 748; Fee, *First Epistle*, 796). The third variant combines the first and second variant. The fourth option simply eliminates the negative οὐ, thus smoothing out the more difficult reading. The last variant may reflect a perceived problem in the first variant that unbelievers will be transformed, so the emendation removes all doubt (cf. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 748).

91 Cf. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 743; Gillman, “Transformation,” 319; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 290.

92 See Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 743; Allo, *Première Épitre*, 432.

dead (οἱ νεκροὶ) and the latter, “we shall all be changed,” includes the living (note the emphatic ἡμεῖς).⁹³

In addition, Paul’s emphasis in vv. 51-52 is not when but *how* the resurrection will take place. The somewhat chiasmic form of this section is illuminating in this regard:

Behold, I tell you a mystery

a We shall not all sleep,

b but we shall all be changed (ἀλλαγησόμεθα).

c in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet.

c’ for the trumpet will sound,

a’ and the dead will be raised imperishable,

b’ and we shall be changed (ἀλλαγησόμεθα).

The repetition of the verb ἀλλαγησόμεθα highlights this theme. The first “change” refers to both the living and the dead (b), whereas the latter indicates the living (b’).⁹⁴ We have come full circle to the problem posed in v. 50—“flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God”—so, the dead and the living will be transformed, in order to meet this demand. Therefore, *the mystery solves the dilemma raised by Paul in v. 35 and v. 50*. It does not narrowly refer to the transformation of the living, a situation that would only solve part of the problem, but the entire group of individuals, both the living and the dead.

The conclusion that mystery encompasses the transformation of the living and the dead primarily rests on two pieces of evidence: 1) the problem posed in v. 50 is not concerned with only the living (*contra* Jeremias) but with the living and the dead; 2) vv. 51-52 form a distinct unit, which discuss the transformation of both groups.⁹⁵ It is entirely possible that the transformation of the living constitutes a new revelation or μυστήριον and that Paul’s audience presupposes that the dead would be transformed at the parousia. We have evidence that various sectors within Judaism did, to some degree, believe in the transforma-

93 Cf. Gillman, “Transformation,” 319. Perriman, “Paul and the Parousia,” 515-16, suggests that throughout vv. 51-52 Paul does not differentiate between the living and the dead. Though he is right to contend that vv. 51-52 solve the problem endemic to all of humanity (v. 50), both the living and the dead, this does not mean that Paul cannot distinguish between these two groups.

94 This line probably only refers to the living, since only the dead are in view in the previous line.

95 Garland rightly captures the thrust of Paul’s argument: “The mystery is not that the living and the dead will be on par with one another at the parousia but that both the living and the dead will undergo the prerequisite transformation so that they can attain incorruptibility and immortality” (1 Corinthians, 743; cf. Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 162).

tion of the righteous (see below) and that Paul has already described this process elsewhere (Phil 3:20-21; cf. 1 Thess 4:15-17).⁹⁶ However, since there is no clear reference to the transformation of the dead in the OT, though it may be subtly implied (Dan 12:2-3), it seems that the process of transformation, including both the dead and the living, constitutes a new revelation.

Verse 53 grounds the μυστήριον in vv. 51-52: “for [γὰρ] it is necessary [δεῖ]⁹⁷ that this perishable [τὸ φθαρτὸν] must put on the imperishable [ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν] and this mortal must put on immortality [ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν].” This verse recalls the perishable (ἡ φθορά) and imperishable (τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν) in the programmatic v. 50. Moreover, it explicitly describes the nature of the transformation of believers in vv. 51-52: the transformation, i.e., the mystery, is the appropriation of the last Adam’s body to believers. This is substantiated by v. 49: “Just as we have borne [ἐφορέσαμεν] the image of the earthly, we will also bear [φορέσομεν] the image of the heavenly.” These two verbs, φορέω and ἐνδύω, (particularly ἐνδύω) commonly refer to the wearing of clothes.⁹⁸ Paul here views the transformation as putting on

96 There is considerable disagreement concerning Paul’s view of the transformation of believers regarding his personal theological development (see Asher, *Polarity and Change*, 16-22, for a survey of scholarship). Since 1 Thess 4:13-18 does not explicitly mention transformation, whereas 2 Cor 5:1-10 and Phil 1:23 and 3:19 discuss such a notion, scholars have debated the nature of Paul’s development or lack thereof. Some advance the theory that Paul underwent significant development in this particular area (e.g., Luedemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles*, 213-61; C. L. Means, “Early Eschatological Development in Paul: The Evidence of I and II Thessalonians,” *NTS* 27 [1980-81]: 137-57). Others take a more minimalist approach and argue for far less development (e.g., Ben Meyer, “Did Paul’s View of the Resurrection of the Dead Undergo Development?” *TS* 47 [1986]: 363-87; John Gillman, “Signals of Transformation in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18,” *CBQ* 47 [1985]: 263-81). Pertaining to this present study, Paul simply states that the transformation is a mystery, i.e., a new revelation. He does not say when he received this revelation but simply that he knows it. It is possible that this was revealed to him after the writing of 1 Thessalonians, but it seems more probable that he received it prior to 1 Thessalonians but chose not to explain the nature of the transformation due to the particular situation at Thessalonica (cf. Richard A. Horsley, *1 Corinthians* [ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998], 213).

97 The importance of the δεῖ should not be minimized, particularly its relationship to mystery. As John Gillman, “A Thematic Comparison: 1 Cor 15:50-57 and 2 Cor 5:1-5,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 444, suggests, Dan 2:28-9, a programmatic text, also uses δεῖ alongside of mystery: there is a God in heaven who reveals *mysteries* [μυστήρια], and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar *what will take place* [ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι] in the latter days. ... he who reveals *mysteries* [μυστήρια] has made known to you *what will take place* [ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι].” The significance of the relationship between mystery and δεῖ demonstrates God’s sovereign authority and design in redemptive history.

98 These two terms appear to be generally synonymous. For example, in John 19:5 we read, “Jesus then came out, wearing [φορῶν] the crown of thorns and the purple robe” (cf. Matt 11:8; Rom 13:4; Jas 2:3). Regarding the more ubiquitous ἐνδύω, Mark 1:6 says, “John was clothed [ἐνδεδυσμένος] with camel’s hair and wore a leather belt

the garb of the “last Adam.” Gillman rightly labels it: “the clothing event, a pictorial reinterpretation of the mystery of transformation.”⁹⁹ Verses 45-48 contrast the two modes of existences—earthly and heavenly—and conclude that believers will be like the last Adam. Verse 49 then states more clearly v. 48: Believers will bear the image of the heavenly Adam, just as Seth bore the image of his father, Adam (see above). Though some commentators acknowledge the apocalyptic background of Paul’s language in 1 Cor 15:49-53,¹⁰⁰ few draw out the implications. It therefore behooves us to canvass some of the more pertinent texts in this regard.

7.6.1. Eschatological Transformation in Second Temple Judaism

Apocalyptic literature contains the most explicit references to the transformation of the body.¹⁰¹ Like Paul in 1 Cor 15:50-54, these texts typically describe transformation as donning the body with heavenly garments:

The righteous and elect ones shall rise from the earth and shall cease being of downcast face. They shall wear the garments of glory. These garments of yours shall become the garments of life from the Lord of the Spirits. Neither shall your garments wear out. (1 En. 62:15-16)

around his waist” (italics original; cf. e.g., Matt 6:25; 22:11; 27:31; Mark 6:9; 15:20; Luke 8:27; Rom 13:12, 14; Gal 3:27; Eph 4:24; 6:11, 14). See also the discussion in Jung Hoon Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (JSNTSup 268; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 197-98.

99 Gillman, “A Thematic Comparison,” 444 (cf. Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, 214).

100 E.g., Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 744n5.

101 The OT rarely mentions the resurrection. In fact, there is only one explicit reference to resurrection: “Many of those who sleep in the dust of the ground will awake, these to everlasting life, but the others to disgrace and everlasting contempt. Those who have insight will shine brightly [יִהְיוּ קֹדְרִי] like the brightness of the expanse of heaven, and those who lead the many to righteousness, like the stars [כְּכֹכְבִּים] forever and ever” (Dan 12:2-3; cf. Isa 25:7-8; 26:19; Job 19:26-7). This text is especially relevant for us because it hints at some sort of exaltation: “Those who have insight will shine brightly.” The notion of shining probably indicates an individual’s association with the angelic host in heaven. This is affirmed with the mentioning of stars, according to Dan 8:10: “It [the small horn] grew up to the host of heaven [צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם] and caused some of the host [הַצְבָּא] and some of the stars [הַכֹּכְבִּים] to fall to the earth” (cf. Collins, *Daniel*, 393-94). Second Temple Judaism also affirmed that the righteous would become like radiant stars, especially, their faces (see also 4 Ezra 7:125; Ap. Adam 7:52; 1 En. 104:2-5; T. Mos. 10:9; 2 Bar. 51:5-12; 1QM XVII, 6-7; Midr. Ps. 11.5; 148.1; Sipre Deut. pisk. 10; 47; Rab. Lev. 30.2). Moreover, this notion may even come close to Paul’s instruction in 1 Cor 15:35-53 that earthly bodies will transform into heavenly bodies.

And the Lord said to Michael, "Go and extract Enoch from [his] earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into clothes of my glory. And so Michael did, just as the Lord had said to him. ... and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference." (2 En. 22:8-10)

The glory of those who have proved to be righteous will be changed. ... as for the glory of those who proved to be righteous ... their splendor will then be glorified by *transformations*, and the shape of their face will be changed into the light of their beauty so that they may acquire and receive the undying world which is promised to them. ... those over whom they are exalted now will then be more exalted and glorified than they, then both these and those *will be changed*, these into the splendor of angels ... For they will live in the heights of that world and they will be like the angels and be equal to the stars. And they *will be changed* into any shape which they wished, from beauty to loveliness, and from light to the splendor of glory. (2 Bar. 51:3-10; cf. Apoc. Ab. 13:14; italics mine)

But the saints will come with the Lord with their robes which are stored up in the seventh heaven above. (Ascen. Isa. 4:16)

Hear then this also from your companion: [when from the body by the will of God you have come up here], then you will receive the robe which you will see, ... and then you will be equal to the angels who (are) in the seventh heaven. (Ascen. Isa. 8:14-15)

And there I saw Enoch and all who (were) with him, stripped of (their) robes of the flesh; and I saw them in their robes of above, and they were like the angels who stand there in great glory. (Ascen. Isa. 9:9-10; cf. 9:17)

Even though some of these sources are later than the first century (e.g., 2 Bar. [ca. 100-200 AD]; 2 En.; Ascen. Isa.), they nevertheless indicate the importance of this topos. These apocalyptic texts clearly indicate that righteous individuals will be donned with heavenly garments. The first two texts, 1 En. 62:15 and 2 En. 22:8, label these clothes "garments of glory" and "clothes of my [the Lord's] glory."¹⁰² In 2 Bar. 51:3-10, Ascen. Isa. 8:14-15, and 9:9-10, the righteous are transformed "into the splendor of the angels" (2 Bar. 51:5) and become "equal to the angels" (Ascen. Isa. 8:15). Kim remarks, "The garments of glory or life, which the righteous will wear (1 Enoch 62:15-16), symbolize the heavenly body which they will possess from the day of judgment onwards. It will be a glorious body, which will resemble the appearance of God the Great Glory, and its outstanding characteristic will be immortality."¹⁰³

102 4 Ezra 2:39, 45 likewise adds, "Those who have departed from the shadow of this age have received glorious garments from the Lord. ... Then I asked the angel, 'Who are these my lord?' He answered and said to me, 'These are they who have put off mortal clothing and put on the immortal'" (cf. Apoc. El. (C) 5:6; T. Levi 18:14; Jos. Asen. 14:12 [12]-14[16]).

103 Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 37.

Genesis 3:21 may have stimulated the apocalyptists' emphasis on garments.¹⁰⁴ "The Lord God made garments of skin for Adam and his wife, and clothed them" (cf. 2:25; 3:7). Second Temple Judaism and even the rabbis speculated about Adam and Eve's garments.¹⁰⁵ They claim that Adam was first created in an exalted position,¹⁰⁶ but, as a result of the Fall, he was stripped of his glorious "robe." The *Life of Adam and Eve* [Apoc] is explicit: "And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, 'Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed?'" (20:1-2). Here, Eve recounts the Fall and the loss of "glory." In addition to *L.A.E.*, other texts describe the removal of Adam's original glory.¹⁰⁷

It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him—as also Paradise. (2 Bar. 4:3; cf. 56:5-59:12; *Apoc. Adam* 1:2, 4-5)

Just as Adam through this tree was condemned and was stripped of the glory of God, thus men now insatiably drink the wine deriving from it transgress worse than Adam, and become distant from the glory of God. (3 Bar. 4:16 [Gr.])

The idea of a "building" being "taken away" and Adam "stripped of the glory of God" certainly supports this idea.

104 See also Gen 37; Num 20:24-28; 1 Kgs 11:30-31; 19:19-21; Isa 22:21. As Gordon Hugenberger points out, there is "an association between the donning of clothes and the acquisition of throne rights (or inheritance rights) or, alternatively, between the removal of clothes and the loss of throne rights" (Gordon Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant: Biblical Law and Ethics as Developed from Malachi* [VTSup 52; Leiden: Brill, 1994; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998], 199n130). This may explain Adam and Eve's meager attempt to regain their loss of inheritance and regal position by making a garment of fig leaves (Gen 3:7). But according to the Genesis account, these garments were unfit, so God made "garments of skin for Adam and his wife, and clothed them" (3:21). God thus began the process of restoring Adam to his royal position to rule over the created order (see 1:28; 2:15; cf. Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 12-17).

105 Cf. Str-B 3:479-81.

106 *Testament of Abraham* 11:8-9 reads, "Then Abraham ask the Commander-in-chief, 'My lord Commander-in-chief, who is this most wondrous man, who is donned with such glory,' ... The incorporeal one said, 'This is the first-formed Adam who is in such glory, and he looks at the world, since everyone has come from him'" (cf. 2 En. 30:10-18; *Test. Ab.* 11:9b-12; *Apoc. Adam* 1:2; *L.A.E.* 13:3 [Vita]; 4Q504 8 [recto] 4-7).

107 Cf. *Apoc. Ab.* 13:14: "For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him [Abraham], and the corruption which was on him has gone over you [Azazel]."

A natural corollary to this concept is that the righteous will return to the prelapsarian Adamic state, when God will clothe them with the original Adamic garb. Some Qumran texts appear to develop the Jewish notion that God will restore individuals to the original state of Adam.¹⁰⁸

You [protect] the ones who serve you loyally, [so that] their posterity is before you all the days. You have raised an [eternal] name, [forgiving] offence, casting away all their iniquities, giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam and abundance of days. (1QH^a IV, 14-15)

He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth ... to make [them] understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven to those of perfect behavior. For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam. ... For God has sorted them into equal parts until the appointed end and the new creation. (1QS IV, 21-25)

Those who have returned from the wilderness, who will live for a thousand generations, in salva[tio]n for them there is all the inheritance of Adam, and for their descendants for ever. (4Q171 III 1 1-2)

And he built for them a safe home in Israel, such as there has not been since ancient times, not even till now. Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam is for them. (CD-A III, 19-20)

What is intimated in the Pseudepigrapha becomes explicit in the Qumran material. The Qumran community held that the righteous and faithful would obtain "all the glory of Adam." Apparently, they, like other sectors of Judaism, held a high view of prelapsarian Adam and the necessity of a return to the pre-Fall state.¹⁰⁹ Fletcher-Louis com-

108 See Gary A. Anderson, "Garments of Skin in Apocryphal Narrative and Biblical Commentary," in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. James L. Kugel; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 2001), 101-43; Kim, *Origin*, 186-93. N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation, and the Church," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Theology* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1956), 426-27; Str-B 3:247-55; John L. Sharpe, "The Second Adam and the Apocalypse of Moses," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 35-46, comments on the return to the original state of Adam: "Adam no longer possesses the δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ which the writer of the *Apoc. Mos.* believed that Adam possessed: His (i.e., God's) power, His standing (*gravitas*), and His honor were reflected in his (Adam's) prelapsarian state. With the loss of his glory, he lost also his righteousness, a state which he would again enjoy after his resurrection" (38). *History of the Rechabites* 12:2-3 likewise reads, "For the sake of those who (daily) live in the purity and holiness, the years of their life shall increase ... we are naked not as you suppose, for we are covered with a covering of glory; ... But we are covered with a stole of glory (similar to that) which clothed Adam and Eve before they sinned" (cf. 7:2-3).

109 For further support that the righteous shall inherit the glory of Adam in Second Temple Judaism, see C. Marvin Pate, *Adam Christology as the Exegetical and Theological Substructure of 2 Corinthians 4:7-5:21* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991), 33-76; Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 30-78; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam, passim*; Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 48-49.

ments on the phrase “glory of Adam”: “the notion of Adam’s glory is best understood as an affirmation of a particular theological anthropology, rooted, not in the *Endzeit*, but the *Urzeit*: because the true Israel are the true Adam and the Qumran community are true Israel, they possess all that Adam possessed before his departure from paradise.”¹¹⁰

7.6.2. Paul’s View of Donning the Body with Adamic Garments

As we have seen, Judaism, at least certain sectors, held two premises: 1) Adam was created in a glorious state and, after the Fall, lost that glory; 2) the righteous are to return to Adam’s prelapsarian state and, therefore, become like the original Adam. But does this picture fit Paul’s view of Adam and the resurrection of believers? Is Paul advocating a return to the original Adamic state? Those who have insisted that Paul is drawing on a Jewish, particularly, apocalyptic background stress that Paul is in agreement with contemporary and later Judaism. Kim is representative:

Paul probably envisages that Adam’s body in its original state was clothed with divine life which might have been preserved, had he not forfeited it by deliberate disobedience to God. However, since Genesis certainly does not mention Adam’s pre-Fall clothing, we need to designate how Paul came to maintain the thought of Adam’s pre-Fall clothing. ... it is probable that Paul’s thought about Adam’s pre-Fall clothing comes from his acquaintance with ancient Jewish traditions rather than from his own independent imagination.¹¹¹

110 Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 97; cf. Pate, *Adam Christology*, 41, who, after canvassing 1QS IV, 23, CD-A III, 20, and 1QH^a XVII, 15 also claims, “those who had separated themselves from the religious environment of the day (“the domain of Belial”) by joining the ranks of the sectarian monks in order to strictly adhere to the Torah, are the ones who are destined to receive Adam’s lost glory” (see also Scroggs, who likewise claims, “I believe the answer is that Adam’s nature becomes for some [Jewish] writers a description of God’s intent for man, an intention realized once in the person of Adam, to be consummated for all believers in the age to come. Adam is God’s perfect man, that one instance in history in which was realized man’s intended nature” [Scroggs, *The Last Adam*, 24]).

111 Kim, *Significance of Clothing*, 206. Pate says, “Paul argues that Christ’s resurrected body has restored the former glory of Adam and is now extended to his people, who also will bear his image” (*Adam Christology*, 84). J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980), also comments: “there can be little doubt that he [Paul] was thinking of salvation as attaining that glory which Adam forfeited and all men now lack by virtue of sin (Rom 3.23)” (106). To be fair, Dunn later claims that Paul, however, differs from Second Temple Judaism:

Paul’s theology diverges from the formulations of his Jewish contemporaries. Up to this point his assertions would have gained a ready acceptance from

The problem with this commonly held view is that nowhere in Genesis is Adam donned with *eschatological* garments. In addition, this interpretation does not take seriously enough the quotation of Gen 2:7 in 1 Cor 15:45.

In 15:45, Paul, as we have seen, regards the first Adam as “natural” (ψυχικός), and the last Adam as “spiritual” (πνευματικός). But what many fail to observe is that Paul quotes from a *pre-Fall* text. The prelapsarian Adam or the Adam ostensibly donned with “garments of glory” is still reckoned as “natural,” even though he had not yet sinned. Christ, on the other hand, has a *different* body of glory. This is precisely the point of 15:35-44, and, above all, 15:45-49: Christ differs from Adam; his new body is not a return to the pre-Fall body but an entirely different body, recreated by the Spirit.¹¹² Peter Jones seems to be on target:

Out of this OT pre-Fall text [Gen 2:7] and what it implies about the nature of God the Creator, he [Paul] finds “proof” of (a) the inevitability of a consummated mode of existence (the πνευματικόν of v. 46); (b) the necessity of a second (human) Adam who will deal with the reality of the Fall (v. 47); and (c) the birth of a new eschatological humanity (vv. 48-49).¹¹³

Therefore, when Paul discusses the issue of transformation, he is not simply referring to the appropriation of the original Adamic garments but the transition into the body of the escalated last Adam.¹¹⁴

Now it is entirely possible that Paul is using Gen 2:7 out of context and he merely viewed it as the perfect opportunity to support his Adam Christology.¹¹⁵ While possible, I think this is unlikely. Through-

many if not all of his fellow Jews — the idea of all men as somehow caught up in Adam’s fall, ... and the idea of salvation as a renewal of God’s image in Adam and the restoration of God’s glory forfeited by Adam. But in Paul’s theology Adam is pushed aside at this point, and Christ alone fills the stage (106).

Dunn is obviously right to argue that believers do not participate in the glory of the original Adam but Christ. However, if I am reading him correctly, he is suggesting that Christ possesses the glory of the pre-Fall Adam and that believers identify with that glory. But I suppose everything depends upon what Dunn means by “forfeit.”

¹¹² See Altermath, *corps psychique*, 50.

¹¹³ Jones, “Paul Confronts Paganism,” 721. Lincoln also affirms, “conformity to Christ’s image is not simply a restoration of something lost by the first Adam but involves a distinctly new element, a new quality of existence” (*Paradise Now*, 51-52). Cf. also Dahl, “Christ, Creation of the Church,” 435; Beale, *John’s Use*, 254; Vos, *Pauline Eschatology*, 169.

¹¹⁴ The most explicit texts that refer to this event appear to be 2 Cor 5:1-5; Phil 3:20-21; 1 John 3:2.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Dunn, “1 Corinthians 15:45,” 131, adds, “The point and force of the citation of Gen 2:7 lies not in the actual Genesis passage itself, but in the contrast between that Adam and the last Adam — a contrast drawn from Paul’s own understanding of Christ.”

out 1 Cor 15, Paul has been alluding to the Genesis narrative,¹¹⁶ as the majority of commentators point out. It therefore would seem quite odd for Paul to push the overall thrust narrative to the side and use Gen 2:7 apart from its contextual meaning.

Overall Conclusion

As we have seen repeatedly, Paul is concerned with correcting the false doctrine of “some” at Corinth (15:12). The goal of his instruction is that the community be united in spirit (1:10) and in doctrine. Paul has discussed two polarities: spatial (earthly and heavenly) and temporal (first and last Adam). The mystery, according to vv. 50-53, comprises both sets of polarities. Believers’ bodies transform from their earthly mode of existence to a heavenly one, but this transformation is dependent upon the relationship between the first and last Adam.

We have also discovered that Paul calls the transformation of believers, both alive and dead, a *μυστήριον*. We concluded that this transformation is the donning of the believer’s body with Christ’s “clothes” or body. In other words, the mystery is the donning of Christ’s eschatological garments. In vv. 51-52, *μυστήριον* is the transformation of believers from the natural body to the spiritual body, and, according to v. 45, Christ through the instrumentality of the Spirit is the one who transforms the body from one physical realm to another.¹¹⁷ Implicit within Paul’s rereading of Gen 2:7 is the transformation of believers, which we can infer from the specific phrase *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν*.¹¹⁸

116 First Corinthians 15:21-22/Gen 2:17; 3:1-24; 15:38-41/Gen 1:11, 14-24; 15:49/Gen 1:27; 5:3. These allusions therefore reveal Paul’s awareness and concern for the Genesis narrative in 1 Cor 15.

117 We must keep in mind that Christ’s power to give eschatological life is a present reality for believers. In some real sense, this new creational work has already begun in the life of the believer (e.g., 2 Cor 5:17; Col 3:1). Dunn rightly highlights this aspect of the phrase *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* but unfortunately collapses everything, as far as I can tell, into the present reality of the believer. He claims, “*πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* cannot be understood except as a reference to the spiritual experience of the early believers. ... the experience of the life-giving Spirit is the experience of the risen Jesus. ... this experience constitutes for Paul proof that Jesus is risen from the dead and exists as *σῶμα πνευματικόν*” (“1 Corinthians 15:45,” 131-33). I, however, think that the phrase *πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν* includes both the present and future mode of existence for the believer, though in 1 Cor 15:45 the future consummation is the focus. Cf. Fee who also critiques Dunn on this point (*First Epistle*, 789).

118 This interpretation would explain the presence of the passive voice in vv. 51-52. As we have discussed, the key term *ἀλλᾶσσω* is repeated twice in the passive voice: “we will not all sleep, but *we will* all *be changed* [*ἀλλαγησόμεθα*], ... the dead will be

Verses 51-52 explicitly state precisely *what* he will transform—the earthly body into the heavenly.¹¹⁹ Heil similarly argues: “This Christ becoming a ‘life-giving’ being imparts to the audience the hope that as they became living, physical beings like the first Adam, so they will become living, spiritual beings by receiving eschatological life from the last Adam, who became not only a ‘living’ but a ‘life-giving’ Spirit capable of giving spiritual life to humanity.”¹²⁰

The importance of Paul’s quotation of Gen 2:7 and its relationship to apocalyptic wisdom must not be overlooked. The quotation is the foundation of the *μυστήριον* (though not the *μυστήριον* itself), for Christ, as the last Adam, transforms believers in his image through the agency of the Spirit. In other words, the *μυστήριον* is the transformation of all believers and contingent upon Christ functioning as the last Adam figure.

But why would Paul call this a *μυστήριον*? In the OT, as we observed earlier, only a few passages explicitly speak of resurrection (Isa 26:19; Dan 12:2-3), and Dan 12:2-3 may subtly indicate transformation. Nevertheless, the OT does not explicitly teach a transformation of the body, especially the living, so that this transformation may well be part of Paul’s mystery. Neither does the OT connect resurrection with the Adamic image of God, which we have seen is also part of Paul’s mystery. But unlike the OT, as we have seen, many pockets of Judaism portray the resurrection as transformation, and it is a return to the prelapsarian Adamic state. Paul differs even from his Jewish counterparts, who do connect image with resurrection, in that *he views the resurrection*

raised imperishable, and *we will be changed* [ἀλλαγησόμεθα].” It is thus likely that Christ is the agent of the passive voice, because he, through the Spirit, is the one transforming the believer. Philippians 3:20-21 further confirms that Christ is the agent of eschatological transformation: “we eagerly wait for a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ; who *will transform* [μετασχηματίσει] the body of our humble state into *conformity with the body of his glory* [σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ], by the exertion of the power that He has even to subject all things to Himself.”

119 Verses 22-23 add further support that “making alive” (ζωοποιέω) refers to the appropriation of the “spiritual” or last Adamic body. In v. 22-23, we read, “For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all will be made alive [ζωοποιηθήσονται]. But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, after than those who are Christ’s at his coming.” According to these verses, Christ was the first person to “be made alive” and that at the parousia believers will likewise “be made alive.” This is very similar to the argument in v. 45 and vv. 51-52: Christ became spiritual or was made alive at his resurrection, and, finally, at his return, believers will also be made spiritual or made alive. The difference is that in v. 45 Christ is the one *making alive*.

120 Heil, *Role of Scripture*, 236. Cf. Fee, *First Epistle*, 801; Carson, “Mystery and Fulfillment,” 419. Schneider, *Vollendung des Auferstehens*, 180-81, comes close to this interpretation in that he connects *μυστήριον* with the Adamic theme of vv. 21-22, but, unfortunately, does not find Gen 2:7 to be intimately connected with the mystery in vv. 50-53.

not as a return to Adam's prelapsarian state but as a transformation into an escalated Adamic state. This, I contend, is especially the thrust of the mystery in 15:51-52, which takes seriously the Gen 2:7 quotation in 15:45 and its relationship to the term in 15:51-52. As we have repeatedly seen, μυστήριον is occasionally connected to Scripture (Dan 9:24-27; 1 Cor 2:9; Rom 11:26-27; 16:25-26; Eph 5:31-32; 1QpHab VII, 1-8), so it should not surprise us that Gen 2:7 is linked with the technical term in vv. 51-52.

In line with our previous conclusions, the term here in 1 Cor 15:51 is thoroughly apocalyptic. Its association with the resurrection, eschatological trumpets, OT Scripture, and transformation confirms the apocalyptic origin of the term. Furthermore, we ought to highlight once more that the term mystery in 1 Corinthians is often found closely linked to OT allusions, which we have seen to be the case here—Gen 2:7 in 1 Cor 15:45 and Gen 5:3 (cf. Gen 1:26) in 1 Cor 15:49. In addition, the notion that believers will be transformed into a heavenly body resonates conceptually well with Dan 12:3 (“Those who have insight will shine brightly like the brightness of the expanse of heaven, ... like the stars forever and ever”).

Chapter Eight

Summary and Ramifications

8.1. Mystery in Daniel

We have indeed argued for the probability that the technical term *μυστήριον* originates from the book of Daniel. Since the term is thoroughly apocalyptic, it naturally carries with it apocalyptic characteristics. Three apocalyptic elements were articulated in Daniel: mystery has a direct link to eschatological events, the nature of the revelation of the mystery—hidden and revealed, and mystery is closely associated with the polemic between Daniel and the “wise” Babylonians. In our earlier discussions of mystery, the first two characteristics have received attention. The last element, however, has yet to be integrated as fully into surveys and discussion of the term. There will be a brief investigation of how this third aspect may be related to mystery in the remainder of this chapter.

8.2. Mystery in Second Temple Judaism

Though several have surveyed the technical term in Second Temple Judaism, few have paid adequate attention to the immediate context of each usage. Our study has affirmed that *μυστήριον* stems from the book of Daniel. Like Daniel, the term denotes eschatological content. In addition, Qumran viewed Scripture as a mystery: The meaning of OT texts is hidden, awaiting a final interpretation or *pešer*. The polemic in Daniel, the triumph of God’s wisdom over the Babylonians, appears to be found in a recently discovered fragment of the *Book of Mysteries* and the Enochic work *Book of Watchers*. This confirms that apocalyptic wisdom is, to some degree, polemical. According to Second Temple Juda-

ism and especially Qumran, individuals that have calloused eyes, ears, and hearts are unable to understand eschatological revelations. On the other hand, those who do have eyes, ears, and a heart that understands can perceive and understand apocalyptic wisdom.

8.3. Mystery in 1 Cor 2

In a community filled with factions, rivalry, and competition, Paul delivers his remedy—the *theologia crucis*. If the Corinthians embrace the wisdom of the cross and adopt a cruciform lifestyle, then their divisions will cease. In other words, God's apocalyptic wisdom, i.e., the mystery, is the antidote. We concluded that the mystery in 1 Cor 2 is the paradoxical event of the crucifixion: At the moment of his death and defeat, Christ was, nevertheless, the sovereign "Lord of glory." That Israel's long-awaited Messiah would be crucified and put under a curse was hidden in the OT. Not only is God's wisdom expressed through the event of the crucifixion, his wisdom, like other early instances, also defeats all forms of human sophistry. The divine wisdom is superior to and nullifies the wisdom of "this age." The mystery of the cross is polemically used against those in the Corinthian church who attempt to evaluate things according to the wisdom of the world (1:17-28; 2:1-7). The Corinthians must not identify with the way "the rulers of this world" exercise their purported wisdom, which, in reality, is foolishness according to the cross. The quotation of Isa 64:4 in 2:9, though complex, supports the notion that the rulers were unable to perceive God's wisdom in the crucifixion of his Messiah. The quotation also resembles several Jewish texts that describe individuals having the capacity or incapacity to perceive revelation. Typically, terms such as eyes, ears, and heart are used. Paul thus weaves this well-known language into his argument and, like other Jewish texts, associates it with apocalyptic wisdom, in order to counter the world's wisdom.

8.4. Mystery in 1 Cor 4:1

The Corinthian believers were vying with one another by aligning with different leaders, an expression of worldly wisdom. Verses 3:18-23 condemn those who conduct themselves according to the wisdom of "this age" (v. 18) and instruct the community to not "boast in men" (v. 21). On the other hand, 4:1-5 reveal how church leaders ought to live.

Paul uses himself and Apollos as examples of what leaders ought to be: “stewards of mysteries” and “servants of Christ” (4:1). As a Danielic figure, the Apostle’s goal is to remain faithful to his mediatorial role in distributing God’s revelation (4:2). He already had already done so when he came to Corinth by preaching God’s wisdom (2:1), the crucifixion, but he must continually perform this duty, so that when God reveals the *μυστήρια* of his heart at the eschaton, he might be found a faithful steward of revelation (4:5).

8.5. Mystery in 1 Cor 13:2 and 14:2

Even though Paul does not give any clues as to the content of *μυστήρια* in 13:2 and 14:2, we were still able to place both of these occurrences in the sphere of apocalyptic thought. In 13:2, Paul mentions *μυστήρια* alongside of prophecy and the theologically-loaded term “knowledge.” We concluded that these key terms are quite common to apocalyptic thought, for they signal eschatological revelations. The mentioning of apocalyptic wisdom together with prophecy may even refer to inspired exegesis of OT texts, similar to Qumran and other NT texts (e.g., Rom 11:25-27; 16:25; Eph 5:31-32). Like Paul’s eschatological judgment in 4:5, the unbeliever experiences a similar phenomenon in 14:25: The secrets or mysteries of the heart are revealed. The difficult expression “one who speaks in a tongue ... speaks mysteries by the Spirit” probably refers to an individual participating in angelic worship, similar to the situation at Qumran in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice.

8.6. Mystery in 1 Cor 15:51

Paul is concerned with correcting the false doctrine of “some” at Corinth (15:12). The goal of his instruction is that the community be united in spirit (1:10) and sound doctrine. Apparently, some of the Corinthians could not grasp the mystery of the resurrection: God transforms individuals through resurrection from their old corruptible bodies to new-creational physical beings, bodies fashioned in the image of the last Adam. This *μυστήριον* that Paul declares (15:51) presupposes that Christ functions as the last Adam. Not only is this truth grounded in that reality, but it is also dependent upon Gen 2:7—“Adam became a living being.” This connection between *μυστήριον* and the quotation of Gen 2:7 reveals that individuals will not return to the image of the

first Adam, as Qumran thought, but will be transformed into to the image of the eschatological Adam, which entails a higher stage of eschatological existence than that experienced by the first Adam. Moreover, Paul's revelation in 15:51-52—a mystery—is the climax of his rebuttal against those holding a distorted view of the resurrection (15:12). Once the mystery is grasped, the "some" may harmoniously live with the remainder of the community.

8.7. Contribution to 1 Corinthians Studies

8.7.1. Church Unity

Now that we have examined all the uses of *μυστήριον* in 1 Corinthians, we must attempt to answer one question in particular: Why does Paul use the term *μυστήριον* six times in this epistle? As we have seen, the first three uses of *μυστήριον* in chs. 1-4, the first major section of the book, concern the same general ethical problem—divisions within Corinth. Paul uses apocalyptic wisdom as a remedy to fix the problem with factional behavior. In other words, understanding the nature of the cross leads to a transformed lifestyle, engendering unity within the church body. Furthermore, instead of unduly elevating teachers and apostles, which spawns a party spirit and divisions, the readership is to regard them as humble stewards of mysteries and servants of Christ (4:1).

We do not see any use of *μυστήριον* in chs. 5-11, which concerns miscellaneous ethical problems (though still with unity in mind). But in chs. 12-14, we have two usages. This is probably because of the topic of the Spirit and his unifying work in the community. Revelations, tongues, and prophecy are discussed, since they especially are not to become issues of pride around which divisions can occur. Their very purpose is to be a divine means through which God imparts the strife-ridden church with an understanding of his plan in Christ. Indeed, the proper use of these gifts should bring about unity (12:25) and, ultimately, love (13:1-13). It is only natural, therefore, for Paul to mention the technical term mystery in this context, since its earlier uses in chs. 2-4 were aimed at unifying the believers.

Finally, in ch. 15 Paul must confront a major theological problem—a disbelief in the resurrection. The *μυστήριον*, the transformation of all believers, is the centerpiece of Paul's corrective. Some at Corinth failed to believe that God could transform a fallen body into a new creational

one, so Paul expends quite a bit of energy confronting this particular theological problem.

There has been much dispute concerning the precise reason why Paul wrote 1 Corinthians. Recently, and garnering much support, Margaret Mitchell has advanced the theory that Paul primarily wrote the epistle in order to bring unity among the Corinthians.¹ Even if we grant the possibility that Paul did not write largely with unity in mind, no commentator questions Paul's explicit emphasis on unity.

We have four clear usages of *μυστήριον* (2:1, 7; 4:1; 15:51). The first three are used polemically to correct a party-line ethos, which is an expression of worldly wisdom. If Mitchell is correct that the central theme of 1 Corinthians is unity, then this use of revealed mystery for the impartation of divine wisdom leading to unity takes on much more significance than has hitherto been seen. Even the purpose of the *μυστήριον* of the resurrection is to convince the "some among you" that there will be a resurrection of believers, thus bringing theological harmony within the church. The occurrences of mystery in chs. 13-14 may also have the notion of unity in mind, since they are integrated into Paul's larger discussion of charismata and the edification and unification of the church. *The upshot of Paul's usages of the term mystery is to impart divine wisdom in order to bring unity at Corinth.*

8.7.2. Wisdom Polemic

The function of apocalyptic wisdom in 1 Corinthians is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, Paul, as in his other epistles, uses mystery to reconcile factional groups. On the other hand, the apocalyptic wisdom of the cross is not only superior to all other forms of human sagacity but also defeats and nullifies such wisdom. This polemical function of *μυστήριον* is perceivable in Daniel, the *Book of Mysteries*, and the *Book of Watchers*. Perhaps we could formulate it in the following: Paul uses the term mystery to defeat human wisdom, thus ending all forms of human boasting that lead to division. Once the wisdom of "this world" has been conquered in Christ's death and resurrection, Paul as the commissioned conveyer of this message is now in a position to bring unity. In other words, *the wisdom of the cross defeats boasting and thus becomes the rallying point for unity.* If this particular aspect of mystery is correct, then we are able better to understand why Paul uses apocalyptic wisdom to confront the Corinthian factions. It also may shed light

1 Mitchell, *Rhetoric of Reconciliation*, *passim*.

upon other uses of *μυστήριον*, particularly Rom 11:25 and Col 2:2, for, in both passages, human wisdom is confronted with apocalyptic wisdom.

8.7.3. Paul: A Danielic Figure

Recently, scholarship has begun to focus on apocalyptic themes in Paul's writings. One aspect of this research is Paul's apocalyptic persona, specifically, his revelatory experiences. It appears that there is a general agreement that Paul viewed himself as an apocalyptic mediator of revelation. Our analysis adds to this discussion in that Paul, at least partly, saw himself as a Danielic figure both receiving and mediating apocalyptic wisdom. In the Qumran material, we learned that the Teacher of Righteousness probably even understood himself to be analogous to the figure of Daniel (e.g., 1QpHab VII, 1-8). Just as Daniel experienced eschatological revelations, the Teacher of Righteousness receives eschatological insight. Josephus likewise viewed himself as a Danielic figure. Both were interpreters of dreams and received divine wisdom. If the Teacher and Josephus identified with the character Daniel, it is all the more probable that Paul did so as well. In 1 Corinthians, we detected a density of allusions to the book of Daniel, clustered around Paul's relationship to mystery (2:1; 4:1-5; 13:1). The fact that he even calls himself a "steward of mysteries" certainly supports this conclusion.

8.8. The Relationship between Scripture and Mystery

Many have noticed a relationship between OT quotations and *μυστήριον*, specifically, how the notion of mystery sheds new light on OT passages (e.g., Rom 11:25; 16:25). In our study, we have interacted primarily with two OT quotations—Isa 64:4 (1 Cor 2:9) and Gen 2:7 (1 Cor 15:45). Though Isa 64:4 does not betray the content of the mystery, it is organically connected in that only those who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and a ready heart are able to perceive apocalyptic revelation. We find this theme of sensory perception throughout Qumran and the Synoptics directly related to the term *μυστήριον*. Thus, Paul's use of Isa 64:4 is not arbitrary but carefully crafted to suit his argument—the "rulers of this age" are analogous to Israel's hardened condition, a condition that expresses itself in a trust in worldly wisdom.

The Gen 2:7 quotation in 15:45 is part of the mystery of the resurrection. We determined that the *μυστήριον* in 15:51 presupposes that Christ, as the last Adam, is the one who, through the agency of the Spirit, transforms believers into new creational beings. Christ as the last Adam is typologically based upon Gen 2:7, and it is his body which believers will be transformed into—the mystery of the resurrection (15:51). Thus, we have confirmed that at least one quotation is organically related to the concept of mystery (Isa 64:4), whereas the other is part of the *μυστήριον* (Gen 2:7). Thus, in at least these two passages, Paul's use of mystery expresses that he is an inspired interpreter of these ancient OT passages, revealing their truth for the first-century readers.

Appendix A

Additional Occurrences of Mystery in Second Temple Judaism

Dead Sea Scrolls

Several uses of רז in the DSS are very fragmentary and thus unable to provide substantial insight (1Q30 4, 1; 1Q36 9, 2; 1Q40 1, 2; 4Q369 1 I, 2; 4Q385a 3a-c, 8; 4Q464^a 3; 4Q511 63 I, 6; 1QapGen I, 2-3; 1QapGen XIV, 19; 4Q203 9 3; 4Q545 4 16; 4Q546 12 4). However, we do have a few isolated occurrences that contribute to our understanding.

1Q36, a hymnic composition, has a peculiar phrase that is at least worthwhile to mention. The fragmentary line reads, “[... *the m*]en who guard your mysteries [א]נשי משמרת לרזיכה [...] [...]the judg]ment of anger, and the Nephilim of ... [...]” (16, 2-3). Unfortunately, since these lines are broken, any interpretation is highly tenuous. Nevertheless, whatever may be the correct interpretation, we should highlight the unusualness of the phrase “men who guard your mysteries” (cf. 1QH^a XXI, 7). Perhaps it bespeaks the community’s responsibility to preserve and promulgate eschatological revelations.

4QTanḥumim (4Q176) also uses רז in a redemptive sense: “[And in] his mystery he causes the lot to fall on man [יוב]רוז הפיל גורל לאיש] in order to give [...]” (16-18, 3). The line however breaks off at the end, but we are at least able to suggest that mystery in this passage concerns God’s sovereign decree over man.

The famous Damascus Document with all of its halakah contains a few references to mystery:

But with those who remained steadfast in God’s precepts, with those who were left among them, God established his covenant with Israel forever, *revealing to them hidden matters* [לגלות להם נסתרות] in which all Israel had gone astray ... He disclosed (these matters) to them ... *But God, in his wonderful*

mysteries [וַיֹּאֶל בְּרוּי פְּלֹאִי], atoned for their iniquity and pardoned their sin. And he built for them a safe home in Israel, ... Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam is for them." (CD III, 12-20)

The remnant is thoroughly the focus of this passage. In fact, they were privy to "hidden matters" about Israel's apostasy. Their forgiveness of sin is described as the "wonderful mystery" and those who "remain steadfast" will subsequently inherit the "glory of Adam."

Though CD III describes mystery in its natural redemptive sense, 4QDamascus Document^e (4Q270) 2 II, 12-13 is far different: "[... And whoever] divulges the secret of his people [אִשְׁרֵי יִגְלֶה אֶת דֵּי עַמּוֹ] to the pagans, or curses [his people or preaches] rebellion against those anointed with the spirit of holiness." This use is probably secular (see 4Q416 2 II, 8).

4QBarkhi Nafshi^d (4Q437) 6 1 contains only three words, yet it remains worthwhile to mention: "בְּרוּי סוֹד פְּלֹאִי" ("in the mystery of your wo[ndrous counsel"). We only need to note the syntactical relationship between דֵּי and סוֹד, for these terms are similar in meaning (see above). Furthermore, we have often found the phrase דֵּי פְּלֹאִי so it would seem natural to encounter סוֹד פְּלֹאִי (cf. 1QH^a V, 20; XII, 28; XX, 12; 4Q427 8 II, 17; 4Q511 44-47 6).

4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511) employs דֵּי on four occasions, but two of these uses are fragmentary. The other two fall into the usual "redemptive" category: "God ... with his might [...] God's [mysterie]s, who knows them? [דֵּי-אֱלֹהִים מִיָּדָה יֵדַע]"; "He knows, and in his mysteries [וּבְדֵיּוֹ] ... [...] ... the disputes of all the spirits of ... [...]."

Therefore, though isolated in the midst of lacunae, these occurrences of דֵּי are very compatible with our findings elsewhere in the DSS.

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Several texts are far less eschatological in their use of the term. In *T. Ab.* 3:1-3 [A], Michael accompanies Abraham on a trip and Abraham is greeted with a talking cypress tree: "the tree cried out ... 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord who is summoning him to those who love him.' *Abraham hid the mystery* [ἔκρυπεν Ἀβραάμ τὸ μυστήριον], thinking that the Commander-in-chief had not heard the voice of the tree" (at the same passage in recension B, the term μυστήριον is used twice and is clearly identified with the voice: "And Abraham heard the voice and *hid the mystery in his heart* [ἔκρυπεν τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ], saying to himself, 'What, then, is the mystery [ἄρα τί ἐστὶν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο] that I have heard?' [3:4-5]). The same categorical use of μυστήριον

occurs a few verses later when Michael's tears miraculously turned to "precious stones": "Abraham saw the wonder and was astonished, and he picked up the stones secretly and hid the *mystery* [τὸ μυστήριον], keeping it in his heart alone" (3:12 [A]; cf. 1QapGen VI, 12). In 8:9, God speaks to Abraham through Michael: "And not one of the prophets escaped death, and not one of those who reign has been immortal. Not one of the forefathers has escaped *the mystery of death* [τὸ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήριον]." Finally, in recension B, when Abraham and Sarah discover that Michael is a "man of God," Abraham exclaims, "And then I *knew the mystery*" (τότε ἐγνώρισα τὸ μυστήριον; 6:13).

In sum, the *T. Ab.* without exception employs μυστήριον in a very secular or modern sense. The "speaking tree," petrified tears, Michael's identity, and the enigma of death all bespeak a highly secular and non-eschatological use of the term (cf. *T. Zebu.* 1:6; *T. Gad* 6:5).

Joseph and Aseneth (First Century B.C. to Second Century A.D.)

The technical term μυστήριον occurs only one time in *Joseph Aseneth*, when an angelic man declares to Aseneth, "'Happy are you, Aseneth, because the *ineffable mysteries* of the Most High *have been revealed* to you [ἀπεκαλύφθη τὰ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια¹], and happy are all who attach themselves to the Lord God in repentance, because they will eat from this comb. For this comb is (full of the) spirit of life" (16:14; cf. 2 Cor 12:4). The μυστήρια in this passage probably refer to the life-giving "honeycomb" that Aseneth was commanded to provide for her angelic visitor (16:1). But, Aseneth, realizing that she did not have the honeycomb in her storehouse, proceeded to fetch the food from the market (16:2-4). However, the heavenly visitor adamantly warned Aseneth to not go to the market but enter into her storehouse and collect the honeycomb (16:6-7). Upon her arrival, Aseneth discovers that indeed the honeycomb was "lying on the table" (16:8). Furthermore, not only is the appearance of the honeycomb supernatural but also its power: "everyone who eats of it will not die for ever (and) ever" (16:14; see 16:15-23). Thus, the phrase "ineffable mysteries" is closely linked to

1 There are textual variants regarding this phrase: AP reads "ineffable mysteries"; Q F 435 has "the mysteries"; G Syr. Arm. contains "the hidden (things)"; E c d 436 says "the ineffable (things)." But the reading "ineffable mysteries" should be retained because it represents the best mss. tradition (see C. Burchard, "Joseph and Aseneth: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (vol 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 229).

some future eschatological event because it is generally identified with the appearance and significance of the honeycomb² (thus, explaining “ineffable mysteries...this comb” [16:14]), and the honeycomb imparts *eschatological* life (16:16).

Pseudo-Phocylides
(First Century B.C. to First Century A.D.)

This particular ethical body of literature contains one occurrence of mystery in the epilogue: “These are the *mysteries of righteousness* [δικαιοσύνης μυστήρια]; living thus may you live out (your) life well to the threshold of old age” (229). Since the term appears at the end of the book, it is probably best to conclude that μυστήρια represents the entirety of his ethical teaching, e.g., justice, mercy, money, etc. The practical side of wisdom, as depicted in this literature, allows us to conclude that mysteries denote pragmatic secrets or insight and not eschatological knowledge.

2 *Lives of the Prophets* uses “mystery” to refer to miracles (1:7, 11-12, 2:5, 10, 19, and 4:6).

Appendix B

Additional Sensory Texts

Sensory Texts in the OT

The connection between mystery and sensory texts has gone relatively unnoticed, so this appendix is a brief examination of this relationship. The Pentateuch has a primary role in the sensory discussion at hand. The Pentateuch, in key theological texts, frequently mentions the hardening of the heart. The first of these is Pharaoh's: "Yet Pharaoh's heart was hardened [וַיִּהְיוּק לֵב], and he did not listen to them" (see 7:22; 8:11; 9:12). Although seeing and hearing are not included, the notion of obduracy is apparent.¹

Deuteronomy 29:4 is a prominent obstinacy text in the Pentateuch because of its placement and theological implications. The passage could be considered as the fountainhead of sensory texts (Isa 6:9-10; Jer 5:21; Ezek 12:2):² "Yet to this day the Lord has not given you a heart to

- 1 A very similar concept of hardening likened unto Pharaoh's is found in Deut 2:30: "But Sihon ... was not willing for us to pass through his land; for the Lord your God hardened his spirit and made his heart obstinate [וַיִּהְיוּק אֶת-לִבּוֹ]."
- 2 Ezek 12:2 and Jer 5:21 could be alluding to Deut 29:4:

Deut 29:4	Jer 5:21	Ezek 12:2
καρδίαν εἰδέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὠτα ἀκούειν	ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν ὥτα αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν	οἱ ἔχουσιν ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ βλέπειν καὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ ὠτα ἔχουσιν τοῦ ἀκούειν καὶ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν
לֵב לִדְעַת וְעֵינִים לִרְאוֹת וְאָזְנוֹת לִשְׁמֹעַ	וְאֵין לֵב עֵינִים לָקֵם וְאֵין אָזְנוֹת לָקֵם וְאֵין שְׁמֵעוֹת	עֵינִים לָקֵם לִרְאוֹת וְאֵין רְאוֹת אֲנֵימָם לָקֵם לִשְׁמֹעַ וְאֵין שְׁמֵעוֹת

Craig Evans, *To See and Not Perceive* (JSOT 64; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989), 48-51, also views Deut 29:4, Jer 5:21, and Ezek 12:2 as background to Isa 6:9-10.

know [לֵב לֹדַעַת], nor eyes to see [עֵינַיִם לִרְאוֹת], nor ears to hear [אָזְנַיִם לִשְׁמֹעַ].”³ In addition, the previous two verses underscore the entire thesis of this: “you [Israel] have seen [רָאִיתֶם] all that the Lord did *before your eyes* [לְעֵינֵיכֶם] in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh and all his servants ... the great trials which *your eyes have seen* [רָאִי עֵינֶיךָ], those great signs and wonders.”⁴ Although Israel bore great witness to Yahweh’s deeds, from the very beginning she rejected his graciousness by committing idolatry and was therefore hardened.

This hardening comprises the eye, ear, and heart. All three organs are very much interconnected. The heart can be defined as one’s inclination or disposition (2 Sam 15:13),⁵ will or intention (Num 16:28),⁶ conscience (1 Sam 24:6),⁷ and the center of cognition and understanding.⁸ Therefore, if the heart is “made hard,” the individual is unable to recognize and perceive.⁹

Fabry contends that “cognition in the *leb* is related to sense perception: it is prior to seeing with the eyes and hearing with the ears, because it initiates the operation of the senses.”¹⁰ The heart is the core of the senses, thus, explaining why some texts speak of “hardening the heart” (Ezek 2:4; 3:7), while others only mention eyes and ears (Ezek 12:2; cf. Jer 5:21; 11:8). These two expressions are part and parcel of one another.

3 Another noticeable Pentateuchal text expressing obstinacy language is Deut 28:65: “you shall find no rest...but there the Lord will give you a *trembling heart* [לֵב רָעָן], *failing of eyes* [עֵינַיִם נִכְלָיוֹן], and *despair of soul* [רָאִבוֹן נֶפֶשׁ].” This text describes the future failure of Israel in exile using the obdurate heart and eye language, because of her idolatrous ways.

4 The emphasis on seeing and God’s deeds (הַמַּעֲשִׂים הַגְּדֹלִים, הָאֵלֹהִים) is striking in these two verses heightening the condemnation in verse four.

5 KB, 2:514.

6 Ibid., 2:514.

7 Ibid., 2:514.

8 KB, II, 514-515, lists Gen 31:20, Exod 9:14, Deut 29:3, 1 Sam 4:20, 2 Sam 18:3, Isa 42:25, Job 7:17, 1 Kgs 3:9, 5:9, Jer 5:21, Prov 6:32, 17:16, 28:26 and 1 Chr 12:34-39 as examples of cognition.

9 For a good discussion of לֵב, see H. Fabry, “לֵב,” TDOT 7:399-437. He contends that “cognition in the *leb* is always understood as a compact whole, in that it denotes the total noetic ability of an individual (Dt. 8:5),” 419. For important heart texts see Jer 4:4, 5:21, 7:24, 9:13, 13:10, 16:12, 18:12, 23:17, Ezek 2:4, 20:16, and 44:5 (cf. Pss 95:8, 81:13, 119:70, Prov 28:14, Lam 3:65; Zech 7:12, Mal 2:2).

10 Fabry, “לֵב,” 419.

Sensory Texts in the NT

The NT commonly features the organ language of the OT.¹¹ It should be no coincidence that the Gospels and Paul follow the footsteps of earlier prophets and label Israel as hardened. The Gospels,¹² Acts,¹³ and Paul¹⁴ disclose the importance of organs and redemptive history.

The Synoptics use sensory language in the Parable of the Sower (Matt 13; Mark 4; Luke 8), while Matthew's account is the longest and contains the most discussion. Jesus delivers the parable and then finishes with the idiom "He who has ears, let him hear" (13:9).¹⁵ The disciples immediately question the parabolic nature of Jesus' teaching in verse 10, to which Jesus replies: "'To you it has been granted to know the *mysteries* [μυστήρια] of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it has not been granted."

Those on the outside receive judgment¹⁶ and confusion, but the "insiders" or the disciples receive the "mysteries of the kingdom" (μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας; Mark 4:11; Luke 8:10). Jesus continues in

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- 11 C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Nisbet, 1953), 38, labels the common quotation of Isa 6:9-10 in the NT a "testimony" and suggests that Paul alludes to this theme frequently.
 - 12 Obduracy texts are found throughout the gospels with reference to either the disciples or Jewish leader's lack of understanding. Jesus labels the disciples as hardened for not understanding "the feeding" (Mark 8:17-21). But this passage places the notion of "remembering" alongside of seeing and hearing, exactly what Paul does in 1 Cor 2:9.
 - 13 In Stephen's lengthy speech to the Jewish leaders, he calls the leaders "uncircumcised in heart and ears," for their constant resisting of God's redemptive plan (7:2-50). He even further comments in verse 52: "Which one of the prophets did your fathers not persecute? And they killed those who had previously announced the coming of the Righteous One, whose betrayers and murderers you have now become" (Paul's line of thinking is similar in 1 Cor 2:8 in his appraisal of the "rulers of this age"). Furthermore, in 28:25-27, Paul gathers the Jewish leaders at Rome (28:14) to discuss his beliefs (28:23); but when some of the leaders are not persuaded, Paul typologically applies Isa 6:9-10.
 - 14 Paul often employs organ language in several key theological texts (Rom 11:8-10 [Isa 29:10; Deut 29:4; Ps 69:22-23]; cf. Eph 1:18-20). In 2 Cor 4:1-6, Paul reveals the agent of hardening: "in whose case the god of this world *has blinded the minds* [ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα] of the unbelieving, that they might not see the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ." The importance of this text lies in its affiliation with 1 Cor 2:8 where the "rulers of this age" crucify Jesus because they have been blinded by the "god of this world."
 - 15 Mark 4:9 and Luke 8:8 both place this phrase after the parable (see Mark 4:23 and Luke 14:35 for other instances). The phrase "he who has ears to hear, let him hear" (ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούτω) is a common idiom found in the Synoptics and John's Apocalypse, alluding to Isa 6:10 and the other OT obdurate texts. See G. K. Beale, "The Hearing Formula and the Visions of John in Revelation" in *A Vision for the Church* (eds., M. Bockmuehl and Michael Thompson; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997) who likewise sees Isa 6:9-10, Jer 5:21, and Ezek 12:2 behind this expression.
 - 16 Beale, *Formula 173*, comments "Symbolic parables cause those who 'have ears to hear and hear not' to misunderstand further."

verse 13: “Therefore I speak to them in parables; because *while seeing* [βλέποντες] *they do not see* [βλέπουσιν], and *while hearing* [ἀκούοντες] *they do not hear* [ἀκούουσιν], nor do they understand [συνίουσιν].” In a typological use, Jesus then quotes Isa 6:9-10¹⁷ in verses 14-15 and applies this text to the “outsiders.” But juxtaposed to the crowd¹⁸ in verse 16, he avers that the disciples to some extent perceive: “But blessed are your *eyes* [οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ], because *they see* [βλέπουσιν]; and your *ears* [τὰ ὦτα], because *they hear* [ἀκούουσιν].”¹⁹ Thus, mystery and senses are wedded. The parables about the kingdom describe the unexpected manner of the kingdom of God that Jesus initiates, but only those who truly perceive by adhering to the teaching of Jesus are able to understand the μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας. Like Paul, Matthew places the technical term mystery and senses together.²⁰

17 Mark 4:12 likewise quotes Isa 6:9-10.

18 In John 12:40, after repeated miracles (12:37), the crowd still does not comprehend their implications, so Jesus applies Isa 6:10 to them: “But though he had performed so many signs before them, yet they were not believing in him ... For this cause they could not believe, for Isaiah said again, ‘He has blinded their eyes’” (12:37-40).

19 See Mark 4:33-34.

20 I have only found two authors in agreement with this statement: Betz, “Der gekreuzigte Christus,” 199-200, and Hans von Soden “ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ und Sacramentum,” 188-227. Betz, “Der gekreuzigte Christus”, 199-200, arrives at this conclusion by seeing Isa 52:15 as the background to both 1 Cor 2:9 and Matt 13 and parallels. He is right to connect this Pauline passage with Matt 13 and parallels: „Wie Paulus in 1.Kor 2,9, so hat Jesus das Jesajawort als Verheißung verstanden und frei gebraucht: Das Geheimnis des gegenwärtigen Heilsgeschehens bleibt den Weisen (Lk 10,21) und dem verstockten Israel (Mt 13,13-15) verborgen.” Von Soden also sees a connection between 1 Cor 2:8-9 and Mark 4:11. He rhetorically adds: „Wer erkennt hier nicht die Parallele zu Mk 4,11?” (von Soden, “ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ”, 192).

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