COMMUNAL PARTICIPATION IN THE SPIRIT:
THE CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE IN LIGHT OF
EARLY JEWISH MYSTICISM IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

A thesis submitted to
The University of Manchester
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2013

Christopher G. Foster

This research was carried out at
Nazarene Theological College, Manchester
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*Abbreviations of Dead Sea Scrolls*

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<td>1Q21</td>
<td>TLLevi ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Q22</td>
<td>Dibre Moshe or Words of Moses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Q34</td>
<td>LitPr&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; or Liturgy Prayers&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>1QH&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Hodayot&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; or Thanksgiving Hymns&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>1QM</td>
<td>Milḥamah or War Scroll</td>
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<td>1QpHab</td>
<td>Pesher Habakkuk</td>
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<td>1Qplsa&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Pesher Isaiah&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>1QS</td>
<td>Serek Hayahad or Rule of the Community</td>
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<td>1QSa</td>
<td>1Q28a or Rule of the Congregation</td>
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<td>1Qsb</td>
<td>1Q28b or Rule of the Blessings</td>
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<td>4Q158</td>
<td>4QRP&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; or 4QReworked Pentateuch&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4Q171</td>
<td>pPs&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4Q174</td>
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<td>4Q175</td>
<td>4QTest or Testimonia</td>
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<td>4Q216</td>
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<td>4Q259</td>
<td>4QS&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt; or 4QRule of the Community&lt;sup&gt;e&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4Q266</td>
<td>4QD&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4QD&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4Q286–290</td>
<td>4QBer&lt;sup&gt;a–c&lt;/sup&gt; Berakhot&lt;sup&gt;a–c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4Q374</td>
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<td>4Q378</td>
<td>Apocryphon of Joshua&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>4Q385</td>
<td>4QPsEzek&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; or Pseudo-Ezekiel</td>
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<td>4Q394</td>
<td>4QMMT&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; or Miṣṣat Maʿašê ha-Torah&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>4Q400-407</td>
<td>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice or Songs</td>
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<td>4Q400</td>
<td>4QShirShabb&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt; or Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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Abbreviations of other ancient texts

A.J. Antiquitates judaicae
Abraham On the Life of Abraham
ALD Aramaic Levi Document
Ant. Jewish Antiquities
Apoc. Ab. Apocalypse of Abraham
Apoc. Mos. Apocalypse of Moses
Apoc. Zeph. Apocalypse of Zephania
Ascen. Isa. Mart. Ascen. Isa. 6–11
As. Mos. Assumption of Moses
b. Babylonia Talmud
2 Bar. 2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)
3 Bar. 3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)
Bod. Bodleian
1 En. 1 Enoch
2 En. 2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)
3 En. 3 Enoch (Sefer Hekhalot)
Ezek. Trag.  Ezekiel the Tragedian
L.A.B.  Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)
L.A.E.  Life of Adam and Eve
Leg. 1, 2, 3  Legum Allegoriae I, II, III
LXX  Septuagint
Hag.  Hagigah
Jub.  Jubilees
m.  Mishnah
Mos.  De vita Mosis
MS(S)  Manuscript(s)
MT  Masoretic Text
Pss Sol  Psalms of Solomon
Sir  Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
Sobriety  On Sobriety
Spec.  De specialibus legibus
t.  Tosefta
T. Ab.  Testament of Abraham
Tg.  Targum
T. Job  Testament of Job
T. Levi  Testament of Levi
Wis  Wisdom of Solomon
y.  Jerusalem Talmud

Secondary Sources

AB  Anchor Bible
ABD  Anchor Bible Dictionary. Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols.
    New York, 1992
ABG  Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL  Anchor Bible Reference Library
AcB  Academia Biblica
AGAJU  Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des
    Urchristentums
AJ Review  Association for Jewish Studies Review
ALUOS  Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
AnBib  Analecta biblica
AOS  American Oriental Series
APH  Augsburg Publishing House
ARW  Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ATDan  Acta theologica danica
BAGD  Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. Greek-
      English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian
      Literature. 2d ed. Chicago, 1979
BBB  Bonner biblische Beiträge
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<td>KEK</td>
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<td>NAC</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCB</td>
<td>New Century Bible</td>
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STNJIT  Studia theologica—Nordic Journal of Theology
SubBi  Subsidia biblica
SUNT  Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SUNY  State University of New York Press
SUP  Standford University Press
SVTP  Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TANZ  Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TBNJCT  Themes in Biblical Narrative Jewish and Christian Traditions
TS  Theological Studies
TSAJ  Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TynBul  Tyndale Bulletin
UCP  The University of Chicago Press
UTPSS  University of Texas Press Slavic Series
VC  Vigiliae christianae
VCSup  Supplements to Vigiliae christianae
VTSup  Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WSup  The Way Supplement
WTJ  Wesleyan Theological Journal
WUNT  Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YUP  Yale University Press
ZNW  Zeitschrift für die neustamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

Other

2TJ  Second Temple Judaism
2TP  Second Temple period
DSS  Dead Sea Scrolls
JM  Jewish mysticism
MM  Merkabah mysticism
N.B.  nota bene, note carefully
NT  New Testament
This thesis identifies Jewish mystical elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls and compares them with analogous elements in the Corinthian Correspondence, to illuminate through differences and similarities how Paul advocates a mystical and communal participation in the spirit.

After defining early Jewish mysticism and introducing methodology—heuristic comparison—in chapter 1, Part I identifies and investigates mystical elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Chapter 2 explores how the spirit facilitates a *liturgica mystica* with angels in *Hodayot*. Chapter 3 shows from 1QS and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* that the Qumran temple community, in an archetypal relationship, shares in the priestly service of the angels. Chapter 4 argues that Moses-Δόξα traditions in the Scrolls portray Moses as an exalted, angelic-like mediator with supernatural authority—an ideal model for the Qumran priesthood. The ascent texts surveyed in chapter 5 reveal the conceivability of heavenly ascent at Qumran. In light of these studies, the Qumran community’s worship praxis and apperception of divine transcendence can be characterised as a liturgical and communal mysticism.

Part II compares these findings with corresponding elements related to participation in the spirit in 1 and 2 Corinthians. Chapter 6 shows how Paul advances an epistemology of the spirit and participation (κοινωνία) in the spirit that is communal. Chapter 7 analyses angelic presence and angelic tongues as extensions of the spirit-enabled temple metaphor. Chapter 8 demonstrates how Paul democratises the spirit-facilitated, mystical encounter with the glory of the Lord and supports an ongoing, christomorphic and theotic transformation of the community. Chapter 9 examines how Paul’s heavenly ascent functions rhetorically to build up and instruct the *ekklesia* with a cruciform perspective of communal participation.

Chapter 10 draws final conclusions showing the fruitfulness and validity of heuristic comparison. Paul appropriates Jewish mystical traditions and reinterprets them to promote the ongoing Christological and mystical transformation of the Corinthian community in and by the spirit. This reveals the predominantly corporate tenor of participation in the spirit for Paul. Overall, this investigation builds upon and contributes to studies of Jewish mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Paul and Jewish mysticism, Corinthians, spirit, and notions of communal participation and theosis.
DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.

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Dedicated to the love of my life

Sarah Lynn Foster

“Two are better than one”

&

“A threefold cord is not quickly broken”

Ecclesiastes 4:9–12
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s, the highly influential Gershom Scholem traced Jewish mysticism’s development back to biblical, pseudepigraphic, and apocalyptic traditions and suggested early Jewish mysticism provided a background for understanding Paul’s epistles. Scholars ever since have had to wrestle with the Scholemian Paradigm of Jewish mysticism (hereafter JM) and in particular JM’s relationship with late Second Temple Judaism (hereafter 2TJ). Over the last two decades, JM has been recognised in the Dead Sea Scrolls (hereafter DSS) through the identification of Jewish mystical elements and mystical praxis. JM has also proved fruitful to the study of

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1 Gershom Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (3d rev. ed.; New York: Schocken Books, 1961; repr.,1995), 40, 43. He notes two esoteric doctrines taught in 2TJ: Genesis 1, “the story of Creation (‘Maaseh Bereshith’), and the first chapter of Ezekiel, the vision of God’s throne-chariot (the ‘Merkabah’)” (42). He identifies the main theme of earliest JM as “throne mysticism.” “Its essence is not absorbed contemplation of God’s true nature, but perception of His appearance on the throne, as described by Ezekiel, and cognition of the mysteries of the celestial world” (43).


4 The DSS are documents from Qumran and related texts from Masada and Cairo Genizah. Translations will be from Martínez and Tigchelaar’s DSSSE unless otherwise noted.

5 Jewish mystical elements are ideas and technical terminology of JM, such as heavenly ascent, merkabah exegesis, descriptions of the heavenly realm, visions of God’s throne, enthronement, and angelic transformation, which correspond to later Merkabah mysticism. For an example, see n. 66 below.

6 Mystical praxis or via mystica is the means to mystical experience (e.g., heavenly ascent).
Paul’s Christology and his heavenly ascent in 2 Cor 12. What has not been considered, however, is how JM relates to or illuminates the broader context of the Corinthian correspondence and the worship practice of the Corinthian *ekklesia*. Since JM in the DSS primarily concerns the pre-Christian, sectarian Jewish community at Qumran and its liturgical practices, this provides a rich and illuminating source for comparison to the Corinthian correspondence.

For this reason, a heuristic approach that identifies mystical elements in Jewish mystical texts among the DSS (e.g., *Hodayot*, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, *Self-Glorification Hymn*) and then compares them with converging phenomena and concepts in the Corinthian correspondence (e.g., 1 Cor 2:6–16; 3:16; 6:19; 11:10; 2 Cor 6:14b–16a; 12:1–12; 13:13) will illuminate how Paul draws upon Jewish mystical traditions and reinterprets them to promote the ongoing Christological and mystical transformation of the Corinthian community *in and by* the spirit. The theme of participation in the spirit, which correlates with the mystical elements in the Corinthian correspondence, will guide this comparative investigation. The comparison will show in particular Paul’s largely communal orientation.

The rationale for this comparison is threefold. First, the communities have a common relationship. The Qumran community and the Corinthian *ekklesia* are both sectarian groups with an eschatological orientation in 2TJ and draw upon the same biblical traditions, which provide adequate grounds for comparison. Moreover, the DSS are “unaffected by the post-Jamnia consolidation of ‘normative’ Judaism and uninfluenced by Christianity or anti-Christian polemic.” As such, they sufficiently represent the diversity of Judaism in the late 2TP. The DSS, thus, hold particular relevance in the study of early Christianity communities.

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7 There is an ongoing debate over the connection between the community located at Qumran, the DSS, and communities associated with the DSS over time. For this study, the Qumran community will refer to the sectarian community or communities at Qumran self-identified as the *yahad*, who used the DSS from 170 B.C.E to 70 C.E.

8 Since ‘spirit’ references in Second Temple Jewish literature are often ambiguous, lower case ‘spirit’ will be used throughout.

9 Albert Baumgarten defines sect as “a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms – the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders – to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity,” in *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: an Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 7.


Second, the DSS are of noteworthy importance for the study of the spirit in the Corinthian correspondence. Unlike the relative paucity of references to the spirit of God in Second Temple Jewish literature, the abundant references to God’s spirit in Hodayot and 1QS considerably expand the role of the spirit in the life of the maškil and in the Qumran community. Comparative study of the spirit in Paul in light of the DSS has not been fully explored, especially in light of recent study of the Qumran community’s worship practices.

Third, evidence suggests the Qumran community practised a communal and liturgical mysticism. This grants the DSS an early place in the history of JM and may disclose widespread Jewish mystical traditions in 2TJ drawn upon by Paul, early Christian communities, and later Christian mysticism. This offers a compelling reason to investigate Paul’s relationship with early JM found in the DSS. Additionally, the functions of the spirit in the Qumran community’s communal mystical practice will need further examination and clarification in this study. Paul’s similar communal orientation concerning participation in the spirit warrants a fresh comparison of the mystical elements in the DSS to those corresponding to the spirit in the Corinthian correspondence.

To begin, this chapter will first briefly survey the history of interpretation on the relationship between JM and the DSS. This will establish a working definition of JM for this study and a foundation for further exploration of JM in the DSS for Part I. Second, the history of interpretation on the relationship between Paul and JM will be considered. This will locate the specific contributions of Part II on the Corinthian correspondence within the broader scholarly discussion of JM and Paul. Third, a brief consideration will explain how communal participation in the spirit—the central theme of this thesis—relates to scholarship on mysticism, participation, and study of the spirit in Paul. Afterward, methodology, working assumptions, and the thesis structure will be laid out.

1.1 Jewish Mysticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Towards a Working Definition
A survey of the scholarly discussion on JM in the DSS will lay the groundwork for Part I and help construct a working definition of JM for this study. The question of whether JM appears in the DSS or to what extent the Qumran community practised JM is a matter of definition, debate, and perspective. The question has primarily
concerned the historical relationship between early JM in the DSS and Merkabah mysticism\(^{12}\) (hereafter MM) in Hekhalot literature.\(^{13}\) Some, such as Philip Alexander,\(^{14}\) argue that mysticism and mystical elements in the DSS are the historical precursor to Hekhalot texts, others,\(^{15}\) a historical predecessor with traditions that eventually appear in Hekhalot literature, and, some,\(^{16}\) part of wider, apocalyptic worldview in 2TJ. Still others, such as Elliot Wolfson,\(^{17}\) Esther Chazon,\(^{18}\) and Peter Schäfer,\(^{19}\) refrain from using the term mysticism to describe the DSS because of the significant differences with Hekhalot texts and the ambiguity and difficulty of the term mysticism. A comparison, however, between these two textual groups shows remarkable affinities in style and content that must be reconsidered and differences that need to be further explicated.

How and why did scholars begin to associate the DSS with MM in Hekhalot texts? The connection first began with the publication in 1960 of fragments of “The Angelic Liturgy”—later called Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, in which John

\(^{12}\) Merkabah mysticism (MM) comes initially from rabbinic traditions on maʿaseh merkabah—the work of the divine chariot—found in both Talmudic and midrashic literature that develops an esoteric tradition of exegesis of Ezek 1. See Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, “Paradise Revisited (2 Cor 12:1–12): The Jewish Mystical Background of Paul’s Apostolate. Part 1: The Jewish Sources,” HTR 86 (1993), 182 n. 14, 183. For example, see m. Hag. 2.1, which says, “It is not permitted to expound . . . the merkabah with an individual, unless he were wise and understands [understood] from his (own) knowledge” (trans. Morray-Jones, “Part 1,” 185).


\(^{16}\) For instance, see Gruenwald, Apocalyptic, 29–72.


\(^{19}\) Schäfer, Origins, 112–53.
Strugnell pointed out some parallels to MM. In 1965, Scholem also detected in these excerpts a relationship “between the oldest Hebrew Merkabah texts preserved in Qumran and the subsequent development of the Merkabah mysticism as preserved in the Hekhaloth texts.” Scholars have drawn more links between the DSS and the Hekhalot corpus as publications and evaluations of Hekhalot literature came out concurrently with remaining DSS fragments. For example, in 1982, Schiffman added 1 Enoch 14, the War Scroll and 11QPsalms to the mystical content of the DSS and cited common technical terminology with Hekhalot literature. He wrote:

Among the most prominent are: the notion of the seven archangels, the idea that the angelic hosts praise God regularly, the notion of the gevurah, kavod, or dynamis, the heavenly sanctuary and cult, the ‘gentle voice,’ association of fire with the angels, the variegated colors, the ‘living God,’ the multiple chariot-thrones, and the military organization of the heavenly hosts. Further, the language, terminology, and style of our text are very similar to what we encounter in the later Hekhalot literature.

From this he concluded, “merkavah mysticism had its origin at Qumran or in related sectarian circles.” Schiffman redacted the relationship in 1987 to exclude a direct link. His study, nonetheless, identified the presence of mystical elements in the DSS, which is important for this discussion.

Carol Newsom’s 1985 critical edition of the Songs of the Sabbath Songs (hereafter called Songs) “set the tone for” the trend in scholarship to connect Qumran with MM. Newsom describes the thirteen week cycle of songs as a “quasi-

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21 Scholem, Gnosticism, 128.
26 Schäfer, Origins, 142–46.
mystical liturgy,” which includes “the praxis of something like communal mysticism” and “the cultivation of a mystical communion with the angels.” She explains:

The mysteries of the angelic priesthood are recounted, a hypnotic celebration of the sabbatical number seven produces an anticipatory climax at the center of the work, and the community is then gradually led through the spiritually animate heavenly temple until the worshippers experience the holiness of the merkabah and of the Sabbath sacrifice as it is conducted by the high priests of the angels.28

She notes, like Schiffman, the influence of Ezek 1, 10, and 40–48 as well as references to “esoteric knowledge and the revealing of secrets,” the formation of a temple community, and a mystical communion with the angels as a “shared priestly service.”29 While the sectarian origin of Songs remains unknown, textual evidence clearly indicates that they played an essential part in the Qumran community’s literary and liturgical practice.30 This thesis builds upon Newsom’s communal identification of JM in Songs, but notes differences from other DSS. Furthermore, the comparison with Paul’s communal orientation in the Corinthian correspondence should prove illuminating.

After Newsom’s seminal work, scholars have re-evaluated the relationship. Newsom, Deborah Dimant, and Strugnell, among many others, see exegesis of merkabah texts from Scripture as the primary commonality between the two.32

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27 Newsom, Songs, 19, 59, 71.
28 Newsom, Songs, 19.
30 Newsom originally proposed a Qumran origin, Songs, 4. She now argues for pre-Qumran origin, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters (ed. William H. Propp et al.; BJSUC 1; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 184.
Others, like Jey J. Kanagaraj and Michael Swartz, have continued with direct comparison and contrasting of the two types of literature. Some, like Schiffman, have been more judicious in their conclusions and use of the terms *mystical* and *mysticism*. Bilhah Nitzan, James R. Davila, Philip Alexander, and others argue for the validity in designating certain DSS as mystical, recognising the practice of a JM by the Qumran community, and seeing this as part of the early history of JM.

Building upon Newsom’s work, Nitzan in 1994 contended for mystical characteristics in poetic and liturgical texts such as the *Hodayot*, *Songs of the Sage* a–b, and *Songs*. She describes Qumran mysticism as “an experience of harmony and communion between the chosen earthly and heavenly worshippers” that is “reached through hymns recited by his pure and perfect worshippers.” For Nitzan, the typological use of the number seven in *Songs*, “the descriptions of heavenly sanctuaries, the chariots, the Throne of Glory, and the angelic hosts may be considered as mystical.” She continues, “They are described in sublime and numinous wording and style, related mostly to the merkavah vision of Ezekiel, thereby reflecting the mysterious exalted atmosphere of the heavenly kingdom of God.” For Nitzan, *Songs* are “not analogous to that of the mystic experience of the later ‘descenders to the merkavah,’” but “they may have been considered as a medium for creating an experience of mystic communion between the earthly and heavenly worshippers.”

Since study of MM and the multifarious and polymorphic *Hekhalot* texts is ongoing, scholars have not always agreed on what mystical elements must be present


In light of *Hekhalot* literature, Jey J. Kanagaraj identifies three ‘mystical’ elements in the Qumran community: (1) angelology around the throne-chariot, (2) “God as the glory and king who is seated on the royal chariot-throne” with hints at heavenly ascent, and (3) esotericism (103). ‘Mysticism’ in the Gospel of John: An Inquiry into its Background (JSNTSup 158; Sheffield: SAP, 1998), 89–103.

Michael D. Swartz cites a stylistic affinity between *Songs* and *Ma’aseh Merkavah*, a *Hekhalot* text, as “evidence for the mystical character of Qumran literature and spirituality” in “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 186.


Alexander, *Mystical*.


to qualify something as JM. In 1994, Elliot Wolfson adduced that the two essential elements of JM, heavenly ascent and enthronement with “ontic transformation,” are missing from the DSS on which Nitzan bases her conclusions about mysticism at Qumran. Although Wolfson observes “the importance of Qumran material in the history of Jewish mysticism,” he refrains “from using the word mystical to describe any of the Qumran texts” because in his opinion “no mystical praxis is related explicitly in the Qumran material.” In 2004, however, Wolfson revised his contention with Nitzan admitting that further study of the Sabbath hymns “has convinced me that some such [mystical] experience may indeed be alluded to in some critical passages.”

Davila responds to Wolfson’s supplementary criteria and specifies six heavenly ascent traditions present at Qumran; ascent and enthronement coexist in 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn and parallels (4Q491; 4Q471b, 4Q427 frag. 7, and 1QH), and possibly with the figure of Moses in 4Q374. Moreover, Christopher Morray-Jones, Morton Smith, Crispin Fletcher-Louis, and Michael O. Wise, among many others, argue for some type of angelification, enthronement, and/or apotheosis in certain DSS. These claims, in relation to Moses, will be re-examined in chapter 4.

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49 Michael O. Wise includes a comprehensive survey of scholars, such as Stegeman, Eshel, and Dimant, who argue for deification in these texts, “מי כמוני באלים A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q47b, 4Q427 7 and 1QH,” DSD 7 (2000): 173–21.
Despite these responses to Wolfson, some support his earlier assessment. Esther Chazon also “refrains from applying the term ‘mystical’ to these ancient Jewish texts.”  

She concludes that multi-faceted human-angelic praise at Qumran is part of a broader religious phenomenon in Judaism and may only relate to Merkabah mystics at the “highest level of joint praise, that which unites human beings to the angels most closely, elevating them to angelic heights.”  

Even Newsom seems to have stepped away from the function of Songs as mystical praxis and offered the alternative function of a “priestly self-understanding” instead.  

In 2009, Schäfer put forth another minimalist assertion. While some Qumranic texts contain angelomorphic transformation, Schäfer argues they do not unequivocally also have heavenly ascent or emphasize unmistakeably enough the vision of God on his glorious throne.  

Even so, he concludes that Qumran texts are not the prototype for MM and should not be categorised as mysticism.  

Schiffman’s, Chazon’s, Newsom’s, and Schäfer’s cautious assessments disclose the methodological question of whether literary accounts of religious praxis in texts at Qumran must fully comply with later MM as defined in the Hekhalot corpus to be considered mystical or a form of JM. This approach employs an indicative definition of mysticism derived from general characteristics found in Hekhalot literature.  

On the one hand, those scholars, who require sameness with later MM, often cannot prove a direct connection. Thus, they abstain from using the term mysticism or mystical to describe Qumran texts or religious practice. This may partially derive

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54 Schäfer, Origins, 151–53, 348–50. He does acknowledge the presence of a unio angelica and a communal unio liturgica, but his narrow definition of mysticism as unio mystica with God prohibits a mystical designation (153).  
from occasional pejorative connotations and dissimilar definitions of mysticism. Furthermore, some, like Schäfer, understandably want to avoid an anachronistic reading of the DSS.

On the other hand, many scholars, such as Philip Alexander, James R. Davila, Christopher Morray-Jones, and Crispin Fletcher-Louis, allow an expanded use of the noun mysticism to characterise themes and motifs in the DSS. These aspects not only reflect later MM but also reveal the development of early Jewish mystical traditions and exegetical speculation on throne related texts, including Ezek 1, 10, Isa 6, and Ps 68. For instance, Ithamar Gruenwald derives his similar list of mystical elements not from Hekhalot literature, but from the theophanies/visions in 2 Kgs, Isa, Ezek, and Dan and in apocalyptic literature (e.g., 1 En.). These elements become central features of later Merkabah visions of Hekhalot texts but derive from the shift towards apocalyptic in 2TJ. This should satisfy Schäfer’s concern to avoid anachronism and further validate a mystical designation.

The work of Davila exemplifies how many scholars, in light of growing body of evidence, now see that the DSS contain mystical elements and are part of JM. He has contributed much to the understanding of mystical elements and mystical traditions in the DSS. In various articles and books, he refers to mystical traditions, ascents, and background of MM in Qumran texts, points out extensive connections with Hekhalot literature, and even sees 4Q535 as “a prototype of the Merkavah mystics.” Despite all of the connections, he still refused to identify the DSS with mysticism. He said, the term is “too vague and subjective to be much use for serious analysis,” and there are as many differences between Qumran and MM in Hekhalot writings as there are similarities.

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56 John Ashton proposes three reasons for an aversion to mysticism: (1) systematic theology assumptions, (2) protestant dislike of the mystical, and (3) presupposition that mysticism is Hellenistic not Jewish, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle* (New Haven: YUP, 2000), 240–41.
57 Alexander, *Mystical*.
58 Davila, “Exploring.”
60 Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*.
61 DeConick calls it vision mysticism. Morray-Jones calls it transformational mysticism. Fletcher-Louis calls it communal mysticism.
62 Gruenwald’s list includes: “God is sitting on the throne”; “He has the appearance of a man”; “God is sitting in a palace”; “Fire occupies an important position in the vision”; “God is accompanied by angels”; and “the angels recite hymns,” *Apocalyptic*, 31.
64 Davila, *Descenders*, 32.
In a pivotal 2010 article, however, Davila accedes to the term’s appropriateness and the growing scholarly consensus. After surveying scholars, who use mysticism in reference to the DSS, Davila employs and defines JM as follows: “the use of ritual practices to experience an ascent to heaven in which one undergoes a temporary or permanent transformation into an angelic being who may be enthroned on high or who may participate in the angelic liturgy. An aspect of this experience is a fascination with detailed descriptions of the heavenly realm.” Davila then examines mystical elements of the DSS in two modified categories of Alexander: texts with merkabah exegesis and interest in the celestial realm (Songs, Pseudo-Ezekiel, Berakhot, and Songs of the Sage) and those with ascent (4QSelf-Glorification Hymn and parallels, 1 Enoch, ALD, 11QMelch, Genesis Apocryphon, and possibly Songs). He lists extensive parallels between Qumran and Hekhalot literature. While also acknowledging significant differences, he concludes that the relationship may not necessarily be direct. Enough similarities, though, indicate a degree of genetic influence either through vision mysticism of 2TJ, as argued by April DeConcick, and/or priestly mysticism from Qumran sectarianism, as proposed by Rachel Elior.

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65 Nitzan, DeConick, Wolfson, Gruenwald, Morray-Jones, and Alexander
67 Alexander, Mystical, 10–11.
68 See n. 29.
69 Davila writes, “These elements include a sevenfold heaven with seven palaces containing the divine throne-chariot at the top or innermost level; a celestial liturgy in the macrocosmic sanctuary; multiple chariots; a tabernacle; thrones; pillars; glowing coals of fire; the curtain of the holy of holies; wheels (galgalim); the hashmal; ‘portals’; a heavenly ephod and breaspestie; divine ‘effulgence and adornment’ (hod ve-hadar); ‘variegated’ or ‘colourful’ elements; God as the Mighty One, ‘King of Glory,’ and ‘King of Kings’; groupings of seven angels and angels in military formations (‘mustered’ and in ‘divisions’); angelic ‘princes’ and ‘attendants’; angelic ‘camps’; ‘chief’ angels; cherubim and ophannim; ‘ophannim of light’; and ‘angels of glory,’” “Exploring,” 444.
70 DeConick suggests that the Qumranites “textualized” mystical, exegetical traditions and communally practiced ascent and vision mysticism through “the esoteric Temple by means of liturgy,” Voices of the Mystics: Early Christian Discourse in the Gospels of John and Thomas and Other Ancient Christian Literature (JSNTSup 157; Sheffield: SAP, 2001), 50, 64; idem, Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas (VCSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 33–34.
Thus, Davila goes beyond a general definition of JM and reinforces it through parallel ideas, common technical terminology, and mystical practice indicative of Hekhalot literature.

Davila’s article builds upon Alexander’s groundbreaking book, *The Mystical Texts* (2006). Through a history-of-religions approach, Alexander utilizes a combination of abstract and indicative definitions of JM to create a heuristic device from which to identify a Qumran “Mystical Corpus.” Alexander divides the texts into two similar groups: those dealing with angelic praise in a celestial temple (*Songs*, 4Q*Blessings*, 4Q*Words of the Luminaries*, 4Q*psEzek*, 11Q*Melch*, *Songs of the Sage* a–b, 4Q*Daily Prayers*, *Hodayot* a, and so on) and those dealing with ascent to the heavenly temple (*4QSelf-Glorification Hymn* a–b and parallels), to which he adds ascent accounts of Enoch, Levi, and others. He explains that Qumran mysticism “appears to be an early – perhaps the earliest – example of the *angelikos bios* type of mysticism, well known from later Jewish and Christian examples.”⁷² Conjointly, he proposes with Elior that Qumran mysticism originates in the “priestly circles” of the Jerusalem temple and *possibly* is “the historical forerunner” to *Hekhalot* mysticism.⁷³

Alexander and Davila have made important contributions to the field by broadening the scope and dating of JM to include the DSS. Thus, Alexander extends Scholem’s date of JM back to the DSS. This also corrects the false dialectical tension of Scholem’s taxonomy that JM was a reaction to constraints of halakhic Judaism (Mishnaic development 200 C.E.). For the Qumran community, rather, meticulous observance of priestly law created the possibility of mystical participation in angelic worship.⁷⁴ Morray-Jones,⁷⁵ DeConick,⁷⁶ Fletcher-Louis,⁷⁷ along with Davila, in support of Alexander, propose not only that mystical traditions were present at Qumran but also were more widespread in 2TJ than many scholars acknowledge.

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⁷² Alexander, *Mystical*, 11. He explains *angelikos bios* as “a mysticism in which the angels are seen as exemplars of the supreme relationship to God to which a creature can attain. The mystic’s aim is, through a process of elevation and transformation, known in some later Christian texts as *theosis*, to join the choirs of angels, and so share in their nearness to God,” “Genealogy,” 218 n.12.


⁷⁴ Alexander explains how “philologists and literary historians tend to be more suspicious of the term [mysticism] than historians of religion,” “Genealogy,” 218.


⁷⁶ See n. 67.

especially since the DSS mystical corpus includes sectarian and non-sectarian compositions. In this regard, discerning the relationship between JM and Paul becomes even more compelling.

Based upon these conclusions and in support of them, Part I will re-examine Jewish mystical elements and praxis in the DSS that parallel mystical elements and worship practice in the Corinthian letters. A correspondence in mystical ideas, phenomena, and practice will substantiate the wider dissemination of JM in 2TJ and illuminate its influence upon early Christian theology and practice—especially in Paul.

In light of this scholarly discussion, a working definition of JM can now be constructed. Scholars often utilise an abstract definition of mysticism, as a particular religious phenomenon. Three parts are necessary for this definition, according to Alexander and others. First, “mysticism arises from religious experience, the experience of a transcendent divine presence which stands behind the visible, material world.” In Jewish tradition, the divine presence is God. Second, the mystic becomes aware of the divine presence and seeks to draw close to God. Since Judaism generally sees “an unbridgeable ontological gap between the Creator and the created, this consummation will be described as communion.” Third, the mystic has a via mystica or praxis, by which he or she attempts to unite or commune with the divine presence. The term mysticism is not semantically emic (i.e., Paul does not use the term to describe the phenomena) but etic, a modern semantic description. Nonetheless, the term helps identify particular religious phenomenon so that it can be examined for new insights.

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81 Alexander, “Genealogy,” 220.
82 Alexander, “Genealogy,” 220.
83 DeConick explains how modern scholarship has imposed the etic term mysticism upon ancient religious experience described “emically” as revelations, “waking visions, dreams, trances, and auditions that can involve spirit possession and ascent journey” in “What Is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?” in Paradise, 2.
combined with indicative criteria (i.e., Jewish mystical elements) mentioned above will be employed throughout the thesis.

1.2 Paul and Jewish Mysticism

It is important to examine briefly how scholars have interpreted the relationship between Paul and JM to situate the specific contributions of Part II. Scholem, who set the stage for the relationship of JM and Paul, argued that Paul was familiar with early MM, which extended it into the first century. He compared the Tosefta and talmudic stories of the “Four who entered the *pardes*” (m. Ḥag. 2:1; t. Ḥag. 2:3–4; y. Ḥag. 2:1; b. Ḥag. 14–15) with Paul’s ascension to paradise (2 Cor 12:2–4). Through similar terminology (*pardes*/paradise) and parallel stories in *1 En.* 8, *L.A.E.* 25, *T. Levi* 2, and *Apoc. Zeph.*, he suggested Paul and the Corinthian community were not only familiar with ecstatic journeys in apocalyptic literature but also brought these Jewish mystical ideas and terminology into the Christian community.

In Scholem’s history of religions paradigm, “Paul’s testimony is a link between these older Jewish texts and the Gnosis of the Tannaitic Merkabah mystics.” Since Scholem’s initial postulations, examinations of relevant parallel passages from Jewish Apocalypses, Pseudepigrapha, early rabbinic (Tannaitic) midrash, and even *Hekhalot* literature have shown that early Jewish mystical traditions in these texts illuminate Paul’s Christology, his account of heavenly ascent (2 Cor 12), and his visions and revelations of Christ. Some, like John Bowker and Alan Segal, even claim that Paul was a practicing mystic. While not everyone supports this assessment or the claims of mystical influence, these studies, especially those

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85 See n. 2.
who favourably support Scholem’s proposal, demonstrate the need for continued exploration of Paul’s epistles in light of early JM.

While many of these studies elucidate Paul’s conversion and Christology (including the New Religionsgeschichtliche Schule), the spirit in Paul has not been fully explored in light of JM. Finny Philip attempts to address this relationship in The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology. First, he observes the scarcity and ambiguity of references to “Spirit” in a survey of early Jewish mystical literature. He endeavours, along with Kim, to bring the two together by tenuously reconstructing a role for the spirit in Paul’s “mystical-revelatory experience at Damascus.”


91 Michael Goulder unconvincingly argues, “Paul was suspicious of, and resistant to, claims of visions” (cf. Col 2:18) and had no visionary ascent to heaven, “Vision and Knowledge,” JSNT 17 (1995): 53.


an exegesis of 2 Cor 3, he concludes somewhat speculatively that Paul’s Damascus experience “probably transformed his pre-Christian convictions regarding the role of the Spirit and the significance of the Spirit.”96 Overall, his treatment of the relationship between the spirit in Paul and early JM is cursory and leaves the topic needing a fuller investigation.

The focus of this thesis on the DSS and the use of heuristic comparison will advance the study of JM and the spirit in Paul. Philip, like many others, did not adequately incorporate DSS in his research of JM. This study will show from Hodayot⁹ and 1QS the important connection between God’s spirit and mystical praxis for the Qumran community. Furthermore, mystical texts do not necessarily have to speak of God’s spirit to illuminate comparable mystical elements that relate to the spirit in Paul. The absence of the spirit in comparative texts discloses the expanded role Paul grants to God’s spirit in the Corinthian community. Indeed, when mystical elements are compared, the theme of communal participation in the spirit in the Corinthian correspondence comes to the forefront.

Additionally, this thesis differs from some of the above studies in three ways that relate to criticisms of Scholem’s hypothesis.⁹⁷ First, the relationship of Paul to later MM and Hekhalot literature may include a dating problem.⁹⁸ Paula Gooder summarizes three approaches: (1) those who “ignore the dating problem and pretend that there is no difficulty”; (2) those, like Scholem and Segal, who “postulate a line of tradition” from post-biblical apocalypses to Hekhalot texts with Paul as a link in the middle; and (3) those, like Morray-Jones, who date the texts to “an earlier period than is normally proposed” to interpret Paul legitimately.⁹⁹ After demonstrating that only parts of 1 En, T. Levi, Songs, and Berakhot¹⁰ are pre-Pauline, Gooder

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96 Philip, Origins, 193.
98 Halperin, Faces, 6.
concludes that the remaining, late ascent texts “cannot be seen to offer a ‘background’ to Paul; nor can they be used as ‘evidence’ that Paul knew of them.”

A Christian or anti-Christian perspective and the post-Jamnia consolidation of Judaism could also affect later Jewish texts. Conversely, the DSS, as pre-Christian and pre-Jamnia, circumvent these problems and appropriately represent the diversity of Jewish mystical traditions in the late 2TP. For this reason, this study avoids the dating problem by limiting the comparison to mystical texts among the DSS in Part I. Additionally, this study neither presumes a line of tradition with Paul as the main link between Qumran and MM nor assumes a direct link between Paul and the DSS.

Second, Schäfer questions Scholem’s methodology and calls it an example of Sandmel’s “parallelomania.” Schäfer sees the terminological comparison of *pardes/παραδέεις* as inadequately supporting Scholem’s genetic connection between Paul and MM. He also insists that a comparison of whole literary systems is necessary before comparison of individual motifs is possible. Although Schäfer may be overly cautious regarding the latter, connections, especially genetic ones, drawn through comparison of divergent texts require prudence.

Some of the studies above have compared Paul’s ascent with a wide range of texts from Jewish apocalyptic and Hellenistic texts, to Nag Hammadi codices and *Hekhalot* literature. Unfortunately, broad comparisons often deduce only “superficial similarities” and imply a closer relationship than truly exists between texts. James Tabor’s *Unutterable Things* exemplifies this problem. Notwithstanding Tabor’s helpful classification of ascent in antiquity, his surface analysis largely ignores detailed literary contexts and comparative differences with 2 Cor 12.

In contrast, this thesis has a singular focus upon mystical texts in the DSS in Part I with a consideration of the literary context and the community’s use of each text. The complexity of the DSS and the extent of the material require this dedicated treatment. Likewise, the comparison in Part II will concern the larger context of the Corinthian correspondence, not just Paul’s ascent, and will note differences as well.

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100 Gooder, *Third*, 161.
106 Tabor, *Unutterable*.
as similarities. Methodologically, this thesis employs heuristic comparison and seeks illumination mostly through differences rather than arguing for a direct relationship. This avoids “parallelomania” and at the same time should satisfy the concern of Schäfer that whole, literary system analysis precedes comparison of motifs.

By limiting Part I to the study of JM in the DSS, this study aims to make a timely contribution by drawing upon the valuable and enlightening resources of this growing field of study. Only since the 1990s and the final publication of the DSS have comparative studies of JM and Paul begun to incorporate or seriously consider aspects of JM in the DSS.\textsuperscript{108} Even then, the mystical texts of the DSS have not received a sustained and single-focused treatment in comparison with Paul. The recent research on JM in the DSS warrants comparative study with NT, especially Paul.

The third criticism—a sticking point in scholarship—revolves around whether mystical texts are rooted in mystical experience or simply literary or exegetical inventions. While some, such as David Halperin, Schäfer, and Martha Himmelfarb side with a purely exegetical derivation,\textsuperscript{109} care must be taken not to impose restrictive modern categories onto ancient texts.\textsuperscript{110} Wolfson, among many others,\textsuperscript{111} contends this false dichotomy has not served scholarship well.\textsuperscript{112} It is impossible to demarcate ancient religious experience of God from an isolated literary exercise. The ancient mind linked religious writings to their religious feelings, hopes, expressions, and experience.\textsuperscript{113} Essentially, exegesis and experience go hand-in-hand for ancient mystics. This thesis presupposes then that the texts examined among the DSS and Corinthian correspondence relate and express the religious experiences and perceptions of their respective communities.

While many of the above studies examine portions of Paul’s letters, especially 2 Cor 12, none have attempted to investigate key mystical elements in the Corinthian

\textsuperscript{108} For example, see the works of Segal, Rowland, Morray-Jones, and Scott.
\textsuperscript{111} For example, see Rowland, \textit{Heaven}, 214–40 and DeConick, “Mysticism,” 5 n. 14.
\textsuperscript{113} DeConick, “Mysticism,” 7
correspondence as a whole. Two recent contributions demonstrate the need for further study in this area. First, Gooder, in *Only the Third Heaven*, provides a strong impetus for further study of JM in the Corinthian correspondence. She writes:

> Reading Paul’s writings through the lens of a belief in the reality of heavenly ascent and mystical experience but scepticism about the advantage of it, sheds light onto many different Pauline passages. It can be seen to be underpinning much of Paul’s discourse with the Corinthian community (such as 1 Cor. 13 or 2 Cor. 3) as well as in other epistles but that must be left to be the subject of another study.\(^{114}\)

This study attempts to examine these mystical underpinnings in the Corinthian correspondence through the lens of JM in the DSS. Second, Christopher Rowland, in *Mystery of God*, argues that 1 Corinthians demonstrates the “coexistence of the mystical and experiential on the one hand—the immediate experience of, and indwelling of the divine—and, on the other, the externally organized, communally responsible, in which authorities legislate for and direct the life of a group, ensuring its coherence and continuity.”\(^{115}\) Paul is a “broker between two different religious impulses.”\(^{116}\) He writes, “These two dimensions are brought together in the Corinthian correspondence in which the role of the apostolic person becomes the decisive mediator of the revelatory experience and the arbitrator of its trustworthiness.”\(^{117}\) Rowland’s provocative statements challenge the marginalisation of JM in study of Paul.

This thesis attempts to correct this neglect in scholarship by reinvestigating how Paul employed comparative mystical terminology to guide their communal experience of the spirit and advocated communal and cruciform participation in the spirit during the Corinthian worship gatherings. Key passages of this investigation will include 1 Cor 2:1–16; 3:16; 6:11, 16–17; 10:11; 12; 13:1, 12; 14; 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17–18; 4:4–6; 12:1–12; and 13:13.

\(^{115}\) Rowland, *Mystery*, 207.
\(^{116}\) Rowland, *Mystery*, 207.
\(^{117}\) Rowland, *Mystery*, 208.
1.3 Paul, Mysticism, and Participation

One segment of Pauline study that brings together mysticism (not necessarily Jewish) and Paul’s participation language, apropos of ‘spirit,’ is early twentieth-century religionsgeschichtliche Schule studies. These examinations of Paul’s ‘Christ-mysticism,’ generally understand mysticism broadly and abstractly as a religious phenomenon without the indicative criteria of JM (i.e., heavenly ascent, vision of the merkabah, enthronement, and transformation). In fact, Adolf Deissmann118 and Wilhelm Bousset,119 among others,120 argued that Paul appropriates Hellenistic mysticism. Conversely, Albert Schweitzer121 argues that Paul draws upon Jewish eschatology for his mysticism rather than Hellenism. While these studies pre-date the discovery of the DSS and do not relate Paul’s mysticism to JM, they still made significant and lasting contributions to the study of Paul and mysticism—despite their methodological fallacies, erroneous presuppositions, and discordant definitions of mysticism.122 A brief explanation of the contributions of Deissmann, Bousset, and Schweitzer will show how their work on mysticism and Paul justifies the current undertaking.

In 1892, Deissmann explained all 164 occurrences of “in Christ” in Paul’s epistles as depicting a “Christ-mysticism,” i.e., a mystical, intimate union between believers and Christ.123 While he may have overstated his case,124 Deissmann made two lasting contributions that challenged the scholarship of his day. First, Paul’s religious experience of Christ drove his theology not systematic thought. This countered “dogmatists” who too narrowly defined mysticism and neglected the study

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120 For example, see Richard Reitzenstein, Hellenistic Mystery-Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance (trans. John E. Steely; PTMS 18; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978).
123 Adolf Deissmann, Die Neutestamentliche Formel “In Christo Jesu” (Marburg: N. G. Elwert’sche, 1892).
124 See Wikenhauser’s critique, Pauline.
of mysticism (religious experience) in Paul. Second, Deissmann argued that the focus on the “doctrine of Justification” led to the neglect of the central expression of Paul’s Christianity, which was “in Christ.” Since Deissmann broadly defined mysticism as the “religious tendency that discovers the way to God direct through inner experience without the mediation of reasoning,” then Paul’s “in Christ” expression was mystical and a form of mysticism. Although Deissmann made a case for Hellenistic influence on Paul’s mysticism, Paul’s “Theo-centric” mysticism differs from Hellenism in initiative and aim and remains consistent with earliest Christianity. Thus, Paul was “a reacting mystic and a communio-mystic” instead of an acting and unio-mystic. For Deissmann, faith is the means to this mystical communion not baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

Despite Deissmann’s intuitive contribution, he did not show clearly how he arrived exegetically at the communio-mysticism in Paul’s letters. He needed greater explanation and evidence for some of his conclusions, especially the Hellenistic origin of mysticism. He also seemed to ignore Jewish sources besides Philo and John. The careful exegesis that will be undertaken with the Corinthian correspondence in this study will supplement Deissmann’s argument for a reacting and communio-mysticism in Paul, but differs significantly in the appropriation of Jewish texts rather than Hellenistic ones.

In 1913, Bousset rightly attempted to correct through historical analysis the separation of NT theology from both the history of the early church and its wider religious environment in the Greco-Roman world. He concluded that the cultic veneration of Jesus as kyrios in early Christianity derived from Hellenised Judaism and pagan influences, like the mystery cults. Bousset also interpreted Paul’s phrase ἐν Χριστῷ εἶναι as Christ mysticism but for him this comes in baptism. Paul developed Christ mysticism out of the cultic mysticism of the Hellenistic worshipping community. While connected to Greek mysticism, Bousset notes that

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127 Deissmann, *Paul*, 149.
128 Deissmann follows Reitzenstein’s too simplistic Hellenistic derivation on this issue. See Wikenhauser on the fundamental differences between Paul’s and Oriental-Hellenistic mysticism, *Pauline*, 163–242.
129 Deissmann, *Paul*, 152.
Paul’s mysticism is communal and retains a distinction between believers and Christ.  

Bousset’s influential approach, however, had several problems. He presumed a doubtful pre-Christian redeemer myth to support his main thesis, which was successfully debunked. He unnaturally and too simplistically separated Palestinian and Hellenistic influences as well as early Christian communities. He seemed guided by a liberal protestant German version of the Christian faith and, unlike Deissmann, placed Paul’s Christianity in direct opposition to Judaism. His argument that the Christ cult came from Hellenistic communities and that Paul imposed foreign ideas upon the gospel could not be substantiated.

Notwithstanding their weaknesses and flaws, both Deissmann and Bousset recognised the inextricable connection and effectual relationship of God’s spirit to Paul’s “Christ-mysticism,” which is important for this study. Deissmann characterised “in Christ” and “in the Spirit” as parallel “mystical formulae” that encapsulated Paul’s mystical Christian expression. The believer experiences Christ as the spirit. For Bousset, the spirit of Christ is seen as kyrios and forms a correlating spirit-mysticism. The two formulas ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν πνεύματι interchangeably describe not just “the living experience of Kyrios Christos present in worship and in the practical life of the community” but the whole of the Christian life. This creates a Pneuma-Kyrios doctrine. Deissmann and Bousset, however, simplistically drew upon tenuous parallels to Oriental-Hellenistic sources to support a Hellenistic derivation to Paul’s Christ mysticism and spirit mysticism.

For this reason, the recent study of Jewish mysticism in the DSS, in addition to the abundance references to the spirit in them, warrants a reinvestigation of the spirit

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133 Deissmann, Paul, 138.
134 Bousset, Kyrios, 154–57, esp. 156.
135 William David Davies, in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (3d ed.; London: SPCK, 1970), cogently debunks Deissmann’s, Bousset’s, and Reitzenstein’s case that Paul’s spirit references point to the influence of “the pneumatic element in Hellenistic religion” (200). The pneumatic in Hellenism cannot be seen as having “too great or too widespread significance” and the pneumatic influence upon post-Christian texts could, in fact, be the “influence of Christian pneumatology” (200). Moreover, the distinction between creator and creature in Paul’s mysticism and the mystics among the Pharisees denote a Jewish root.
and mystical elements in Paul’s letters in light of these findings. This challenges several of Bousset’s and Deissmann’s conclusions including the Hellenistic source of Paul’s mysticism and pneuma doctrine. Furthermore, this study will reinforce Deissmann’s emphasis upon the role of Paul’s religious experience and lend support to the communal dimension to the “Spirit mysticism in Paul” (especially in 2 Cor 3:18) highlighted by Bousset.136

Concerning Schweitzer’s contribution, in 1930 he swam against the theological currents of his day for the concept of mysticism in Paul, for participation as an alternative to justification by faith, and, in contrast to Deissmann and Bousset, for the shift away from Hellenism as a source for Paul’s thought. On the latter, Schweitzer characterized Paul’s Christ-mysticism as “un-Hellenistic” noting significant disparities (e.g., lack of deification and the dying and rising with Christ) and, instead, suggested “Late-Jewish Eschatology” as Paul’s plausible source.137 He did not, however, relate Paul’s mysticism to apocalyptic throne-theophany traditions, esoteric practice of rabbinic Judaism, or MM. Schweitzer explained Paul’s Christ-mysticism as “being in Christ,” a “physical union,” where the Elect, not just metaphorically, but in reality, share in Christ’s death and resurrection and in the mystical, corporeity of Christ’s body.138 He divided mysticism into two categories: primitive and intellectual. Paul’s unique Christ mysticism is primarily intellectual and centred in his thinking rather than mystical experience (contra Deissmann).139

For Schweitzer, Christ mediated the mystical union for there is no God mysticism in Paul.140 Although primarily eschatological, this relationship includes ongoing, ontological transformation (“the resurrection mode of existence”) realized in efficacious, mystical sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s supper (congruent with Bousset).141

Like Deissmann and Bousset, Schweitzer understood possession of the life-giving spirit as a proof or sign of being in Christ. Thus, he tied together Paul’s mysticism and the spirit. He explained: “For being in the spirit is only a form of

136 Bousset, Kyrios, 163.
137 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 16–23, 36–37, 140.
138 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 96–97, 115–16, 125.
139 Ashton submits that Schweitzer centres his mysticism on Paul’s thinking rather than on Paul’s visionary experience, and, in this sense, stops short of portraying Paul as a true mystic, Religion, 143–51.
140 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 3, 12.
141 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 127.
manifestation of being-in-Christ. Both are descriptions of one and the same state."  

The spirit is “the form of manifestation of the power of the resurrection” and acts as the “assurance” and “vehicle” of the resurrection.  

He sees the spirit, who is the spirit of Christ, as more of a life principle, now transcendental, a spiritual and ethical principle, phenomenon of revelation, and “the power which communicates the resurrection mode of existence.”

Since Schweitzer, the diversity of 2TJ, particularly esoteric and mystical aspects, has come to light. In this regard, Schweitzer did not go far enough in examining the Jewish background (e.g., apocalyptic throne-theophany traditions) to mystical concepts in Paul’s theology. This diversity, as evident in the DSS, justifies a reconsideration of these aspects in light of those found in the DSS. Furthermore, this study can supplement Schweitzer’s work on the effectual role of the spirit in the corporal participation in Christ’s death and resurrection by the worshipping community of believers at Corinth. This may also challenge his peculiar categorisation of Paul’s mysticism as intellectual and his unqualified exclusion of deification as a possibility in Paul.

The use of mysticism in Pauline study waned in the face of criticism, the twentieth-century intellectual context, and Protestant distaste of the term. This led to the sidelining and fragmentation of the subject in scholarship. As a result, participation language has largely replaced the designation Christ mysticism. The shift can be traced back to the influential E. P. Sanders. He further develops Schweitzer’s ‘Christ mysticism’ but renames it “participationist eschatology” to

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142 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 167.
143 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 166.
144 Schweitzer, Mysticism, 166.
147 For example, Rudolf Bultmann, through his existentialist orientation, proposes that ‘in Christ’ is an ecclesiological formula which is not ontological, magical, or mystical, but a continuous demand for a decision (311). Thus, participation is primarily ethical, starts at baptism and has been adapted by Paul from the Hellenistic mystery cults and Gnostic myths to the gospel, Theology of the New Testament (trans. Kendrick Grobel; 2 vols.; London: SCM, 1952; repr., 1956), 1:140–51, 299–311. E. P. Sanders rightly argues that Bultmann’s reduction of “being one with Christ” into a revised self-understanding does not do justice to participation in Paul, Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 522.
avoid problems with the diffuse term mysticism. He argues extensively for participation to be the centre of Paul’s soteriology through an examination of various passages with participation language, e.g. one body, one spirit, in Christ, Christ’s, κοινωνία, etc. (Cf. 1 Cor 6:13–18; 10; 12:12; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 3:25–29; Rom 8:9–11). Participation in the ‘Spirit’ and participation in Christ is an eschatological expectation and a present reality. Sanders describes this as a real participatory union. This ‘union with God’ precludes JM in Sanders’ view.

Despite extensive use of the etic term ‘participation,’ Sanders is not satisfied with “participationist eschatology” and confesses that scholars lack a category of “reality” to express well “real participation in Christ, real possession of the Spirit.”

With Sanders proposal for the need of language or a category (other than mysticism) to delineate real participation in Paul’s soteriology, various scholars, such as Morna Hooker, Richard Hays, James Dunn, N. T. Wright, Douglas

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148 Sanders sees participation as dual—Christ participates in all of humanity (sin and death) and humanity participates in Christ’s death, resurrection, and vindication by faith, Palestinian, 435 n. 19, 548–49.

149 Sanders writes, “Thus we see here that having the Spirit as guarantee and salvation by participation in the Spirit or in Christ (or participation with the Spirit or Christ by having them in one) are not separate themes. The force of the guarantee, in other words, goes beyond having charismata which demonstrates the presence of the Spirit. Having the Spirit results in (or is) real participation in the Spirit and the resurrected Lord, which participation provides the best guarantee of all: Christians are sons of God (Rom. 8.16; Gal. 4.7)” (460), Palestinian, 460–72.

150 Sanders follows Scholem (Trends, 5) while noting, “no form of Jewish mysticism has to do with achieving union with God,” Palestinian, 220 n. 50; Moshe Idel has argued otherwise, Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders (Budapest: CEUP, 2005). If Scholem’s assertion is incorrect, then potentially Jewish mysticism and Pauline ‘Christ mysticism’ could be seen together or at the least, Paul, if in the trajectory of Jewish mysticism may have taken it further with a participatory union in Christ through the spirit. Additionally, Marguerat makes a distinction between Christ mysticism and God mysticism and argues Paul only advances “mystique du Christ,” “le mystique,” 489.

151 Sanders explains, “Christians really are one body and Spirit with Christ, the form of the present world really is passing away, Christians really are being changed from one stage of glory to another, the end really will come and those who are in Christ will really be transformed,” Palestinian, 522.

152 Morna Hooker explains participation as an “interchange,” where all the giving is on Christ’s part and all the receiving is by the believers, From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul (Cambridge: CUP, 1990); idem, Pauline Pieces (London: Epworth, 1979), 26.


154 In Dunn’s survey of participation theology, like Sanders, he dismisses the term mysticism. He sees real power and transformation for believers through participation in Christ, but cautiously leaves a conceptual definition of participation to others. Concerning the spirit, Dunn writes, “And it is equally clear from the overlap of Christ mysticism and Spirit possession, as in Rom. 8.9–10, that the
Campbell, Gordon Fee, and M. David Litwa have offered their suggestions. Generally, these scholars see the term mysticism as problematic and prefer participation to describe the relationship between Christ and believers in Paul. Most acknowledge the important role of the spirit in this participation.

Participation advocates, like those of Christ-mysticism, are “loosely organized” and sometimes disagree with each other. As Sanders noted, participation does not adequately explain the mysterious relationship between believers and Christ. For this reason, scholars, such as Ulrich Luz and Daniel Marguerat, are still utilising the term mysticism to explain in part this relationship in Paul. While the appropriateness two went together for Paul: to be ‘in Christ’ and to have the Spirit indwelling were two sides of the same coin (414), Theology, 390–412. He further explicates the same “experiential reality” of the spirit and Christ and denotes the “Spirit” as the “medium of union” between a believer and Christ, Jesus and the Spirit: a Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1975), 323.

155 N. T. Wright defines participation in Paul as the “mutuality of Christian living which, arising from a common participation in the body of Christ, extends beyond mere common concern into actual exchange” (51). He reads Paul’s ‘in Christ’ as ‘incorporative’ Messiah; he explains, “Jesus is the Messiah, he sums up his people in himself, so that what is true of him is true of them” (48). Although he borrows Hooker’s “interchange,” he argues it does not explain the whole meaning of participation (xωναβία), Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 41–52.

156 Douglas Campbell explains Paul’s ‘in Christ’ as “spatial imagery” or “a metaphor for being or ontology, and its radical transformation”; moreover, he writes, “this process is real and concrete, radically transformational, unconditional, relational—and quite intimately so—and trinitarian” (41). In concert with his Participatory Pneumatological Martyrological Eschatological model of Paul’s gospel, he submits “participatory eschatology.” He also acknowledges the enabling role of the spirit in the participation in Christ’s death and resurrection, The Quest for Paul’s Gospel: A Suggested Strategy (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 41.

157 Gordon Fee prefers xωναβία and exegetically explains how participation in Christ is “created and sustained” through the power and ministry of the Holy Spirit. He sees participation as the formation and transformation of the people of God individually and corporately by the Spirit. Paul’s imagery of God’s family, Christ’s body, and God’s temple brings this to light, God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994), 872. Unfortunately, Fee has little comparison and contrast with Second Temple literature and does not mention JM.

158 M. David Litwa argues ‘participation’ language remains vague and uses a qualified deification to express the reality, We Are Being Transformed: Deification in Paul's Soteriology (BZNW 187; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 21–22.

159 Campbell, Quest, 38. For a critique of the use of ‘participation’ to describe Paul’s soteriology, see David A. Brondos, Paul on the Cross: Reconstructing the Apostle's Story of Redemption (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 151–90.

160 Luz carefully defines mysticism abstractly and even notes methodological concerns regarding its etic use. His interpretation that Paul democratises mysticism to all in 2 Cor 3:18 highlights Paul’s communal focus. Luz, however, does not consider the relationship of JM to the spirit in Paul letters. He associates Paul’s mysticism with participation in Christ, “Paul,” 131–43.

of mysticism has been questioned and on occasion been misused, misunderstood, and mischaracterised, these studies show that the solution is not to discard it. With this in mind, this thesis will contribute to the understanding of participation in Paul through the lens of JM. Since the comparative elements that will be examined disclose the theme of communal participation in the spirit in the Corinthian correspondence, the spirit’s effective role in this participation within the community will be considered. This brings a rather different mystical focus to Paul, one concerning historic JM in the DSS. Hopefully, the illumination, especially concerning the community of Corinth, will shed light on what Paul means and add to past and current discussions. There may yet be a way to demystify mysticism and participation in Paul.

1.4 Method of Investigation

Early studies that examined Paul’s letters in light of the DSS, among other texts, attempted to create genetic links between the two by merely citing parallel passages as evidence of a direct relationship. These speculative links could be characterised as “parallelomania.” Sometimes they assumed Paul depended upon or directly borrowed from these texts (e.g., 2 Cor 6:14–7:1). Gooder notes how various commentators, who approached Paul and Jewish apocalyptic, refer only fleetingly to similarities in texts and cite these as “evidence” of Paul’s background or even mystical practice. These treatments fail to deal with the complexities of the texts in question and the scholarly assumptions that these types of links are “unproblematic.”

An alternative approach, heuristic comparison, avoids these questionable assumptions and offers greater illumination. Alexander has convincingly demonstrated its value in illuminating comparative studies dealing with JM.

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163 See ch. 7 n. 28.

164 See Gooder’s discussion on this issue, Third, 14–30.

Heuristic comparison sidesteps genealogical comparison, i.e., determining a direct relationship of dependency, borrowing, and origins. Instead, heuristic comparison, akin to analogical comparison advocated by Jonathan Z. Smith,\(^ {166} \) seeks to learn by perceiving similarities and dissimilarities between two texts through comparing certain phenomena. In this study, the heuristic focus will be early JM.

Although the employment of mysticism to describe Paul’s epistles and other literature has been problematic at times, as noted above, this does not eliminate its usefulness. The etic concept of mysticism, as an “analytic category,”\(^ {167} \) comes from “the phenomenology or history of religion.”\(^ {168} \) When properly defined and appropriately used,\(^ {169} \) mysticism, helps categorise and “describe a distinctive type of religious experience commonly known as mystical.”\(^ {170} \) The aforementioned working definition of JM properly roots it within the historical and cultural context of 2TJ. Since JM extends through the middle ages, this study will use “early JM” to situate it within the late 2TP. Early JM then becomes a heuristic tool from which to identify and group together particular religious phenomena and ideas across a diversity of literary types. This lens will help look at the texts examined in new ways and moves beyond the limitations of philological and literary-historical studies.\(^ {171} \) The current comparison will be between the DSS and the Corinthian correspondence.

This study will identify and examine DSS texts that contain mystical elements and can be categorised as mystical texts consonant with early JM. The choice of texts will be guided in part, by whether or not they contain a similarity to mystical elements (ideas) in the Corinthian correspondence. In order to avoid the previous pitfalls of comparative study, the parallels or phenomena will first be examined

\(^ {166} \) Jonathan Z. Smith notes that comparison is “never dyadic, but always triadic.” Triadic comparison may be appropriately expressed through the formulation: “\( x \) resembles \( y \) more than \( z \) with respect to . . .” (51). Thus, for heuristic comparison in this study, phenomena textually described in DSS and in the Corinthian correspondence are compared on the basis of their resemblance to an element/aspect with respect to Jewish mysticism. This will help “re-vision” phenomena as our data in order to solve our theoretical problems,” Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity (London: University of London, 1990), 52

\(^ {167} \) Alexander, “Dionysus,” 350.

\(^ {168} \) Alexander, “Genealogy,” 218.

\(^ {169} \) Mikhail Bakhtin explains the legitimacy of using modern constructions for ancient texts this way, “semantic phenomena can exist in concealed form, potentially, and be revealed only in semantic cultural contexts of subsequent epochs that are favourable for such disclosure,” Speech Genres and Other Late Essays (trans. Vern W. McGee; UTPSS 8; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 5 cited by Michael Gorman, “The First Christian Treatise on Theosis,” JTI 5 (2011): 18.


within their respective contexts. The contexts of each DSS text will be examined in Part I and form the foundation for comparison with the Corinthian correspondence. Part II will exegetically examine analogous passages in 1 and 2 Corinthians to determine what ways they are similar to or different from the DSS. The goal is mutual illumination and a greater understanding of both texts and, in particular, an illumination of how Paul advocates communal participation in the spirit for the Corinthian community.

This comparative process will help describe how Paul understood participation in the spirit in the Corinthian *ekklesia* and why he employed *mystically* related terminology in his descriptions of the community. Additionally, it may help reveal the degree to which Paul’s *a posteriori* symbolic universe is founded upon a Jewish mystical worldview that includes God’s glory, heavenly ascent, angelic presence in worship, God’s people as the temple of God, revealed mysteries, divine contemplation, participation in the heavenly realms, among others. If mystical elements are present in the Corinthian correspondence, which the author argues they are, the comparative analysis will assist in determining whether it is early JM, an early Christianised form of JM, just part of early Christianity, or simply mystical language bereft of mystical experience (though unlikely).

This study has five working assumptions: (1) the Corinthian correspondence are two holistic and coherent literary works; (2) Paul writes from a particular kind of Roman-era Jewishness; (3) the Corinthian correspondence credibly speaks of Paul’s and the Corinthians’ religious experiences, theology, perceptions, and practice; (4) likewise, the DSS, in general, speak to the Qumran community’s religious experiences, theology, perceptions, and practice; (5) while attempting to examine the DSS independently of the Corinthian correspondence, Pauline questions and concerns in part will guide the comparison.

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172 Timothy H. Lim, “Studying the Qumran Scrolls and Paul in their Historical Context,” in *Background*, 135–56.
174 For inferences drawn from parallel ideas, see Davila, “Perils.”
175 This is not disregarding Hellenistic influences, but merely a limitation of this modest study on JM. Martin Hengel has already noted the complexity of Hellenistic influences on Judaism, *Judaism and Hellenism. Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. John Bowden; 2 vols.; London: SCM Press, 1974).
1.5 Thesis Outline

The current comparison will consist of two parts. Part I will investigate Jewish mystical elements in the DSS. This will affirm the aforementioned discussion and the modified Scholem hypothesis that selected DSS warrant a designation as mystical, and that the Qumran community can be considered to have practised a communal mysticism. More specifically, Chapter 2 will look at Hodayot to determine the role of the spirit of God in the community’s epistemology of God and his mysteries. The cleansing work of the spirit prepares the sectarian for mystical union with the angels. Chapter 3 will consider the Qumran community’s temple identity in 1QS and Songs and how this informs their mystical worship praxis. The community sees itself as mirroring the heavenly and co-participating with the angelic priesthood in the celestial temple. Chapter 4 will take up the significance of Sinai and Moses-Δόξα traditions in the DSS. The inquiry will consider to what extent the DSS advocate a mystical transformation of Moses as found in other Second Temple Jewish literature. Chapter 5 will analyse heavenly ascent texts in the DSS including two non-sectarian apocalypses. The confluence of the celestial journeys will reveal the currency of mystical traditions in 2TJ and in the Qumran community.

In implementing the methodology, Part I forms the foundation for the heuristic comparison of Part II. Each mystical aspect considered will have corresponding mystical elements for comparison in the Corinthian correspondence. The goal of this endeavour will be to explore how Paul advocates communal participation in the spirit for the Corinthian ekklesia. This thesis will argue that participation in the spirit is corporate and implicitly mystical, which previous generations of scholars acknowledged but without consideration of JM in the DSS. This will contribute to recent discussion on participation in Paul as well as JM and Paul.

In Part II, chapter 6 will examine Paul’s communal participation in the spirit in 1 Cor 2:1–16, 6:11, and 2 Cor 13:13. The comparison with the role of God’s spirit in Hodayot will show Paul’s corporate epistemology of the spirit in 1 Cor 2 and the cleansing work of the spirit in 1 Cor 6:11. The latter section will explore how communal κοινωνία in the spirit in 2 Cor 13:13 can be understood as an implicit corporate communio mystica, which has corporate effects in the ekklesia. Chapter 7
will analyse the extended meaning of Paul’s temple metaphor in 2 Cor 3:16, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:14–16 in light of 1QS and Songs. The inquiry will look at the relationship between Paul’s temple metaphor and the heavenly sanctuary. Two aspects in this relationship will be explored: the presence of angels (1 Cor 11:10) and speaking in the tongues of angels (1 Cor 13:1). Chapter 8 will examine 2 Cor 3:7–4:6 in light of Moses- Δόξα traditions and related motifs in the DSS. This will determine that Paul envisions communal beholding and christomorphic transformation by vision in 3:18. This study will ascertain if this can be aptly understood as theosis. Chapter 9 will re-examine Paul’s heavenly ascent in 2 Cor 12:1–12 in light of 1 Enoch, ALD, and 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn and parallels. This comparison will show how this mystical account fits rhetorically in Paul’s argument and speaks to the theme of communal participation in the spirit. Additionally, this comparison will evaluate evidence for Paul’s awareness of early JM and the possibility of being a mystic. Chapter 10 will summarise the findings and contributions of this study and note further areas of research.
Part I

EARLY JEWISH MYSTICISM AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
As chapter 1 has shown, the DSS are an important source for understanding early Jewish mystical traditions present in the late 2TP. For this reason, Part I of this comparative study of the Corinthian correspondence has been feasibly limited to early Jewish mystical texts in the DSS. In this case, Jewish mystical elements and the community’s related worship practice will be investigated in *Hodayot*⁹, the *Rule of the Community, Songs, 4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition, Apocryphal Pentateuch B, Apocryphon of Joshua*¹⁰, *1 Enoch, Aramaic Levi Document*, and *4QSelf-Glorification Hymn*¹⁻¹⁰ and parallels. The results of each chapter in Part I will form the foundation for heuristic comparison with corresponding mystical elements in the Corinthian correspondence in Part II.
Chapter 2

THE SPIRIT OF GOD IN HODAYOTa:
REVEALING, CLEANSING, AND UNION

2.1 Introduction

In light of the three abstract criteria of the phenomenological model of JM proposed by Alexander, Hodayotb offers a glimpse into the mystical liturgical practice of the Qumran community. These hymns disclose the maškil’s “experience of a transcendent divine presence,” in which the community liturgically shares and aspires. The maškil reveals the reception of divine knowledge, mystery of wisdom, and secret counsel through the rūaḥ of God. The purpose of this gift of rūaḥ and divine revelation is to prepare and enable the community to unite mystically with the angels into one community (yāḥad) before God’s throne. This investigation will form a foundation for heuristic comparison with the epistemology of the spirit in 1 Cor 2:1−16, cleansing of the spirit in 1 Cor 6:11, and corporate participation in the spirit in 2 Cor 13:13 in chapter 6.

Hodayotb: Preliminary Matters

1QHa is a large, twenty-eight columned, scroll of Hebrew psalms from Qumran cave one.2 The palaeography indicates three scribes compiled 1QHa in a Herodian hand.

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1 The eighty-three references to רוח range in meaning, not all unequivocally, from the spirit of a person, spirit as a disposition, to spirit as the holy spirit of God, and spirits as angelic or demonic beings. For studies on רוח, see A. A. Anderson, “The Use of “Ruah” in 1QS, 1QH and 1QM,” JSS 7 (1962): 293–303; Arthur Everett Sekki, The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Alex R. G. Deasley, “The Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” WTJ 21 (1986): 45–73. This study will be limited to parallels to the Corinthian correspondence.

The scroll in its current form is almost seventy-five percent complete with twelve well-preserved columns and seventy fragments. The latest material reconstruction in DJD XL incorporates overlapping material from 1QHb and 4QHa–f and only has sixteen unplaced fragments.

IQHa is a collection of twenty-eight to thirty-four psalms in three major sections: (1) at least eight Community Hymns in columns I–VIII; (2) fourteen Teacher Hymns in columns IX–XVII.36; and (3) approximately six Community Hymns in columns XIX.6–XXVIII.42. Authorship is unknown, but diversity of content and language indicates multiple authors from different times—conceivably sectarian and non-sectarian. While the “I” of some hodayot may be the author or even a community leader (e.g., maškîl), the “I” may also represent the members of the community as a whole. This may have involved the Yahad corporately projecting “onto itself the Teacher’s achievements and experiences.” The psalms give poetic expression to the faith of the Qumran community and reflect a theological perspective and worldview. At times, sectarian language appears denoting compilation and even some composition by the Qumran community, and eight

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4 Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, DJD XL:1–49.
5 This follows Hartmut Stegemann’s numbering, “The Number of Psalms in *IQHodayot* and Some of their Sections,” in *Liturgical*, 191–234.
copies (including distinct collections of *hodayot*) suggest regular communal use.\(^9\)

Opinions vary on the function of the *hodayot* at Qumran.\(^10\) Eileen Schuller suggests, along with others, that the sectarians likely sang and read the psalms of 1QH\(^a\) in communal worship and in daily private devotion.\(^11\)

**Hodayot\(^a\): a Mystical Text**

While most scholars note clear ties in *Hodayot\(^a\)* with apocalypticism and realized eschatology,\(^12\) few until recently made a connection to early Jewish mysticism. An increasing number of studies propose that *Hodayot\(^a\)* and *hodayot*-like texts contain mystical elements, and even categorise the hymns as mystical texts.\(^13\) The most prominent mystical components are the revelation of mystery (*rāz*), wisdom (*ḥokmā*), and knowledge (*daʿat*) through God’s spirit (*rūaḥ*), union (*yiḥud*) and community (*yaḥad*) with the heavenly assembly (or angels) in liturgical worship, the presence of a heavenly ascent motif, and angelomorphic transformation (especially in 1QH\(^a\) XXV.35–XXVI.10 and other parallels of *4QSelf-Glorification Hymn*\(^a\).\(^b\)).\(^14\)

This chapter will focus upon the epistemological and cleansing (transformative) roles of God’s spirit and how this gift enables the hymnist and community members to

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fulfil God’s mysterious plan—a *communio mystica* with angels. Chapter 5 will examine the ascent and transformation in *4QSelf-Glorification Hymn* and parallels.

2.2 The Epistemological Spirit of God in *Hodayot*

A part of the third *hodayah* of final Community Hymns section (1QHa xx.13b–16) reveals much about the understanding of spirit of God and has at least four facets in common with 1 Cor 2:6–16: spirit of God as the *means* of knowing (knowledge), mystery, wisdom, and power.15

> For the God of knowledge has established it, and there is none other with him. And I, the *maškil*, I know you, my God, by the spirit that you have placed in me (בָּוְרָה אַשֶּר נַתַּתִּי). Faithfully have I heeded your wondrous secret counsel. By your holy spirit (דְּשַׁכָּה) you have opened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom and the fountainhead of your power [וֹטָה] in the midst. (1QHa xx.13b–16)16

The *maškil* clarifies that spirit (רוח) belongs to God, comes from God, and is holy. The preposition, ב, grants spirit an instrumental function for how the *maškil* knows God.17 The spirit of God is a way the hymnist describes the activity of God—the spirit is an agent of God. The second ‘by the holy spirit’ has the qualifier of ‘holy.’ This spirit referent, which is an exposition of the first in line 15, enables him to heed faithfully to “your wondrous secret counsel.” As he goes on, “through the mystery of your wisdom,” implies that the holy spirit of God has also opened this mystery of wisdom to him and “the fountainhead of [your] power.” This holy spirit of God, then, reveals God’s secret counsel, wisdom, and knowledge. It opens up the source of power, and enables faithful obedience.

This *hodayah* corroborates evidence from *Hodayot* that the singular הרוח is given as a special gift to the *maškil* or God’s servant. The phrase בָּוְרָה אַשֶּר נַתַּתִּי is noted.

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16 English translations are from Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, DJD XL unless otherwise noted.
17 “רוח,” *DCH* 7:430.
18 Sekki notes the two most common references to God’s spirit occur as “the singular of *ruah* as a *nomen regens* in construct with the singular of קדש plus the pronominal suffix (ןַ) referring to God” and “the singular of *ruah* without qualifying expressions.” In a conservative assessment, the
occurs four times in 1QH\(^8\) v.36; viii.20; xx.14–15; and xxii.34. An additional phrase in iv.29 has an enigmatic “by the spirits which you have given to me,” which demonstrates how the use of רוח in Hodayot\(^a\) can sometimes be uncertain.\(^{19}\) Nonetheless, in three of the four instances: v.36, viii.20, and xx.14–15, “the spirit placed in the speaker is the means by which the speaker comes to a special knowledge of God.”\(^{20}\) The hymnist(s) does not distinguish between knowing God and having knowledge of God. Thus, the hymnist(s) knows God by the spirit which God gave to him, and, thus, he possesses knowledge of God’s ways, truth, mysteries, secret wonders, Torah, judgements, etc. Indeed, God is a God of knowledge. The spirit of God, then, has an epistemological function concerning religious matters in the community.

How does one interpret the phrase “which you have given to me”? Did God give a spirit to the person at a particular time, such as upon entrance to the community, or is the hymnist referring to the spirit given to him at birth—the inborn spirit of Gen 2:7? While each person has a spirit (vii.35; ix.17, 34) created by God (1QH\(^8\) viii.34–35; ix.10–11, 17; xii.32; xviii.24), in many cases it is portrayed as perverted, erring, or depraved until God in his goodness, mercy, and by his spirit strengthens and purifies it (v.31–36; vii.22–35; ix.33–35; xv.20–38; xix.13–17). This even applies to the predetermined elect.\(^{21}\) The hymnist often pessimistically describes himself as follows: “Yet I am a creature of clay and a thing kneaded with water, a foundation of shame and a well of impurity, a furnace of iniquity, and a structure of sin, a spirit of

former occurs in 1QH\(^9\) iv.38; vi.24; viii.20, 21, 25 and 30; xv.10; xvii.32; xx.15; xxiii.29, 33 and the latter appears in v.36; viii.20; xili.32; xx.14–15; xxii.34, Ruah, 72.


\(^{20}\) Yates, Spirit, 80.

\(^{21}\) The spirit of the person can be predetermined to be righteous or wicked (1QH\(^9\) vii.27–32). The relationship of this to the dualism of the two spirits discourse in 1QS iii.13–iv.26 is outside the scope of this chapter. For a discussion, see Sekki, Ruah, 194–219, and Eugene H. Merrill, Qumran and Predestination: Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns (STDJ 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 25–32.
error, and a perverted being, without understanding, and terrified by righteous
ing judgements” (IX.23b–24b). The hymnist touts an anthropology of depravity for all—a
degradation of the spirit of Gen 2:7—no matter whether one is predetermined to
salvation or judgment.²² Even for the elect, the awareness of sinfulness,
understanding of God’s wisdom, and faithful obedience only come through God’s
spirit and grace.²³ Sekki cogently asserts, “there is in the scrolls no clear reference in
which the sectarian regards his own spirit (whether inborn or acquired in the
community) as the source of his divine knowledge.”²⁴ He continues, “It is God,
rather, who acts, and He acts through a rûaḥ consistently identified as His Spirit on
behalf of the sectarian who is repeatedly described as sinful and helpless within
himself.”²⁵

The evidence suggests that the holy spirit of God is a separate, external force
that God sheds or places on the sectarian (1QH² IV.38; XV.10; XXIII.29–33) and in
whom the sectarian takes delight (XVII.32). For example, the hymnist says in 1QH²
XV.10, “you have spread your holy spirit upon me, so that I am not shaken,” and
states, in XXIII.29–30, 33, “And over the dust you have spread [your holy] spirit.”
The hymnist believes that God has fulfilled Ezek 36:26–27 and given each sectarian
a new spirit by which he or she listens to God (1QH² XX.14–15) and strengthens him
or herself (VIII.25).²⁶ This spirit does not appear to be the inborn spirit of Gen 2:7,
but rather the reception of God’s spirit on a specific occasion, which may be entrance
into the community.²⁷

A few passages among the hymns may indicate that those who enter the
community are given divine knowledge and God’s spirit (1QH² VI.19–33; XI.20–24;
xIX.12–24; XXI.31–35).²⁸ Erik Sjörberg’s pivotal article, “Neuschöpfung in den

²² The psalmist’s grim portrayal of human depravity may not be typical of the rest of the DSS,
Yates, Spirit, 78. See also 1QH² VII.30–32; IX.23–25; XX.20, 27–29. Holm-Nielsen interprets the
idiom “creature of clay” as “technical terms in DSS for man’s sinfulness as contrasted with the divine
character,” Hodayot, 24 n. 43.
²³ Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, 279, 282.
²⁴ Sekki, Ruah, 86.
²⁵ Sekki, Ruah, 80.
²⁶ Sekki, Ruah, 86; John R. Levison, Filled with the Spirit (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009),
188.
²⁷ Levison argues for a re-creation by the spirit and reception of the spirit upon “incorporation
²⁸ Sjöberg, “Neuschöpfung,” 135.
Toten-Meer-Rollen,” convinced many scholars that the Hodayot® hymnist espouses a new creation by the spirit, which took place when a person entered the sect.29

Scholarly consensus has since confirmed this spiritual transformation or new creation concept in Hodayot®.30 Some, like Alex Deasley, corroborate the idea with evidence from other sectarian scrolls (e.g., 1QS III.6–9): God gives his holy spirit as a present eschatological gift upon those who join the community.31 Deasley explains, “they believed that through their community alone the spirit could be received” and this is why they speak of the holy spirit as “the holy spirit of the community.”32 Through full membership into the community, one received the holy spirit who cleansed from sin, enabled walking in the way of perfection, and revealed divine knowledge.33 This further justifies a communal application of the maškil’s pneumatology.34

Even with this present realization of eschatology (Ezek 36–37), however, there appears to be a final visitation of the spirit with complete cleansing at the end of days in which the sectarian also receives the “all glory of Adam” (1QS IV.20b–23b; 1QHa IV.27; cf. CD III.20; 4QPs111 III.1–2).35 This is for an appointed end and ‘the new creation’ (1QS IV.25). Here the extent of the transformation is to a pre-fallen adamic state and, according to 1QS, seems to be reserved for the eschaton.36

The extent of this transformation, however, remains somewhat ambiguous in Hodayot®. The only reference to the glory of Adam implies a present reception.37

31 Levison, Filled, 253, 269; Alex R. G. Deasley, The Shape of Qumran Theology (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 231–32; Aune, Cultic, 33–34.
32 Deasley, Shape, 231.
33 Levison, Filled, 211.
34 Pneumatology refers to how the hymnist portrays the spirit of God. This does not presume a theologically coherent understanding of the spirit of God or equate to a Christian pneumatology.
35 Deasley, Shape, 233–39. For transformation in Hodayot® and the glory of Adam, see Fletcher-Louis, Glory, 104–112. Levison discusses how the spirit given by God makes the difference between “creature of clay” and those “who inhabit an Eden of glory” (1QHf 32–34; 1Q20–24; XIX.6–7; XVI.21), Filled, 313. Benjamin L. Gladd examines adamic transformation as a part of the mysteries revealed in Hodayot®, Revealing the Mysterion: the Use of Mystery in Daniel and Second Temple Judaism with Its Bearing on First Corinthians (ed. James D. G. Dunn et al.; BZNW 150; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 67.
36 While Kuhn argues for present eschatology of 1QS XI.2–9 (“Wisdom,” 251–53) as the reception of the “goods of salvation,” the passage has more to do with liturgical communion and mystical participation in heavenly worship (see §3.3).
The hymnist says, “And [their] names you have raised up [ ] transgression and casting out all their iniquities and giving them an inheritance in all the glory of Adam for long life” (1QH⁴ iv.26b-27a). The glory of Adam for long life speaks of “a renewal of a prelapsarian state” now.³⁹ Other hodayot, however, suggest the incompleteness of the transformation and cleansing due to depravity, transgressions, and the spirit of the flesh (e.g., viii.29–36).

Thus, spirit reception and transformation in Hodayot coincide with the gift of divine knowledge, including God’s mysteries, to the elect. The possession of divine knowledge appears dependent upon having been given the spirit of God, and this knowledge is part of the requirement for entry into the community (1QH⁴ vi.28-29; xviii.29-31; cf. 1QS v.7-11, 20-22). In the prayer of 1QH⁴ xx.13b–16, God is the actor and initiator of this revelation through his spirit (ברוה); the sectarian is the receiver of and responder to this gift.⁴⁰ The holy spirit of God functions epistemologically to disclose providential knowledge, wisdom, and understanding to the maškil and, likewise, to the community.⁴¹

2.3 Mystery and Mysteries in Hodayot⁴²
Clearly, the hymnist sees the spirit of God, received upon entrance to the community, as the means of divine knowing and transformation. While the descriptions of content: mystery, wisdom, secret counsel, and power are similar to 1 Corinthians 2, the nature of the content is strikingly dissimilar. What then does the hymnist mean and to what is he referring when he says, “you have [o]pened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom and the fountainhead of [your] power [h] in the midst” (1QH⁴ xx.16)? The mode of revelation at Qumran is an on-going debate among scholars who suggest intellectual insight gained from exegesis of Scripture by the pesharist (1QHab vii.5), to inspired exegesis, sapiential apocalyptic revelation, and even direct revelation from God characterised as

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³⁸ For more on the glory of Adam, see §8.3.
prophecy. While the mode of revelation in line 16 is not explicit, the hymnists leaves hints.

In Hodayot, according to the context, is translated as mystery or secret. In 1QH v.17–19; xxiv.28 and 4Q440 3.123 “the mysteries of your insight” appears to be “the act of God establishing a new creational environment” or “end-time transformation of the cosmos.” In 1QH ix.13–17, the hymnist describes mysteries apocalyptically as the order of creation including stars, heavens, angels, and weather by God’s laws, design, and will. These mysteries include truth and knowledge of God’s dualistic predestination of humankind (1QH ix.17–35). In a descriptive, Eden-like hymn, 1QH xvi.3–12, Benjamin Gladd suggests mystery (רז) means allegorically “God’s hidden redemptive purpose with the Qumran community,” which is ensured by God through the protection of “the mystery of mighty heroes” or angelic hosts. Davila reads this hymn as “a metaphorical union” of the Qumran community with the Garden of Eden or celestial temple; thus, the human community “sprout” or “eternal planting” resides “spiritually in the heavenly temple.” The community’s purpose, then, is to join with the angels in the celestial temple (see §§3.2–3.4). In another hymn 4Q427 (4QH) 7–9 1.13–21 = 1QH

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43 Gladd, Mysterion, 63.

44 Gladd, Mysterion, 63.

45 Gladd, Mysterion, 63; cf. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, 151.


XXVI.14–16 God is the one who “shows the might of his hand sealing up the mysteries and revealing hidden things (נסתרות) . . . confirming majestic mysteries.”

Here, there are definite allusions to Dan 2:22 where God “reveals profound and hidden things.” These mysteries, hidden in Scripture, can only be deciphered and interpreted with divine aid of a holy spirit (Cf. 2:18, 19, 27, 29, 30, 47; 4:9). In sum, mysteries in 1QHa are primarily truth, wisdom, and knowledge about cosmic and communal eschatology, order of creation, and the hidden purposes of God’s sovereign plan for humankind.

To whom does God reveal mysteries in *Hodayot*? Gladd and Fletcher-Louis both contend that those who have undergone adamic transformation (or new creation) receive revelation of the mysteries. A passage (XIX.9–17) of *hodayah* two of the final Community Hymn section confirms the revelation of the mystery to the transformed. The hymnist “will recount your glory among the sons of Adam” (XIX.9). He says of God: “your goodness is abundant forgiveness, and your compassion is for all the children of your good favour. For you have made known to them the secret counsel (בָּסְדֵד) of your truth, and given them insight into your wonderful mysteries (וּבְרֵזִי)” (XIX.12–13 italics added; cf. XIX.19–20). In vi.23–24, for the elect divine understanding, nearness to God, comes with the gift of God’s holy spirit: “And as for me, I know from the understanding that comes from you that through your goodwill toward a person you multiply his portion in your holy spirit. Thus you draw him closer to your understanding.”

Besides those who undergo this transformation, the *maškil*, who claims specific reception of the mysteries, is a “banner for the elect of righteousness and an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries (ברז פלא)” for the community (1QHq X.15–17). The hymnist receives revelation of God’s mysteries in various hymns (1QHq XII.28; XIII.27–28; XV.29–30; XVII.23). These mysteries are truths that have been hidden until the ordained time of revealing, which is now for the community (XVII.24; cf. Dan 8:26; 12:9). The *maškil* does not conceal these mysteries, but declares:

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48 Gladd, *Mysterion*, 64.
49 The eight scroll fragments of Daniel and citations in 11QMelchizedek and 4QFlorilegium intimates its Scriptural status at Qumran.
“Through me you have illumined the faces53 of the many, and you have increased them beyond number. For you have made me to understand your wonderful mysteries. . . in order to make known to all the living your mighty deeds” (1QHª xii.28–30). The maškil’s role to receive and mediate revelation from God in the hymns mirrors that of the righteous teacher in 1QpHab vii.4–5; 1QS v.9; ix.12–14, 18–20; and xi.3.54 As consonant with the rest of the DSS, the maškil’s primary mode of revelation appears to be inspired Scriptural interpretation by God’s spirit rather than ecstasy—notwithstanding the claim to heavenly ascent in parallels (xxvi.2–16) to 4QSelf-Glorification Hymnª-b.55 Thus, the holy spirit of God opening up knowledge within the maškil may suggest inspired interpretation and reinforces a spirit-aided epistemology.

2.4 Holy Spirit as Cleansing Agent in Hodayotª

In addition to the means of revelation, the spirit of God in Hodayotª fosters an adamic transformation or new creation of covenanters by cleansing, purifying, and atoning so that they may unite with the angels before God’s throne. While many prayerful passages speak of God as the one who cleanses and purifies,56 Hodayah eight (vii.21–viii.41) speaks of the spirit’s agency in this purification. The hymnist claims to have already had God’s holy spirit placed in him (viii.20) and to be predetermined for the glory of God (viii.26). He, nonetheless, still recognizes his own transgression and ongoing dependency upon God being gracious and compassionate, patient and kind, and forgiving (viii.34). The psalmist cleanses his own hands (viii.28), which may have ritual implications,57 and strengthens himself through God’s holy spirit (viii.25). While the psalmist has some personal

53 Or “face.”
55 Levison, Filled, 188–89.
56 God purifies/cleanses (טハー) in 1QHª: “you pardon iniquity thus clean[se] a person from guilt” xii.38; “purify them from guilt” xiv.11; “cleanse them from their transgressions” xv.33; “you have purified a mortal man from sin so that he may sanctify himself” xix.13; “purify me by your righteousness” xix.33–34.
57 Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Liturgies,” in Fifty, 2:200–212; Fletcher-Louis, Glory, 109. Holm-Nielsen argues against ritual and cultic and suggests the cleansing is God’s forgiveness, Hodayot, 68. Levison rightly notes how the external purification must include the internal purification of the heart (See 1QS iii.4–5), Filled, 216 n.19. Cf. 1QS iii.7–9; iv.20–21; Jub. 1:23.
responsibility in being clean and of a perfect heart before God, he remains dependent upon God to complete the cleansing.\footnote{Maston, “Divine,” 144.} He emphatically pleads, “I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and so I entreat you with the spirit that you have given to me that you make your kindness to your servant complete [for]ever, cleansing me by your holy spirit and drawing me nearer by your good favour, according to your great kindness [which you have shown to me” (VIII.29–31 italics added). The purification by God’s holy spirit enables one to stand in “the whole station of [your] good fa[vour],” yet this again is because God has chosen this “for those who love you and for those who keep [your] commandments [that they may take their stand] before you forever and [atone for iniquity]” (VIII.31–32). The hymnist ties the cleansing to keeping God’s commandments, drawing nearer to God, and, according to the reconstruction, atoning for iniquity.

While the hymnist calls upon God for a complete and eternal cleansing, he does not appear to have reached this place yet due to his depravity and the spirit of the flesh. Concurrently, the hymnist does advocate a degree of purification through reception of the spirit of God and greater strength by God’s spirit to resist sin and to love and serve God. A tension exists and the text seems to advocate both a present realisation and a future, eschatological completion.

In a short hodayah in IV.38–40, the author similarly associates heart purification with the pouring out of God’s holy spirit upon his servant; he writes, “[Blessed are you, God Most High, that you have spread your holy spirit upon your servant] and you have purified his heart” (line 38). In the preceding hodayah in column IV.29–37, the author, who describes himself as a spirit of flesh, gives thanks for God’s assistance in an ongoing struggle against sin. Yet, here, in lines 38–40 the author clearly denotes a present reception of God’s holy spirit and present purification of his heart so that he can keep the “whole covenant of Adam” (line 39). Thus, the holy spirit spread upon God’s servants purifies and enables obedience.

Beyond the sectarians being cleansed or purified by the holy spirit, the holy spirit makes atonement; the hymnist writes: “[ you have spread forth in order to atone (כפר) for guilt” (1QH* XXIII.33). God atones (כפר) or pardons iniquity (XII.38). The word of God through the hand of Moses removed iniquity and sin and atoned for transgression and unfaithfulness (IV.24). Although the holy spirit
of God makes atonement in only one passage in Hodayot, its significance should not be discounted. The holy spirit of God again appears to be the active agent of God’s will—the hymnist’s explanation of God’s holy action. God spreads forth his holy spirit to atone for guilt.

Further down column XXIII, the holy spirit is spread “over the dust” (XXIII.29). The context suggests that this cleansing by the spirit enables the sectarian “to unite with the children of heaven” (XXIII.30) and to “serve with your host and walk [ . . . ] bwt from before you” (XXIII.34–35). Again even this atonement passage points towards uniting with the heavenly community and serving with God’s host (angels), and this is possible only through the actualization of atonement by God’s holy spirit in the community.

2.5 Union with the Angels in Hodayot

As this investigation has determined, the “I” of Hodayot articulates the belief that the psalmist and the community are called to share a common lot (גורל) with the holy ones before God’s presence in heaven. This constitutes part of the mysterious purpose of God for the community. The goal of their praise is to join with the angels in their liturgy before God’s face—to create “one worshipping community (yahad).” This union and communion with the angels are “concretized” by their praise. Proper praise after cleansing and transformation by the spirit of God is the via mystica to union and communion with the angels. At times, the hymnist envisions this union as in the celestial temple.

Apropos this union/communion, Esther Chazon proposes that “praising God together, yahad, with the angels” forms a “unifying theme” across the three groups of psalms in 1QH: in VII.12–20 of the first section of eight Community Hymns (I–VIII); in XI.20–37 and XIII.22–XV.8 among the section of fourteen Teacher Hymns (IX–XVII.36); and in XIX.6–XX.6, XXIII.1–XXV.33, and XXV.34–XXVII.3 of Community

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59 In context, גּוֹרָל means the assigned portion of human destiny is in common with the angels. They are to join the angels in praise before God’s throne. See “גורל,” DCH 2:337. Moshe Weinfeld sees common lot functioning in three ways in sectarian DSS texts: joint praise, common fate in eternal life, and holy war together, Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period (LSTS 54; London: T&T Clark International, 2005), 49.

60 Chazon, “Human,” 43.

61 Alexander, “Qumran,” 221.

Hymns II (XIX.6–XXVIII.42). 63 This may reveal clues of “editorial intent and liturgical purpose.” 64 Chazon notes a difference between mystical experience, ascent and angelification, and simply uniting together with the angels to praise God. 65 She makes a case that a recurring theme of communion with angels through the three sections of 1QH 66 and the structure and ordering of psalms indicates a liturgical function. 66 An investigation of the various expressions of yahad with angels in the three sections of Hodayot 67, as proposed by Chazon, with additions on ascent from VII.21–VIII.41, XII.6–XII.6, and XV.29–36 will provide a foundation for our comparison.

In Community Hymns I (1QH 1–VIII), a possible reference to human worship with angels emerges in the seventh psalm (VII.11–20). The hymnist writes, “And as for us, in the community (ביחד) of those gathered and with those who have knowledge” (line 17). The ב, of place, with the noun יד may refer to in the Qumran community specifically, or those gathered are joining in a community or forming a union with those who have knowledge—i.e., angels. 67 The next line mentions “with your warriors” another reference to angels, but due to manuscript damage, literary context remains unclear. 68 The latter part of line 18 describes a recounting in unison presumably with these warriors in the knowledge of God (VII.18). In this community hymn (lines 11–20), this communion with the ones who know occurs through praise to God Most High, proclamation of his wonders (lines 12, 15, 16), and may involve choral recounting in unison. Line 19 begins with a reference to “in the assembly of[     ],” which could have identified whether it was heavenly or earthly but damage leaves it unidentifiable. Thus, in this hodayah “the ones who know” possibly angels are with the gathered human worshippers during praise—possibly on earth and may form a joint choir.

The eighth hodayah (VII.21–VIII.41) in section one, has an incomplete reference that may describe a human being united with the host of eternal warriors. It follows a call to praise: “A source of light you have opened[ ] and for your council you have

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63 Chazon, “Function,” 137.
64 Chazon, “Function,” 137.
65 Chazon, “Function,” 139.
66 Chazon, “Function,” 149.
68 Angela Kim Harkins, “Thinking about 1QH 50 Sixty Years after its Discovery,” in Sixty, 112.
called me to praise your holiness by the mouth of all your creatures, for you have
don[e to be un]ited (לָלְדוֹ אֶלֶּה) with the host of eternal [wa]rriors” (viii.15). The
reconstruction of לָלְדוֹ אֶלֶּה could either be a Hitpael infinitive construct “to be united” or a
Niphal infinitive construct “be united, added or joined.” If a Niphal, as reconstructed
with the ו, the hymnist may be stating that the aim of the praise is for God to unite
him with the host of eternal warriors (i.e., angels). If the Niphal verb retains a
reflexive aspect, the hymnist would then allow himself to be united with the angels. The
passive sense of the verb indicates this union cannot take place through an
attempt of human flesh alone, but requires divine aid.

In section one, the two references (vii.17 and viii.15) have literary ambiguity
concerning the union. Textual lacunae hinder the certainty of a union with angels
into one congregation that becomes more explicit in the last two hymn sections of
1QH. Angela Harkins may be correct in her assessment that in section one “human
worshippers remain distinct from the angelic assembly” and do not describe
heavenly experiences; this may signify a literary distinction between these hymn
blocks.

The joining with heavenly beings is more evident and includes the hymnist’s
experience in the central section of Teacher Hymns (1QHIX–XVII.36). In the sixth
hodayah (XI.20–37), the speaker ties the goal of union with the angels to God’s
providential purpose of ‘common rejoicing,’ common inheritance, and joint holy
war:

\[ vacat \text{ I thank you, Lord, that you have redeemed my life from the pit, and that } \]
\text{from Sheol-Abaddon you have lifted me up to an eternal height, so that I walk about on a limitless plain. I know there is hope for one whom you have formed from the dust for an eternal council. And a perverted spirit you have purified from great sin that it might take its place (להתיצב במעמד) with the host of the holy ones and enter into the community (לדומה וביחד) with the congregation of the} \]

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69 GKC §114.
71 Joüon and Muraoka, Hebrew, 140.
72 Harkins, “Thinking,” 122. An earlier, Hasmonean version of the latter two sections appears in fragments of 4Q428, may indicate the Community Hymns I was a separate collection added to 1QH (130–34).
children of heaven. And you cast for the man an eternal lot (גורל עולם) with the spirits of knowledge, that he might praise your name in common rejoicing (createView רפע נcherche) and recount your wondrous acts before all your works. (1QH XI.20–24)

The one purified by God can take his place (station) with the host of the holy ones and enter into community, into union, or in communion with the congregation of the children of heaven. In the latter part of this hymn the voice (seemingly united praise) of the host of heaven (line 36), which men join, leads to the “full consummation” of the war of the champions of heaven sweeping through the world (line 37). It is unknown whether the hymnist is only speaking metaphorically about walking on the heights and joining the angels in common rejoicing or if he may be referring to a conviction held by the sectarian community that their holy praise, in actuality, not only united them with the host of heaven, but also instigated the coming consummation and judgement. The description of Sheol-Abbadon possibly points toward hyperbolic language—although the hymnist may have felt his depravity and position outside the community left him in the pit spiritually speaking. Either way this does not discount the perception by the psalmist in his theophanic imagination that they are to join the angels in praise to God. For instance, the use of רפע in line 24 (createView רפע רפע) to express “singing in unison” or a “choir of rejoicing” signifies joint praise of men and angels (XI.24; XIX.17, 28; VII.18; XIII.32; cf. Job 38:7; Isa 52:8; Ps 98:8). The singular ‘voice’ of the host of heaven in line 36 reinforces the “collective character” of the common praise offered by the union of earthly and heavenly groups.

In the eighth hodayah (XII.6–XIII.6) of the Teacher Hymns, the psalmist writes: “You have not covered in shame the faces of all who have been examined by me, who have gathered together (createView רפע) for your covenant. Those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me, and they marshal themselves before you in the council of the holy ones” (XII.25–26). These members of the covenant, who have passed the

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75 Nitzan, Prayer, 278.
teacher’s scrutiny, are gathered before God, potentially in God’s throne room, and in the council of the holy ones (angels).

In the tenth hodayah (XIII.22–XV.8), God, it seems, has already brought “all people of his council, and in a common lot (יחדובגורל) with the angels of the presence (פנים), without an intermediary between lg[ to] reply according to the spirit” (XIV.16–17). This explicit union with the angels of the face or “of the presence” from before God’s throne is a notably close union that has no intermediary and includes all people of his council. The psalmist may share his personal experience of this union in XIV.8: “You brought me into the council of holiness.”

In the twelfth hodayah (XV.29–36), the psalmist expresses God’s initiative in bringing his children before him: “But all the children of your truth you bring before you in forgiveness to cleanse them from their transgressions through your great goodness, and through your overflowing compassion to station (להעמידם) them before you forever and ever” (lines 32–34). Context again appears to be contemplating the “wondrous great works” of God (line 35), which may indicate a liturgica mystica. Overall, among the Teacher Hymns the stationing before God with the angels becomes more apparent and the joining appears to transcend limitations of time and space—a transcendental eschatology.76

In the final block of Community Hymns (XIX.6–XXVII.42), the union with angels before God’s throne becomes the most explicit. An analogous example to XI.20–24 occurs in the second hodayah (XIX.6–XX.6).77 The psalmist writes:

13For the sake of your glory, you have purified man from offence, so that he may sanctify himself 14to You from every abominable uncleanness and guilty wickedness, to be united (להوحد) w ith the sons of Your truth and in the lot of 15Your holy ones, to raise from the dust the worms of the dead, to an ever[lasting] assembly, and from a depraved spirit to knowledge [of You], 16so that he can take his stand in station (במעמד) before Your face (לפניכם) with the everlasting host and [Your holy] spirits, to renew him with everything that

exists, \(^{17}\) and with those who know, in a community (ביחד ורנה) of jubilation. (1QH\(^a\) xix.13–17)\(^{78}\)

The purpose of the man’s sanctification and purification is to glorify God by being united with the everlasting assembly and standing with the everlasting host to rejoice together before God. The phrase “he can take his stand in station before Your face” (line 16) may refer to a shared position around the God’s throne as in 1 En. 60:2 (cf. 1QH\(^a\) xi.22; xxvi.7, 36; 4QH\(^a\) 7 i.11; 7 ii.17).\(^{79}\) The hymnist’s use of, הבמות (in 1QH\(^a\) xi.22; xix.16), which describes the Levites’ post or place of service in the Temple in 1 Chr 23:28 and 2 Chr 35:15,\(^{80}\) places this joint praise in the celestial temple. Man then has an assigned place of heavenly service with the divine beings. The hymnist(s) uses multiple appellations to describe these beings “sons of your truth,” “holy ones,” “everlasting host,” and “your holy spirits” with which these sanctified men are to unite; this reflects the expansion of the divine echelon in Second Temple Jewish literature and particularly in the angelology of the Qumran sectarians.\(^{81}\) Furthermore, the praise of the “I” of the hymn in line 26, “I will sing upon the lyre of salvation” leads to all proclaiming together with joyous voice (יחד בקול רנה) (lines 28–29): “Blessed are you” Lord (lines 30, 32, 35). The repeated benediction formulae also reveal the hymn’s design for liturgical use in the community to foster the union.\(^{82}\)

A reconstructed fragment in the fourth hodayah (XXIII.1–XXV.33) of Community Hymns II has the damaged line “[ ] in the mud[ ] gods to unite ) (להחיד) (XXIII.30). The word, לְחַד, could either be a Hitpael infinitive “be united with”\(^{83}\) or a noun “for the community” with preposition \(ל\).\(^{84}\) The context of the phrase describes God spreading his holy spirit over the dust (human beings) perhaps to unite them with the children of heaven (angels as in 1 En. 6:2; 1QS xi.7–8). The spreading of the spirit, as discussed in §2.4, transforms depraved human beings into cleansed worshippers who can be united with the children of heaven. The

\(^{78}\) Trans. Alexander, Mystical, 101.

\(^{79}\) Chazon, “Human,” 43.

\(^{80}\) יַהַד, BDB, 765.


\(^{82}\) Chazon, “Function,” 143.

\(^{83}\) יחד, DCH 4:195.

\(^{84}\) יַהַד, DCH 4:196.
word, gods (אלים), commonly refers to angelic beings in the sectarian texts of the DSS. Unfortunately, what it specifically says regarding the אלים cannot be reasonably deciphered here.

In summary, Hodayot in all three sections undoubtedly advocates and progressively builds up a liturgical union of the cleansed sectarian and even the whole Qumran council with the angels of the heavenly assembly before God’s face in worship. Chazon distinguishes further between three types of yihud (joint prayer/praise) in the DSS: (1) “harmonizing with the universe in praise to God” (Ps 148); (2) two choirs: praying exclusively with and like the angels Daily Prayers (4Q503); Berakhot—a; point/counterpoint approach); and (3) humans and angels form one congregation. The descriptions of union between angels and humans in Hodayot exemplify Chazon’s third option. She writes, “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.”

Angelic heights represent the celestial throne room. As advocated above, the spirit of God, who purifies the perverted spirit, enlightens the understanding with God’s knowledge, and transforms the community members to enable a union. Additionally, the parallels (1QH a xxv.34–xxvii.3; 4QH a 7 i.6–23; 7 ii.3–23) to 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn (4Q491c; 4Q471b) further illustrate the claim to be not only in the angelic community but also to be transformed into one of them—an exemplary climactic account (see §5.4).

While direct union with God is not espoused in Hodayot, the author(s) may see an “unbridgeable ontological gap between the Creator and the created.” The highest or closest that human worshippers may come to God is through a union with the angels of God’s face that serve before the throne of God. This threefold union of joint praise, common eternal inheritance, and joint holy war is God’s purpose for the community. Since this purpose is a union/communion with the transcendent reality

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86 Chazon, “Human,” 43.
before the celestial throne, this can be characterised as mystical and more specifically early *Jewish* mysticism.89

Nitzan further characterises the joint communion as a mystical, communionist approach. She explains, “an experience of harmony and communion between the chosen earthly and heavenly worshippers is reached through hymns recited by his pure and perfect worshippers.”90 Moreover, in corroboration of abstract mystical criteria (§1.1), she states that the recitation of these hymns helps worshippers attain “the experience of closeness to God through the performance of the law of his worship.”91

### 2.6 Summary

While one cannot derive a comprehensive or systematic understanding of the spirit in *Hodayot*, the hymns disclose in part an understanding of God’s spirit as an epistemological and transformative gift to the *maškil* and community entrants. God’s spirit fosters a spiritual transformation of the sectarian by cleansing, atoning for sin, enabling obedience, and granting divine (angelic) knowledge. The mode of this revelation, while not explicit, seems to be endowed scribal wisdom rather than ecstatic or direct. The revelation of God’s mysteries by the spirit reveals God’s purpose for the community, which includes a common inheritance and union with the angels before God’s throne in a *liturgica mystica*. In essence, a whole connective process from entrance into community, reception of God’s spirit, divine instruction in the knowledge of God, purification, new creation, atonement, enables them to live out priestly purity regulations and meet Torah obedience requirements. Consequently, through hymn recitation, they can, like the *maškil*, be united with the angels. Liturgical praxis is the *via mystica* to drawing near, becoming one congregation with the angels, and communing with God. This fulfils the purpose of God for the community—a revealed mystery. Through their joint worship with the heavenly cohort they can make atonement through the spirit for the land and the people—a true remnant in the desert preparing the way for the Lord.

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Chapter 3

A TEMPLE COMMUNITY
WORSHIPPING WITH THE CELESTIAL TEMPLE IN
RULE OF THE COMMUNITY AND
SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

3.1 Introduction

The Qumran community not only conceived of itself as having a priestly function and operating as a holy house for Aaron, but also as sharing this priestly service with the angels in the celestial temple. After a review of the Qumran community’s self-identification as a temple in Rule of the Community, an investigation of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice will disclose the mystical praxis of this temple community as one of liturgical synchronisation with the angelic priesthood in the celestial temple. This analysis will form a basis for a heuristic comparison in chapter 7 with Paul’s temple metaphor in 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; and 2 Cor 6:14–16 that will illuminate neglected temple associations with the celestial archetype, the presence of angels, and the tongues of angels for the Corinthian ekklesia.

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: Preliminary Matters

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407) is a liturgical and poetic text1 consisting of thirteen songs, one for each Sabbath in the first quarter of the sectarian solar calendar.2 The text is preserved in ten fragmentary copies of the same composition written on leather: eight manuscripts from cave 4 (4Q400–407), one from cave 11 (11Q17), and one from Masada (Mas1k). Partial material reconstruction is possible

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1 James R. Davila questions whether Songs is poetry or prose, Liturgical Works (ECDSS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 87–88.
2 Nitzan, Prayer, 284.
due to parallel copies. 4Q405, the most complete copy, possibly had twenty columns of twenty-five lines each. Paleography varies with the fragments from a formal hand of the late Hasmonean period (ca. 75–50 B.C.E.) of 4Q400 to a late developed Herodian script (ca. 25–50 C.E.) of Mas1k. The orthography is characteristic for Qumran. While this unquestionably indicates the Qumran community preserved, copied, and used Songs, internal evidence limits certainty of the texts’ provenance. Newsom currently argues for a pre-Qumran origin, possibly from a priestly milieu like those who wrote Jubilees and Aramaic Levi Document. The influence of Songs on Berakhot6–e (4Q286–290) and Songs of the Sage a–b (4Q510–511) further strengthens the argument for a pre-Qumran origin.

Songs describe worship performed by the angelic priesthood on the Sabbath in the celestial sanctuary. Each song begins with four standard elements: (1) שיר אלול השבת; (2) a date formula; and (4) an invocation for angels to praise, הלו, God. The only preserved ending in Song 6 has a benediction (4Q402 1.28–29). Style features and content suggest the layout of three sections: Songs 1–5, Songs 6–8, and Songs 9–13. A pyramid structure, suggested by Newsom, may best explain the songs with a climax in the seventh song, although some argue for eleven, twelve, or thirteen as the pinnacle song. Songs 1–5 depict the angelic priesthood, duties, and praise. Songs 6–8 contain repeated praises and blessings with the prominence of the number seven. Song 7 possibly portrays the “inner room” (דביר) and chariot throne of God. Songs 9–13 describe the celestial temple, angelic high

5 For dating, see Newsom, Angelic, 2.
6 Songs lacks references to יד or a righteous teacher, Newsom, DJD XI:173–74.
7 Newsom has changed her hypothesis from a Qumran origin (Songs, 4, 61) to non-Qumran origin due to the use of אלהים for God, but admits the evidence is not conclusive, Angelic, 4.
9 This means ‘for the instructor,’ the priestly, prayer-leader of the Qumran assembly, Alexander, Mystical, 48.
10 Newsom, Songs, 6.
11 Davila, Liturgical, 87.
12 Davila argues for Songs eleven and twelve as the climax around Shavu‘ot, Liturgical, 90. Morray-Jones (Mystical, 321–25) and Alexander (Mystical, 49) see twelve as the climax—the Festival of the Renewal of the Covenant. Fletcher-Louis argues for the thirteenth, Glory, 356–94.
priests, the divine glory on the merkabah, multiple chariots, and concludes with a sacrifice and priestly vestments in Song 13.\textsuperscript{13}

The function of Songs could be a liturgy to complement a sacrifice (2 Chr 29:27–28; 11Q5 xxvii.7), “a substitute for the additional (Musapi) sacrifice of the Sabbath,”\textsuperscript{14} or a liturgy designed for additional reading with the merkabah passages from Ezek 1 and 3:12 on Shavu ‘ot (the Festival of Weeks preceding the community’s annual covenant renewal ceremony).\textsuperscript{15} Function, however, remains somewhat speculative. Newsom proposes along with Sabbath recitation that Songs function “as the praxis of a communal mysticism,” which helps validate “the Community’s claims to be true priests of God.”\textsuperscript{16} Additionally, the use of Songs reinforces the community’s temple identity.

\textit{Songs: a Mystical Text}

\textit{Songs} is one of the earliest examples of merkabah exegesis and merkabah hymns.\textsuperscript{17} The numinous descriptions of the celestial temple may have given the liturgy a “quasi-mystical” function.\textsuperscript{18} As Newsom writes, “the sophisticated manipulation of religious emotion in the songs would seem to have increased the possibility of ecstatic experience among some worshippers.”\textsuperscript{19} Alexander categorises Songs as a mystical text, which, like Newsom suggests, offers a liturgical \textit{via mystica} for the worshippers reciting the hymns. It brings them into communion with the angels before God’s celestial throne—the closest possible communion with God in monotheistic Judaism—and gives divine illumination of heavenly knowledge and Torah.\textsuperscript{20} Nitzan proposes, “they may have been considered as a medium for creating an experience of mystic communion between the earthly and heavenly worshippers.”\textsuperscript{21} Davila has also noted the striking similarities and some differences

\begin{footnotes}
\footnoteref{13}{Newsom, \textit{Angelic}, 3.}
\footnoteref{14}{Nitzan, \textit{Prayer}, 93 n. 67. \textit{Contra} Newsom (\textit{Angelic}, 3) who notes only 13 songs rather than 52 for the whole calendar year (cf. Num 28–29).}
\footnoteref{16}{Newsom, \textit{Angelic}, 4; Carol A. Newsom, “Priests,” 113–18.}
\footnoteref{18}{Newsom, \textit{Songs}, 59.}
\footnoteref{19}{Newsom, \textit{Songs}, 17.}
\footnoteref{20}{Alexander, \textit{Mystical}, 49–61.}
\footnoteref{21}{Nitzan, “Harmonic,” 183.}
\end{footnotes}
in comparison to later Hekhalot literature, possibly indicating its place in the history of early JM. In this regard, these scholars and others give credence to Songs being categorised as a mystical text, merkabah exegesis, and an example of early JM at Qumran. As April DeConick writes, “Through the performance of this liturgy, the participants are taken into the Holy of Holies in order to join the angelic worship before God’s throne,” i.e., the merkabah.

3.2 Qumran Community as a Temple in Rule of the Community

The Qumran community identifies itself as a temple in the Rule of the Community through temple symbolism, cultic imagery, and priestly function. In 1QS v.5–6, the community of the eternal covenant lays “a foundation for truth” and makes “atonement for all who freely volunteer for holiness in Aaron and for the house of truth in Israel and for those who join them for community, lawsuit, and judgement.” The descriptions of “a foundation of truth,” “holiness (or sanctuary) (קדש) in Aaron,” and a “house of truth in Israel” all point to a self–conception of a temple. In VIII.4–10, the temple identification and function are more explicit. The priestly purpose of the community council is “to be an everlasting plantation, a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron . . . to atone for the land . . . the most holy dwelling for Aaron . . . to offer a pleasant/aroma/; and it will be a house of perfection and truth in Israel in order to establish . . . a covenant.” According to Paul Swarup, the combination of “everlasting plantation” with “a holy house” discloses two key identifications of the community. On one hand, “everlasting plantation” is a metaphor for a holy nation in biblical traditions and stands for the righteous people of God. On the other hand, “a holy house” points toward a temple and priestly function (cf. Exod 19:6). This distinction, however, is

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24 DeConick, Voices, 63.
26 Trans. Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE 1:81.
28 Swarup, Self-Understanding, 4.
notwithstanding the association of “everlasting plantation” with Eden and paradise—a “prototype for the sanctuary”29 or a reference to the ideal, celestial temple.

The Qumran community certainly perceives itself as functioning as priests in a holy of holies for the rest of Israel to establish the covenant, institute divine retribution on the wicked, and atone for the land. The cultic imagery and priestly themes reoccur with greater clarity in 1QS ix.3–6. The community is:

3bto establish the spirit of holiness in truth 4eternal, in order to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice – the offering of 5the lips in compliance with the decree will be like a pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering at that moment the men of 6the Community shall set apart a holy house for Aaron, in order to form a most holy community, and a house of the community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection. (1QS ix.3b–6)

While the purpose of the priestly function is to atone for guilt and sin for all of Israel, the offerings are not animal sacrifices as in the Jerusalem Temple cult but “offerings of the lips” and “perfectness of behaviour” through being set apart as a holy house for Aaron (cf. vii.4–10; x.8).30 The Qumran community saw the Jerusalem Temple as defiled and corrupt with regard to cultic practices, the cultic calendar, and halakoth (CD–A xi.18–21; xvi.13; 1QpHab vii.8–13; ix.3–7; xii.7–14).31 The community appropriates the mediatorial functions of the temple and priesthood, and identifies itself as temporarily supplanting the Jerusalem temple until proper, pure service is re-established (cf. 4QFlor i.3–7; 1QM ii.1–9).32

29 Swarup, Self-Understanding, 5.
31 Gärtner argues for temple replacement, Temple, 16–20; Newsom, Angelic, 9.
32 Carol A. Newsom, The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 157–60. Since portrayal of the Jerusalem Temple and priestly cult is inconsistent within the Scrolls, there is ongoing debate over whether the Qumran community replaces, competes with, or complements the Jerusalem Temple. For interim temple in 4Q174, see George Brooke, “Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community,” in Gemeinde ohne Tempel (ed. Beate Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 285–301.
The authors of 1QS grant the spirit of God a part in this temple identity and priestly function. 1QS III.6b–8a says,

For it is by the spirit of the true counsel of God that are atoned the paths of man, all his iniquities, so that he can look at the light of life. And it is by the holy spirit of the community, in its truth, that he is cleansed of all his iniquities. And by the spirit of uprightness and of humility his sin is atoned. And by the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God. (italics added)

This spirit is an agent by whom true counsel of God is given, iniquities are atoned,33 sight of light is enabled, and iniquities of members are cleansed.34 Apart from the community, one cannot receive cleansing and atoning of this holy spirit, walk in the way of perfection, or know the truth of the community. In 1QS ix.3–6 just before an extensive priestly description of the community as a separate holy house for Aaron (a holy of holies), the purpose of the community’s regulatory life is to “establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal,” atone for the guilt of iniquity and sin, and be like a pleasant aroma and freewill offering. This is not by individuals but by obedience of the community that a holy spirit is established for eternal truth and atonement is made for Israel. The holy spirit as the spirit of truth (IV.21)35 establishes the foundation of eternal truth.36 In light of III.6–8 and IX.3–6, the Qumran community appears to envision the establishment of a holy house as “a habitation for the holy spirit,”37 whose foundation of truth is a holy spirit and a holy community.

The identification as the remnant people and priesthood of God in a temple community of the holy spirit correlates to the liturgical practice and function of communing with angels in Songs, Hodayot, and other liturgical texts.38 Not only

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33 Dealsey notes that atonement for the sectarians “can be wrought only by God through the working of the holy spirit,” Shape, 228. Cf. 1QSa I.1–3; 1QM II.5; 1QS IX.4.
35 In 1QS IV.21, God cleanses with the spirit of holiness and sprinkles “over him the spirit of truth.” A. A. Anderson sees it as possible to identify “spirit of truth” in 1QS III.6–7 and IV.21 with the holy spirit, as in John’s Gospel, because the spirit of truth and the holy spirit represent “two different aspects of God’s work,” “Use,” 301.
36 Gärtner, Temple, 29.
38 Newsom, Angelic, 9.
does the Qumran community claim a common inheritance with the holy ones (angels) but sees a union of their assembly “to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the Community and a foundation of the building of holiness to be an everlasting plantation through all future ages” (1QS xi.5b–9a). This union creates a foundation of an eternal holy structure that is both a present and an eschatological reality, and yet points to “a return to the primeval paradise.”39 The community is to lay the foundation of truth for Israel (v.5). The truth concerns their revelatory hermeneutic, which penetrates the divine mysteries of Scripture.40 The community members also make up “the foundation or habitation for the holy of holies for Aaron.”41 In a sense, they realise “the Imago Templi proclaimed by the prophets” particularly Ezekiel and Isaiah.42 As Morray-Jones states, “Incorporation into the structure of the temple confers ‘advance membership’ of the world to come and is, at the same time, a return to humanity’s original state of angelic purity.”43

An important textual variant may indicate that the community acquired this self-understanding overtime. In 1QS VIII.11 (100–75 B.C.E.), the men of the community are set apart as ‘holy ones.’ 4QS* frag. 1 III.1, a later version (50–25 B.C.E.), has a textual variant, in which the men are a ‘temple’ (מקדש) themselves, instead of ‘holy ones’ (ешקר). This may suggest a chronological history of recensions of the Rule of the Community, in which the self-conception shifts from opposition to the Jerusalem Temple cult to being a temple community themselves and possibly the holy of holies.44

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40 Gärtner, Temple, 27, 29; Devorah Dimant notes from Jubilees (4Q216=4QJub*) 1 IV.6–8, the importance of the Angel of the presence who reveals God’s purpose in history and mysteries of the Torah, Moses, and the Qumran community, which may have something to do with (יוֹדֵעָה) ‘Mystery of Being.’ “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community,” in Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East (ed. Adele Berlin; STJHC; Bethesda, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 103.
41 Davila, Hymnist, 467.
Further support for the Qumran community being the temple themselves can be found in related DSS texts.\textsuperscript{45} For example, in 4QFlor 1:3–11, the commentator explains through interpreting 2 Sam 7:10–13 and Exod 15:17–18 that God will build a “sanctuary of man/men” (מקדש אדם) in the last days.\textsuperscript{46} The eschatological temple, built by God’s hands is, then, a sanctuary of people. The sanctuary of Adam links to the idea of the Garden of Eden as a sanctuary.\textsuperscript{47} The Qumran community, then, considers God to have “inaugurated the reestablishment of Eden, the sanctuary of Adam” in their midst (cf. Jub. 8:19).\textsuperscript{48}

Since they have a common inheritance with the holy angels, the community through offering bloodless offerings of prayers, angelic liturgy, thanksgivings, works of torah (perfect behaviour), and priestly purity actually conforms itself to pure angelic worship in heaven.\textsuperscript{49} This enables the community to be an exceptional temple substitute and gives it spiritual value. Even lay Israelites could participate in Levitic, mystical experience of this spiritualised temple, receive revelation, and have communion with God and his angels.\textsuperscript{50} This is part of their purpose as a community and reflects what Alexander calls a “sophisticated sacramental theology, which sees the earthly, material sacrifices as symbolizing in a form appropriate to our embodied state the spiritual offerings of the true sanctuary in heaven.”\textsuperscript{51} Therefore, as a holy, spiritual temple with right priestly function the community can participate in heavenly worship in the heavenly sanctuary. \textit{Songs},\textsuperscript{52} then, functions to reinforce and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Building/plantation combo occurs in 4Q4174 1–2 1.2–6 and in 4Q511 35, 2–5, “And some of the holy ones God will sanctify for himself as an eternal sanctuary and (as) purity among the cleansed. They shall be priests, his righteous people, his host and ministers, the angels of his glory.” Note the analogizing between humans and angelic appellations. Cf. 4Q418 81 4–5. See also Joseph L. Angel, \textit{Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls} (STDJ 86; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 91–93 and Swarup, \textit{Self-Understanding}.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} Brooke, “Miqdash,” 286–291.
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Torleif Elgvin argues for the connection between garden-temple, eschatological temple, and the \textit{yahad} as a temple of people on earth, “Temple Mysticism and the Temple of Man,” in \textit{The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context} (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 229.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} Alexander, \textit{Mystical}, 59; Dimant says the community understands its “existence as analogue to that of angels,” which provides a framework for all they do, “Men,” 96–97.
  \item \textsuperscript{50} Elgvin, “Temple Mysticism,” 241.
  \item \textsuperscript{51} Alexander, \textit{Mystical}, 59.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} \textit{Songs} presents the temple structure as animate, quasi-angelic beings, who praise God. Morray-Jones suggests the praise and “utterances” of the angels and worshippers form the heavenly courts and \textit{debirim} of the temple—it is “composed of living sound,” \textit{Mystery}, 327 and n. 101. While the Qumran community on earth constitute the parts of the temple (1QS), the celestial animate temple
\end{itemize}
to validate experientially this shared-priestly service with the angels and the community’s temple function.

3.3 The Relationship between Heavenly and Earthly Temples at Qumran

Before examining the use of *Songs* at Qumran, an overview of the complex relationship between heavenly and earthly temples will set the groundwork from which to move forward carefully. In the Hebrew Bible the earthly temple is seen as “the embodiment of a celestial archetype,” based on the idea that the earthly temple/tabernacle was built on the pattern or blueprint) of the heavenly temple and throne room (Exod 25:40; 1 Chr 28:19). In Second Temple Jewish literature, the correspondence assumes “cosmological significance”—the cosmos becomes a temple (cf. *T. Levi, Jub., I En.*). The temple on earth becomes the *omphalos* or “navel of the world,” the link between heaven, earth, and the subterrestrial world.

Exegetical, temple traditions as evident in *Songs* exemplify the coalescing and homogenising of biblical temple imagery and traditions in its portrayal of the heavenly temple and angelic priesthood. Rather than a reductionist reading, however, that reduces *Songs* to a simple exegetical exercise, a more complex picture emerges. *Songs* does not provide a straight-forward exegesis of biblical temple passages, as Newsom acknowledges, but has innumerable allusions to biblical and Second Temple Jewish literature that reflect an ongoing oral tradition concerning “the nature and minutiae of the cosmic Temple” (cf. Exod 19; 25:40; 1 Kgs 6–8; 19:11–18; 22:19–23; 1 Chr 28–29; Isa 6; Ezek 1, 3, 11, 40–48; Dan 7:9–27; *I En.* 14–15; *T. Levi; Jub.* 16:21; 31:14; *Levi*-f *ar; Pseudo-Ezekiel*). Additionally, the distinctive poetic quality and uncommon, yet highly detailed, angelic-temple descriptions of the

forms part of the heavenly community (4Q400–700). Angel calls this “the reversibility of community and temple,” *Otherworldly*, 90.

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56 *Songs*, 58.
57 Davila, “Macrocosmic;” 19.
holy and most holy place in the second half of Songs disclose the unique contributions of Songs to Jewish celestial-temple traditions.58

The relationship of the earthly and heavenly temple in Songs and in the Qumran community can be explained in three ways: (1) projection, (2) angelomorphic, or (3) reflective.59 The community of Qumran understood their conception of the priesthood and the temple as derived from the ‘real’ heavenly temple and celestial angelic priesthood. Regardless, scholars predominantly make the historical and psychological assumption that Songs and indeed the Qumran community in actuality projects its vision from the ‘real,’ material temple/tabernacle on earth into the imaginary heavenly temple.

The second position, as proposed by Fletcher-Louis, presumes that the angelic priesthood portrayed in Songs is not angels but in fact, the angelomorphic priesthood from Qumran operating in the complex microcosm of interconnected space and time between heaven and earth. Namely, either the celestial temple does not exist or the angelomorphic Qumran community inhabits the heavenly realm existentially.60 While Fletcher-Louis rightly questions the simplistic parallelism of heaven and earth as the worldview of the Qumran community, his interpretation of Songs as representative of an angelomorphic Qumran community living a realised eschatology on earth has been seriously questioned by Alexander, Joseph Angel, Newsom, and others.61 Since Songs maintains a clear ontological distinction between humans and angels (4Q400 2 6–8) as does 1QH³ and 1QS, Fletcher-Louis’ angelomorphic explanation remains suspect.

58 Ra’an an Boustan contends that Songs’ “multiplication and animation of celestial structures challenges the conventions for describing an ordered and stable celestial sphere” (200), “Angels in the Architecture: Temple Art and the Poetics of Praise in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” in Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions (ed. Ra’an an S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed; Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 197; Alexander, Mystical Texts, 55.

59 This roughly follows Angel’s three categories, Otherworldly, 98–105.

60 Fletcher-Louis does not see an early Jewish belief in a celestial temple, Glory, 391–94, 472–75.

61 Alexander critiques Fletcher-Louis on five major points questioning his anomalous interpretation of Songs, Mystical, 45–47; Carol A. Newsom contends he these fails to account for “various functions that language may have (e.g., poetic analogy, hyperbolic flattery)” and tendentiously interprets all cases as angelomorphism, “Review of C. H. T. Fletcher Louis, All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” DSD 10 (2003): 431–35; Dimant, “Men,” 93–103.
A third proposal drawn from Henry Corbin’s *Temple and Contemplation* allows for the earthly temple to be a reflection of the *imaginal* heavenly temple. Elliot Wolfson applies Corbin’s *imaginal* temple concept to *Songs* and the Qumran community. He questions the projection position that “the heavenly mirrors the earthly reality. It is equally plausible... to suggest the reverse is the case, the earthly mirroring the heavenly, the veridical reflecting the imaginal.” The projection view presumes a one-dimensional universe in which the heavenly temple is imaginary or fictional—a reductionist view of Qumran thought.

A projection view has at times stemmed from a literary and exegetical approach that can offer only a limited picture of religious history. Often literary and exegetical studies look for how the depiction of the celestial temple in a text has been created through literary/exegetical endeavours rather than considering the liturgical experience and apperception of the community. This can intimate an anachronistic, false distinction between the liturgical and exegetical, which the piety of the *maškîl* or priest of Qumran blended.

History of religions and in particular the temple phenomenology of the *imaginal* as proposed by Corbin and applied by Wolfson, Angel, and Eibert Tigchelaar can

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62 According to Corbin, *imaginal* means the image of the temple is “perceived on the level of the in between... the meeting place of the two seas” (303) or “the world situated midway between the world of purely intelligible realities and the world of sense perception” (265), e.g., the opening of the heavens (Ezek 1:1) and the vision of temple (Ezek 40–48). This symbolic image informs the material temple rather than the reverse. He explains, “the case of the *Imago Templi* at ‘the meeting-place of the two seas’ implies a situation which is above all *speculative*, in the etymological sense of the word: two mirrors (*specula*) facing each other and reflecting, one within the other, the Image that they hold. The Image does not derive from empirical sources. It precedes and dominates such sources, and is thus the criterion by which they are verified and their meaning is put to the test” (267). This is beyond psychology and historical criticism. Rather it concerns “sacred history or hierohistory” as in celestial visions of the soul (268). The *Imago Templi* manifests when one’s inner being is at “the meeting-place of the two seas.” “This is the *Imago Templi* as it was manifested to the visionary perception of the prophet Ezekiel, and on which the community of Essenes at Qumran was to model its entire theology of the Temple and the new Temple,” Temple, 269. Wolfson ties the esoteric perception of the *Imago Templi* to the Qumran *maškîl*, a pure heart, and the liturgical recitation of *Songs*, “Seven,” 187–193. *Songs* creates the opportunity of a “meeting between the two seas”—a theophanic apperception of the *imaginal* temple and angelic priesthood.

63 Wolfson, “Seven,” 185 n. 25. The social-scientific method favours the projection view.

64 Angel, *Otherworldly*, 101.


grant a fresh look at the Qumran community’s conception of the celestial temple in Songs and its relationship to the terrestrial temple. As Angel suggests, “the celestial temple archetype may be located within the framework of the community’s imaginal experience of hierohistory.”68 In this regard, the piety conveyed in Songs is “liturgical synchronism or what may be called reciprocal reciprocity, double mirroring of heaven and earth, Jerusalem Temple and celestial throne.”69 This is why, “we find an emphasis on the embodiment of the temple archetype in the structure of the community as a whole.”70 The community below (Qumran) modelled itself on the symbolic heavenly realm above—an “archetypal relationship.”71

As a reflection of the imaginal heavenly realm and angelic priesthood, the practice of an angelic liturgy, like Songs, infuses the Qumran community in the late Hasmonean and Herodian periods with liturgical life, possibly compensating for not partaking in the ‘defiled’ worship of Jerusalem temple.72 Following the cyclical and repetitive liturgical calendar, the community mirrors the angelic priesthood in the celestial temple and liturgically communes with the angels in a seemingly ongoing and repetitious manner. The maškil then “illumined by the holy spirit and thereby conjures theophanic images of the heavenly chariot (merkavah) the ‘holy dwelling’ (maʿon qadoš) described in graphic detail in several of the Sabbath hymns, reaching an ocular crescendo in the last three.”73 This “poetic envisioning renders what is above within and what is within above, a fundamental tenet of theophanic imagination,” while still requiring a pure heart, priestly purity, and the way of perfection on the part of the worshipper.74

In practice of the liturgy, the inspired maškil leads them through the heavenly halls (דבירים/—heicl) toward the kābōd Yahweh. The community tastes and participates in the ideal temple, building a foundation, not yet fully realised, and at the same time establishing the ideal temple (Ezek 40–48) in their midst (1QS XI.7–9). Liturgical time, then, is not linear, and liturgical synchronism renders the future present, an

68 Angel, Otherworldly, 101.
70 Morray-Jones, Mystery, 339.
71 Corbin, Temple, 299.
73 Wolfson, “Seven,” 191.
74 Wolfson, “Seven,” 213.
imaginal spanning of time.75 Correspondingly, an imaginal spanning of space renders the conjoining of human and angelic congregations in the inbetween. The earthly and heavenly temples temporarily conjoin in sacred space. Thus, the Qumran community liturgically realises the eternal, eschatological temple of Ezekiel 40–48, by itself being the new, spiritual temple and inaugurating the new aeon through its spiritual worship and revelatory hermeneutic.76 While the community anticipates “in its own existence the eschatological sanctuary,” it does not deny “belief in a future rebuilding of the temple.”77

Hence, the community does not retain a completely realised eschatology, but through liturgical synchronism participates in the imaginal celestial temple and angelic community—a transcendental eschatology. Through liturgical communion, the barrier between heaven and earth temporarily breaks down, but ontological distinctions between human and angelic remain. The eschaton has been tasted and participated in, but is still to come.78 They are forming a foundation to be an everlasting plantation and a holy of holies. As Angel comments, “The heads of the Qumranites may have been in the heavens, but they were equally aware that their feet were at least for the moment still firmly rooted on the ground.”79

Consequently, the picture appears more complex than a simplified exegetical projection or an angelomorphic humanity with a fully realised eschatology. This intricate relationship begs the question of Paul’s temple metaphor, which will be addressed in chapter 7: how does it relate to the heavenly temple?

3.4 Co-participation with the Angelic Priesthood and Angelic Tongues in Songs
While Songs predominantly portrays the angelic priesthood serving in the heavenly temple, evidence discloses the co-participation of the human priesthood with the angelic praise in the liturgy. First, each song begins with instructions to the maškil, a

75 Wolfson, “Seven,” 193.
76 Corbin, Temple, 314.
77 Wolfson, “Seven,” 193.
78 Wolfson’s article, “Seven,” offers insights into the imaginal temple and the intersection of mystery and knowledge in Songs and appears to have conceded somewhat to Nitzan’s argument for mysticism or “such experience” as “alluded to in some critical passages” (191 n. 53). His proposal for complete ontological transformation—an angelomorphic human community in Songs, however, is tenuous.
79 Angel, Otherworldly, 105.
human Qumran official, whose invocation calls divine beings to praise God. 80 A human initiates angelic praise in heaven—a liturgical invitation. 81 Song 2 has the following reflective statements: “how shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their habitations? And our holiness? [What] is the offering of our mortal tongue (compared) with the knowledge of the el[im?] [•••] our song, let us exalt the God of knowledge […]” (4Q400 2 6–8). 82 First person plural forms “we,” “our priesthood,” “our holiness,” “our mortal tongue,” and “let us exalt” reveal not only the shared-priestly service and co-participation in worship, but also the self-conceived holiness gap between human praise and angelic offerings. The questions: “how shall we be considered [among] them?” and “in their habitations?” may divulge that the human worshippers with great modesty are either about to enter the imaginal celestial temple through this joint liturgy or will in the future. 83 In Songs, angels are considered to reveal mysteries of heaven, priestly torah, and knowledge to the human community (e.g., 4Q400 1 1.17; 4Q401 14 11.17). 84 The epithets of those whom the seven chief angelic princes bless in 4Q403 1 1.10–27, Song 6, may refer to a united worshipping community of humans and angels. 85 The co-participation in the Sabbath liturgy appears to have the additional benefit of divine/heavenly illumination, blessings for the Qumran worshippers, and the potential of “gazing mystically” upon the merkabah-throne of God. 86 Participation by the Qumran community in angelic praise through the Sabbath liturgy not only discloses a broader correspondence to common worship with celestial beings in ancient sources and in the Hebrew Bible, but also reveals the community’s sacramental adaptation. 87 The Qumran community sees itself as a community of priests whose shared-priestly service is not through animal sacrifices as in the Jerusalem temple cult but through prayers, praise, and perfect Torah

80 Newsom, Songs, 59.
82 Trans. Newsom, Songs, 111–12.
83 Despite some ambiguity, Songs generally maintains a distinction between humans and angels contra Wolfson’s and Fletcher-Louis’ angelomorphism.
84 Newsom, Songs, 30.
85 Newsom, Songs, 28.
86 DeConick argues for an implied vision because of the descriptive detail given of the sanctuaries, Voices, 63; Morray-Jones, Mystery, 311–38.
87 For example, see Pss 29; 89:6–8; 148:1–3.
obedience—a sacramental participation. Bloodless sacrifices build upon the
prophetic critique of the temple system and sacrifices made with disobedient hearts
(e.g., Pss 40:6; 51:6; 1 Sam 15:22; Jer 7:22–23; Isa 1:10–20; Mic 6:6–8). The
council of the community reinforces Torah obedience with a correct attitude and
heart. The priestly community can offer “adequate praise” because they have
knowledge of God’s mysteries and appropriately mirror the worship of the angelic
priesthood in heaven.88 The angelic activities in Songs correspond with the central
activities of the Qumran community in the following ways: form a special
community, covenant with God, special laws, bloodless sacrifices, perfect purity, no
sin in their midst, praise God, expiate, possess divine wisdom, and teach.89

The communion with angels in Songs invites the participant to observe the
angelic priesthood through the seven sanctuaries and surprisingly the focus is upon
the angelic worship rather than the vision of God upon the throne. Songs divides
angels into two classes: general angels “eternal holy ones” and angelic priests
“holiest of the holy ones.” The angelic priests in Songs are organized into seven
groups corresponding to seven sanctuaries of the celestial temple. The angelic
hierarchy consists of angelic high priests (4Q405 23 ii), deputy princes, seven chief
princes who bless (4Q403 1 ii.10–27), and seven councils.90 Songs possibly refers to
a Melchizedek (מלך צדק) in the ordination service, but the text fragments are only
partial (4Q401 11 3; 22 3).91 The angels have various appellations including ’ĕlîm
and ’ĕlôhîm (gods), angels, holy ones, holiest of holy ones, spirits, priests, ministers,
princes, chiefs, and messengers.

In the midst of the angelic descriptions, a theme important for our comparison is
repeated: tongues of angels. Tongue(s) (לִשְׁון) occurs in total twenty-seven times
among the fragments of Songs with some occurrences overlapping. In the minutiae
of the angelic praise and architectural descriptions, the angels have “tongues of
knowledge” (4Q405 23 ii.12; 4Q400 2 11) and “tongue of purity” (4Q400 3 1.2). In
Song 8, the angels offer a litany of the tongues from seven chief princes to God

90 Newsom sees “seven hierarchically ordered priesthoods in the seven sanctuaries, presided
over by seven chief princes and the seven deputy princes, one pair for each sanctuary,” which
compares with the two high angelic priestly groups “angels of the face/presence” and “the angels of
sanctification” (holy ones) who keep the Sabbath with God in heaven and on earth (Jub. 2:2, 18–19;
15:27; and 31:14). The rest are undifferentiated, Songs, 35.
91 Newsom, Songs, 23–37.
The “offering of their tongues” (4Q403 1 II.26) concern the “seven mysteries of knowledge in the wondrous mystery of the seven territories of the holiness” (line 27) and psalms of lauding (4Q403 1 i.2) and seven wondrous thanksgivings (lines 3, 4). The offering of the tongues grows sevenfold with each chief prince. The tongue refers to a psalm of praise (4Q404 1 1) and a “tongue of blessing” (4Q405 14–15 i.2). The praise-offerings of angelic chiefs are tongues of knowledge blessing God with all of his works (23 i.12). In contrast to these angelic tongues, the human community has only one reference to “tongues of dust” (4Q400 2 7).

The description of tongues reveals that the Qumran community and the author of Songs elevate angelic tongues to a higher status than human tongues because of the angels’ most holy priestly service in heaven, knowledge of God, and their vision of God’s throne. This begs the question: did they perceive the angels to have a heavenly language through which they utter mysteries of God? The references to a tongue or tongues refer clearly to the speech of the angel in 26 out of 27 references. The angels utter knowledge and mysteries of the seven heavenly sanctuaries. The text does not divulge the content and the human worshippers do not repeat what the angels say. Whether or not the angels have an esoteric language distinct from humans remains a mystery. The DSS do not speak of a special angelic language. This, however, does not preclude the usefulness of these tongue references for this comparative study.

John C. Poirier notes a minority interpretation of the Hebrew phrase תהלת שבח בלשון in the litany of Song 8 (4Q403 1 i.1–29) that might mean different languages spoken by each of the seven chief princes in each sanctuary. Instead of “Psalm of praise by the tongue of the fourth,” it could mean “A psalm of praise will be spoken in the language of the fourth,” as translated by Wise, Abegg, and Cook. The litany repeats this phrase with each chief prince. Nonetheless, James Davila makes a more plausible contextual argument for united praise based on each chief’s

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praise amplifying the previous chief’s praise by seven times (cf. 2 En. 19:6). The answer to whether angels utter different languages or the same language as humans remains unknown.

3.5 Summary
In light of the abstract definition of JM, the Qumran community’s recitation of pre-sectarian Songs provides a via mystica for joint praise and shared priestly service in the celestial temple. The function of Songs discloses the temple phenomenology of Qumran as a reflection of the imaginal heavenly temple—an archetypal relationship. The use of Songs grants liturgical life and sacramental validation to the community’s temple identity. While community members through their theophanic imagination envision the celestial temple and co-participate in the worship of the angelic priesthood, there remains ontological distinction as evident with angelic tongues. The community through their priestly practice temporarily supplants the Jerusalem temple until its restoration, while they simultaneously birth and form the foundation of the eschatological, eternal temple—a liturgical bridging of space and time. The emerging complex picture reveals how central the presence of angels and the mirroring of the angelic priesthood were to the community’s temple identification and priestly practice. The association of angelic presence and angelic tongues with a temple identity, including a holy spirit of the community, provides a foundation for a heuristic comparison with Paul’s temple identification of the Corinthian ekklesia in chapter 7.

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95 Davila, Liturgical, 134.
96 Poirier concludes the question remains open, Tongues, 120.
Chapter 4

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF
SINAI AND MOSES-ΔΟΞΑ TRADITIONS
IN THE DSS

4.1 Introduction

The Sinai event, mediated by Moses and his reception of the law, holds great significance for the identity of the sectarian community, who not only obey the Torah of Moses, but also interpret the hidden revelation within it. Jubilees, which has important influence on sectarian thought, shows the insertion of the Enochic perspective concerning primeval history, cosmic secrets, and division of days into Moses’ Sinaitic event. Thus, while Moses received the Torah, he obtained additional knowledge on heavenly tablets from the angel of the presence: “what is first and what is last and what is to come . . . in the weeks of their jubilees until eternity” (Jub. 1:26; cf. 1Q22). For the community of Qumran and in light of Jubilees, Torah then contains revealed laws (נגלות niglot) and hidden laws or prophetic revelation (נסתרות nistarot) that can be discovered through “inspired


2 Fourteen Hebrew manuscripts of Jubilees were found among the Scrolls (1Q17, 1Q18, 2Q19, 2Q20, 3Q5, 4Q176a, 4Q216, 4Q217, 4Q218, 4Q219, 4Q220, 4Q221, 4Q222, 4Q223–4Q224, 4Q482?, 4Q483?, 11Q12). See J.C. VanderKam, Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees (HSM 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), on these manuscripts (18–97) and on the similarities and differences to sectarian texts (258–82); cf. idem, The Book of Jubilees (CSCO 511; Lovani: E. Peeters, 1989), vi–xi; George J. Brooke, “Moving Mountains: From Sinai to Jerusalem,” in The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity (ed. George J. Brooke et al.; TBNJCT 12; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 73–75; Helge S. Kvanvig, “Jubilees—Between Enoch and Moses: A Narrative Reading,” JSJ 35 (2004): 243–61; Michael A. Knibb, Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community: An Inaugural Lecture in the Department of Biblical Studies (London: King’s College, 1989). Jubilees influence can be seen in Words of Moses (1Q22). Moses ascending like Enoch and Levi (T. Levi 8:16–17) could be a means of validating scribal-halakic tradition among some Second Temple Jewish groups.

3 Trans. VanderKam, Jubilees, 6.

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The giving of Torah at Sinai played an important role in the sectarian’s annual covenant renewal ceremony of Shavu’ot when new members were inducted into the Qumran community (Jub. 6:17; Exod 34:22). Entrants not only swore “to revert to the Law of Moses,” but also to keep the particular revelation and new interpretation of it by the sons of Zadok (1QS v.8–9). During the festival of weeks, the association between Ezekiel’s vision of the divine throne chariot and Moses’ Sinaitic theophany appears in the associated readings, such as Ezek 1, Pseudo-Ezekiel, Ps 68, Berakhot, and Songs. Some temple traditions, aforementioned in §3.3, tie Moses’ celestial theophany to the building of the temple after the pattern (דודים) of the heavenly (Exod 25:40; 1 Chr 28:19). For Qumran, the maškîl liturgically led the community into the divine throne room through reading Songs 11–12—possibly reliving Moses’ theophany of God’s throne on Sinai (Exod 19). In this regard, the teachers of the community embodied mediatorial and prophetic functions like Moses. The Qumran priesthood was also to illumine the community with glorious light of God’s knowledge, like Moses shining his face upon the people of Israel (e.g., Sir 45:17; T. Levi 4:3; 18:3–4; 4Q547 4 6; 4Q504). Moses, for these reasons, is exalted in the DSS and perhaps even deified.

Traditions concerning Moses’ Sinaitic experience constitute part of the Jewish mystical traditions found in the DSS. On Sinai, Moses has a theophany of God’s throne, a possible heavenly ascent, receives divine mysteries, and possibly undergoes a supra-human transformation. Moses exemplifies a mediatorial and esoteric elite to which the community’s priesthood aspires. An examination of Moses-Δόξα traditions in 4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition (4Q374), Ezekiel the Tragedian, Apocryphal Pentateuch B (4Q377), Words of Moses, 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn a–b, 4 Marcus Tso, “The Giving of Torah at Sinai and the Ethics of the Qumran Community,” in Significance, 122–23. Daniel Falk writes, “This too is tied up with the idea of Moses as prophet and recipient of all revelation: inherent in his Torah are the ‘hidden things’ that are discernible only by inspired exegesis,” “Moses,” EDSS 1:577.

and Apocryphon of Joshua⁸ will set the stage for a heuristic comparison with Paul’s use of Moses-Δόξα traditions in the beholding and transformation in 2 Cor 3–4.

4.2 4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition

Two texts, 4Q374 and 4Q377, bring together Second Temple Jewish traditions on Moses and Sinai. The first text, 4Q374 2 1.2–10, says:

1together and . . . [ ²And nations were lifted up in anger [ ³by their deeds and by the pollution of the acts of .] ⁴And [you] will have neither remnant nor survivor; but for their descendents . . . [ ⁵And he made a planting for [u]s, his chosen, in the land which is the most desirable of all the lands . . . [ ⁶And] he made him as God to the mighty ones and a cause of reeling to Pharaoh. . . [ ⁷[<And>] they melted and their hearts trembled and th[eir] inward parts dissolved. [But] he had compassion upon..[ ⁸And when he caused his face to shine upon them for healing, they strengthened [their] hearts again, and knowledge[ ⁹And though no one had known you, they melted and tre[m]bled. They staggered at the s[ound of ¹⁰[ ]to them [ ] for deliverance. . .⁹

Newsom rightly suggests the text is “a discourse on the exodus/conquest traditions.”¹⁰ The context points to Sinai—explicitly in 4Q374 2 1.7 along with several hints: ‘for fine gold’ in frag. 2 1.2 (Exod 32:20; Deut 9:21), mediator and clouds in frag. 7 lines 2–3 (Exod 20:18–20), and Yahweh speaking to him in frag. 9 line 2 (Deut 4:10). In the only non-Sinai reference of 4Q374 2 1.6, the author combines Exod 7:1, where Moses is made god (הִ֖ים לֵֽא רָּאִיתָם לֵֽא) to Pharaoh with Exod 4:16 where Moses is like or as god (לאלֶֽב). The text further adds “to the mighty ones,” which may be the Israelites. The author, according to Fletcher-Louis, may be linking Moses’ god-like status to the Sinai event.¹¹ In line 8, the referent ‘he’ plausibly refers to God who caused Moses’ “face to shine upon them” in the context of their trembling, an echo of Exod 34:30–31. Moses, then, appears as god to the

⁹ Newsom, “4Q374,” 40.
Israelites and to Pharaoh. Fletcher-Louis proposes that 4Q374 is an “important witness to the belief in divinization of Moses at Sinai.”

If 4Q374 recounts Moses’ shining face to the Israelites with the resultant healing of the heart, does it really imply a deified Moses as Fletcher-Louis and Jan Willem van Henten surmise or just an exalted one? Moses does acquire some divine characteristics. In line 7, their hearts melted and they trembled at his presence. Line 9 could be understood as the people not recognising Moses, “you,” after his “angelic” transformation (the shining face symbolising the apotheosis) (cf. L.A.B. 12:1). His shining face heals them and strengthens their hearts (line 8). The shining face of Moses (as opposed to God as the subject; cf. Num 6:24–26) may also represent a divine impartation of knowledge from Moses to the people. These divine characteristics, however, are not explicit enough to warrant an unequivocal case for Moses’ deification, especially when the ה אלים could mean Moses is only like a god. Other Second Temple Jewish literature may provide more clarity on Moses’ exaltation.

4.3 Ezekiel the Tragedian
Moses-Δόξα traditions in the 2TP found in Jubilees, in Philo, and Ezekiel the Tragedian have expounded upon Moses’ Sinaitic experience, some indicating ascent and deification. Ezekiel the Tragedian offers the earliest post-biblical example of

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12 Fletcher-Louis, “4Q374,” 236.
14 Newsom only sees two possibilities Israel or God, “4Q374,” 47, but Fletcher-Louis suggests Moses as a possibility, “4Q374,” 239.
15 Newsom sees the healing as metaphorical for wholeness (שׁלום), “4Q374,” 47.
16 Davila does not see this as ascent or apotheosis either, “Heavenly,” 2:462, 472–73. Henten counters that since other early Jewish writings describe Moses’ ascent and apotheosis then one can support Moses’ deification in 4Q374, “Moses,” 227.
17 Linda L. Belleville argues for a Moses-Δόξα tradition as a possible pre-Pauline tradition, which he used in 2 Cor 3, Reflections of Glory: Paul’s polemical use of the Moses-Doxa traditions in 2 Corinthians 3.1–18 (JSNTSup 52; Sheffield: SAP, 1991).
18 Philo writes of Moses: “Again, was not the joy of his partnership (κοινωνίας) with the Father and Maker of all magnified also by the honour of being deemed worthy to bear the same title? For he was named god [θεὸς] and king of the whole nation, and entered, we are told, into darkness where God was, that is into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things. Thus he beheld what is hidden from the sight of mortal nature, and, in himself and his life displayed for all to see, he has set before us, like some well-wrought picture, a piece of work beautiful and godlike[θεοειδὲς], a model for those who are willing to copy it,” Mos. 1:158; cf 155–57 (Colson, LCL); cf. Meeks, Prophet-King, 100–29.
Moses as a mystic who ascends in a dream vision to the throne of God and is himself enthroned. This story echoes Ezek 1 and resembles later merkabah literature. It exemplifies the incorporation of Enochic and Ezekiel material into the Sinaitic account and illustrates the literary background potentially available to Qumran and Paul. Wherefore, Moses recounts:

On Sinai’s peak I saw what seemed a throne 
so great in size it touched the clouds of heaven. 
Upon it sat a man of noble mien, 
becrowned, and with a sceptre in one hand 
while with the other he did beckon me. 
I made approach and stood before the throne. 
He handed o’er the sceptre and he bade 
me mount the throne, and gave to me the crown; 
then he himself withdrew from off the throne. 
I gazed upon the whole earth round about; 
things under it, and high above the skies. 
Then at my feet a multitude of stars 
fell down, and I their number reckoned up. 
They passed by me like armed ranks of men. 
Then I in terror wakened from the dream. (Ezek. Trag. 68–82)

The dream implies Moses’ divinisation or angelification. He is seated upon the God’s throne (cf. Ezek 1; Dan 7), receives God’s sceptre and crown, and God temporarily withdraws. Moses has divine sight of the cosmos and even counts the stars (as God does in Ps 147:4 (LXX 146:4); cf. Gen 15:5). Moses’ father-in-law

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23 Trans. R. G. Robertson, OTP 2:812.
interprets the dream (vv. 83–89) as a future event of Moses sitting in judgment of mortals and seeing “what is, and what was before, and what will be hereafter” (v. 89). This means Moses receives revelation of all time like in Jub. 1:26. What is more, the content resembles Enochic material with ascent, enthronement, and transformation (1 En 55, 61, 62, 69, 70–71; 2 En. 22; 3 En. 9–15), but with some differences. In Enochic accounts, an ideal human figure, Enoch, becomes a chief angelic mediator, e.g., son of man or Metatron, or a god (lesser YHWH in Enoch’s case). In the Tragedian, only one throne exists, on which Moses sits.

Moses’ merkabah dream in Ezekiel the Tragedian demonstrates a concurrent Moses-Δόξα tradition in the 2TP, in which Moses at Sinai envisions the heavenly throne of God, is given authority, and appears deified. Looking back at 4Q374 in light of this drama, Moses’ deification can be read into the text. The fragmented piece, however, only alludes to it and the pivotal line 6 once again may be read as “comparative agency” rather than deification. Therefore, Moses may be exalted, but not necessarily deified as some claim he is in the Tragedian. The purpose, rather, of 4Q374’s narrative may be to demonstrate that access to God only comes through Moses, God’s chief agent.

4.4 Apocryphal Pentateuch B

The second text 4Q377 2 4–12 provides another account of an exalted Moses at Sinai:

4 Cursed is the man who will not stand and keep and d[o ] 5 all m[ ].. through the mouth of Moses his anointed one (משיחו), and to follow YHWH, the God of our fathers, who m.. [ ] 6 to us from Mt. Sin[a]i vacat And he spoke wi[th] the assembly of Israel face to face as a man speaks 7 with his friend and a[s ] r..š.[ ]r He showed us in a fire burning above [from] heaven vacat [ ] 8 and on the earth; he stood on the mountain to make known that there is no god beside him

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25 Notwithstanding vast differences between 1, 2, and 3 Enoch.
26 See also Halperin, Merkabah, 128–33; Meeks, Prophet-King; Belleville, Reflections, 20–79.
27 Brooke, “Moving,” 82.
and there is no rock like him [ ] the assembly {the congrega[tion]} they answered. Trembling seized them before the glory of God and because of the wondrous sounds, [ ] and they stood at a distance. vacat And Moses, the man of God, was with God in the cloud. And the cloud covered him because .[ ] when he was sanctified, and like a messenger (המלאך) he would speak from his mouth, for who of flesh is like him, a man of faithfulness and yw.[ ].m who were not created {to} from eternity and forever.  

The unknown speaker to the congregation in line 3 recounts events on Mt. Sinai and speaks of the illustrious Moses in the third person. The speaker calls Moses his messiah or “his anointed one” (line 5). “Moses, the man of God,” who was with God in the cloud (line 10), is “like a messenger” (or angel), incomparable to other humans (line 11), and faithful (line 12). Moses is not called ‘anointed’ in the Hebrew Bible, but general prophets are. This may be an allusion to his status as a prophet (CD-A v.21–vi.1; CD-A ii.12; 1QM xi.7; Deut 18). The “in a fire burning above [from] heaven” could be a veiled reference to the throne of God (Ezek 8:2; Dan 7:9) or the pillar of fire in the wilderness. This leaves the question of whether Moses is also in the fire as in the theophanic cloud (Exod 24:18; 33:9, 10; 34:5). While the speaker highlights Moses’ exclusive, exalted status (lines 10–12), the passage extends Moses’ face to face encounter with God in Exod 33:11 to the whole congregation (cf. Deut 5:4). While the mountain and the people are sanctified in Exod 19:10, 23, Moses alone is sanctified (line 11). Moses functions as the mouth of God and is, therefore, comparable with an angel; although, he is not called one explicitly.

In other Second Temple Jewish literature, Moses becomes an angel (cf. Sir 45:2–3; As. Mos. 10:2; 11:17). In the Animal Apocalypse, Moses is transformed from a lamb to a man, indicating angelification (1 En. 89:36=4QEn5 ar frag. 4 10). Likewise, the blessings in 1QSb 4v.25–27 are for the priests to be “like an angel of the face (הממלאך פנים) in the holy residence for the glory of the God of Hos[ts . . . casting the lot with the angels of the face in the holy residence for the glory of God” and “like a luminary [ . . .] for the world in knowledge, and to shine on the face of God"

the Many.” Brooke rightly notes that the priest and Moses are not actually transformed into angels, “but likened to one in a functional analogy.” 31 Moses, as God’s representative to the people, then acts as God’s special messenger who reflects God to the people and functions like an angelic mediator. The intention may be for the priest at Qumran to be like Moses at Sinai. In light of Moses and Sinai references in the DSS, Brooke concludes, “the worship experience of the priestly community becomes a substitute for a return to Sinai; it is in worship that there can be renewed commitment to the covenant and a sense of the presence of divine glory.” 32

4.5 Moses’ Ascent in *Words of Moses, 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn* a–b, and *4QApocryphon of Joshua*

While 4Q374 and 4Q377 describe Moses’ exaltation and could possibly hint at his deification, although not unequivocally, do any Qumran texts acknowledge Moses’ ascent to heaven akin to the Tragedian? Henten suggests that three texts presuppose Moses’ ascent: 1Q22 IV; 4Q491; and 4Q378 26. 33 In *Words of Moses* (1Q22), however, the fragmentary nature of column IV presents a speculative connection between line 1, “in the congregation of the gods [and in the council of the holy ones, and in their [...] in favour of the sons of Israel] and on behalf of the land” and Moses in line 3, “[And] take from its blood and pour (it) on the earth [...] and atonement shall be made for them by it [...] And Moses spoke saying: Observe [...]” The lacunae obscure who is/was in the council of the gods and whether this includes Moses. Furthermore, the communion with angels does not necessarily mean heavenly ascent in Qumran; the angels could be in their midst or meeting in the “inbetween” (see §3.3).

In *War Scroll* a 4Q491 11 1 (=4QSelf-Glorification Hymn b 4Q491c frag. 1) a human being is enthroned and glorified. Henten, in light of the *Assumption of Moses*, suggests this is Moses. 34 The fragmented hymn, however, does not mention Moses or have enough markers to identify Moses as the subject (see §5.4).

In *Apocryphon of Joshua* a 4Q378 26 1–8, the likelihood of Moses’ ascent to the heavenly realm has more veracity. The text appears to expound upon Sinai events:

32 Brooke, “Moving,” 89.
Here, Moses, the man of god and perhaps the man of the pious ones, sees the vision of Shaddai and even announces the people of Israel to the assembly of Elyon (Most High). This unusual assembly (עדת) likely means angelic beings. The angelic group listened to Moses’ voice—indicating Moses’ superhuman authority. In this case, either Moses ascends to heaven or the assembly of Elyon comes down to Mt. Sinai.

4.6 Summary
This investigation has shown the great significance that the Sinai event and Moses-Δόξα traditions hold for the Qumran community. 4Q374, 4Q377, 4Q378, 4QEn C frag. 4 10, and Jubilees grant Moses divine characteristics, a merkabah dream, a vision of Shaddai, and other Enoch-like experiences. An unequivocal case, however, cannot be made for ascent and deification of Moses in the DSS. Overall, Moses appears as an exalted, angelic-like or god-like mediator, with supernatural authority, who acts as a representative and medatorial model for the Qumran priesthood (1QSb IV.25–27). The depiction of Moses in these texts and the mystical elements ascribed to him provide a foundation from which a heuristic comparison will be made with Paul’s distinctly Christian utilisation of Moses-Δόξα traditions in 2 Cor 3–4 in chapter 8.

35 The ascription of a vision of God to Moses may reveal Enochic influence. Contra Moses not having visions but seeing God face to face (Num 12:6–8).
5.1 Introduction

Beyond the liturgical participation of the community with the angelic priesthood in the celestial temple, as expressed in Songs (§§3.3–3.4) and communal union in the Hodayot* (§2.5), the DSS contain accounts of heavenly ascent by human intermediaries in 1 Enoch, ALD, and 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn*a-b and parallels.1 A brief examination of each of these and how they may have been perceived by the Qumran community should provide relevant background of early JM for a heuristic comparison with Paul’s ascent and the context of 2 Cor 12:1–12 in chapter 9.

5.2 Enoch’s Ascent in 1 Enoch (4Q202; 4Q204)

Among the cave 4 Aramaic manuscripts, seven preserve portions of 1 Enoch from chapters 1–36; 85–90 and 91–107 and four preserve parts of The Book of the Luminaries (chs. 72–82) and corresponding calendrical content.2 In The Book of Watchers (chs. 1–36) (ca. 250 B.C.E.),3 the figure of Enoch from Gen 5:18–24 has a heavenly ascent to the throne of God. The treatment of the Enoch MSS here will be limited to this heavenly ascent in 4Q202 and 4Q204. 4Q202 VI.1–4 preserves 1 En. 14:4–6 and palaeography dates it to the first half of the second century B.C.E.,4 and 4Q204 VI.1–30 contains 1 En. 13:6–14:16 and is dated to the last third of first

1 Other ascent passages may include: 4Q534 I.6–8; 4Q529 1–15; 4Q286 frag. 1 II.1–12; 11Q13; and 1QApGen II.23. For discussion, see §1.1.
4 Milik, Enoch, 165.
century B.C.E. Reconstructions of lacunae among the fragments including the last seven verses of chapter 14 come from later Greek and Ethiopic texts. The preservation of non-sectarian 1 Enoch by the Qumran community coincides with its influence on sectarian texts, particularly Songs, 4Q180–181, and 1QH vii.30–41, and the community’s use of its astronomical and calendric material.

The author elaborates on Enoch’s disappearance and having “walked with ʾĕlōhîm” or angels in Gen 5:22–24 as a mission to the fallen watchers of Gen 6 (1 En. 12). Enoch intercedes for them by the waters of Dan (1 En. 13:6–7; 4Q202 vi.2–3). He falls asleep and has dreams and visions. Enoch receives God’s reprimand to the watchers—their banishment from heaven (14:1–7)—and experiences a heavenly journey (14:8–23; 4Q204 vi.19–30).

His ascent begins: “In the vision it was shown to me thus: Look, clouds in the vision were summoning me, and mists were crying out to me; and shooting stars and lightning flashes were hastening me and speeding me along, and winds in my vision made me fly up and lifted me upward and brought me to heaven” (1 En. 14:8; 4Q204 vi.19–21). Upon entering, he describes buildings of hailstones encircled by tongues of fire, a large house with a roof like stars and lightening, cherubim of fire, a heaven of water, doors blazed with fire, and areas of hot and cold. Enoch precariously travels with great fear through two increasingly greater heavenly chambers. He then peers into the climactic third. He recounts: “I saw a lofty throne; and its appearance was like ice, and its wheels were like the shining sun, and the voice (or sound) of the cherubim, and from beneath the throne issued rivers of

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5 Milik, Enoch, 178–79.
6 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 3.
7 Alexander, Mystical, 79.
10 VanderKam, Enoch, 114.
11 The winds (ירוחים) possibly are angelic beings who facilitate the ascent.
12 Trans. of 1 Enoch comes from George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, 1 Enoch: a New Translation (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 34.
flaming fire. And I was unable to see. The Great Glory sat upon it; his apparel was like the appearance of the sun and whiter than much snow” (1 En 14:18–20).  

Enoch falls prostrate and God calls and commissions him to reprimand the watchers (14:24–16:4). He continues his celestial tours with fiery angelic guides in various directions learning cosmological secrets about the earth, the heavens, the great abyss, and even the future (1 En 18:8–12; 30:1–32:1, 35; 4Q204 viii.27–30; xii.23–26).

Enoch’s ascent and description of the heavenly realm has many similarities and parallels with Ezek 1–2, 40–44, Isa 6, 1 Kgs 22:19–22, and Dan 7, and, in this regard it is like a prophetic call; however, dissimilarities disclose a transition towards “later Jewish Merkabah mysticism.” For instance, Enoch actively participates in the vision. He experiences heaven and even travels alone to God’s throne, unlike Ezekiel’s call and spirit-assisted journeys. Following Scholem, Nickelsburg concludes, “it contains many of the major components and essential elements of later Jewish Merkabah mysticism attributable to Ezekiel.” Indeed, the description of the three houses of heaven arguably depicts the eternal, celestial temple culminating in the holy of holies with a possible angelic priesthood. God is a transcendent, holy king who is enthroned in heaven. The oracle of God delimits a cosmological separation of realms: spirits belong in heaven and humans and evil spirits belong on earth (15:7–10). Enoch as a “righteous man and scribe of truth” (15:1) becomes a special, paradoxical case with angelic and human role-reversal. God chooses him to enter heaven, come into his very presence (when some angels cannot 14:21), and commissions him as a mediator to the fallen angels.

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13 Nickelsburg and VanderKam, 1 Enoch, 35.


16 Some mystical characteristics are dangers and fear on the journey, various houses one inside the other, and a vision of the ‘Great glory’ on the throne with many angels. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 260; Scholem, Trends, 40–79. For the connection to JM, see VanderKam, Enoch, 134 esp. n. 85. Gruenwald considers it as a “model-vision of Merkavah mysticism,” Apocalyptic, 36. Enoch’s account, in 1 En. 14, however, differs from later MM in its lack of an angelic guide.

17 Nickelsburg argues for a celestial temple through (1) the abode of the Deity, (2) an “eternal sanctuary” 12:4 and 15:3, and (3) the approach of angels as priests, 1 Enoch, 256. See also Angel, Otherworldly, 27–32.

18 Gooder, Third, 45.

19 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 260; VanderKam, Enoch, 130–31.
Since 1 En. 14 is the first clear account of heavenly ascent vision in Judaism, it has exemplary significance for the Qumranites. A righteous scribe can possibly enter the celestial temple, see the Great Glory on the divine throne, commune with angelic beings, hear God’s oracles, receive transcendent mysteries (revelation), and holy commissions. These Enochic traditions reappear in various Qumran writings and fit within their worldview. Crucially, access to the celestial sanctuary and exaltation to angelic-like function are deemed possible.

The nature of Enoch’s heavenly ascent could be a dream vision, an out-of-body soul excursion, or a bodily ascent. One can rule out bodily ascent because this does not appear until 2 Enoch 1:3–9; 3:1; 22:8–10 and the text does not describe a bodily transformation or give place for human flesh in heaven. The most likely choice is a dream vision, especially since the ascent happens after he falls asleep.

5.3 Levi’s Ascent in Aramaic Levi Document (4Q213–214b)

The Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) is a compilation of Aramaic manuscripts in first person about the patriarch Levi. ALD consists of the ninth century C.E. Cairo Geniza Testament of Levi (CTLevi ar) Bodleian and Cambridge manuscript fragments and seven fragmentary scrolls (1Q21; 4Q213; 4Q213a; 4Q213b; 4Q214; 4Q214a; 4Q214b) from Qumran Caves 1 and 4. These closely correspond and overlap with additions after 2:3 and 18:2 in the eleventh century C.E. Mt. Athos Greek manuscript (Codex 39) of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, upon which reconstructions rely. Palaeography of the Qumran fragments range from late Hasmonean (the earliest ca. 150 B.C.E) to early Herodian dating. Due to the fragmentation and the absence of an introduction or conclusion, the provenance and purpose are difficult to discern. ALD is a non-sectarian, pseudepigraphic composition from the early Hellenistic or Persian period (3rd–2nd c. B.C.E.)—a precursor to T. Levi. The Qumran community

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20 Alexander, Mystical, 76–79; Nickelsburg, “Qumran,” 99–113; Gruenwald, Apocalyptic, 36.
21 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 260–61.
23 Alexander, Mystical, 76–77; VanderKam, Enoch, 135.
likely preserved ALD for its legitimisation of priestly practice, solar calendar, two-spirits theology, wisdom, and scribal education. Moreover, Jubilees relies upon ALD, and Damascus Document cites it. Levi’s ascent also reinforces the synchronisation of liturgical worship at Qumran as originally derived from the angelic priesthood and mirrored by Levi in earthly practice.

The significance of ALD for this study concerns the pre-Christian mystical themes of visionary ascents to heaven, a via mystica for the ascent, possible priestly investiture in heaven, heavenly mysteries, and descriptions of the third heaven. The lack of biblical precedent for Levi’s ascent corroborates the conceivability of a heavenly ascent experience in 2TJ.

**Via Mystica and Levi’s Visions**

The focus of Levi’s prayer (cf. T. Levi additions Mt. Athos MS to 2:3), as he gazes heavenward (cf. Ps 123:1), is to be righteous and of the holy spirit rather than of the spirit of injustice (two-spirit theology). Levi expresses his desire to be brought near to God—possibly hinting at his forthcoming ascension. He washes his clothes and body with pure, living water. He stretches out his hands and arms in a special way—toward the angels, and he prays for disclosure of the holy spirit, counsel, wisdom, intelligence, and strength. All of these actions could be seen as a via mystica—


comparable to mystical praxis revealed in the Hekhalot texts, which prepare Levi for a visionary ascent:30

6[... And then] I 7[washed my clothes and I purified them with pure water, and] I [washed myself completely in living water] and all 8[my paths I made straight. And then] I lifted [my eyes and my face] to heaven 9[And I opened my mouth and began to speak,] and the fingers of my hands and my arms 10[I stretched out in the right way, towards the holy ones, and I prayed and] said: «My Lord, you 11[know all hearts, and all thoughts of minds y]ou alone know. 12[Now, then, my children are with me. Grant me all the] paths of truth; remove far 13[from me, Lord, the spirit of injustice and] evil [thought] and fornication; turn away 14[pride from me. Show me the holy spirit, counsel, wi]sdom, intelligence and [grant me] strength 15[to do your will, to] find your compassion before you, 16[to praise your deeds towards me, and to do] what is beautiful and good before you 17[... and] may no adversary31 rule over me 18[to lead me astray from your path. Have compassion wi]th me, my Lord, and bring me near to be to you. (4Q213a frag. 1 1.6–18)

In column II, the entreaty asks for a share in God’s words (revelation), service before God for all eternity, and then silent praying and laying down. Levi then sees two visions; the first (T. Levi 2:5–5:2) of which is described as follows: “15Then I saw visions […] 16[in the appearance of this vision, I saw [the] heav[en opened, and I saw a mountain] 17[underneath me, high, reaching up to heaven […] 18[to me the gates of heaven, and an angel [said to me: «Enter Levi» …]]” (4Q213a frag. 1 II.15–18). Clearly, an angel tells Levi to enter the gates of heaven.

The Qumran fragments include the end of the second vision comparable to T. Levi 8:18–19: “I [. . .] . . . I have preferred you above all flesh 2[... and those seven departed from me, and] I awoke from my dream. Then 3[I thought: «This vision is like the other one. I am amazed that the whole vision is to come ». And] I [hid] (this vision) too, in my heart and to no-one 4[did I reveal it” (4Q213b 1–4a=Bodleian

30 Ritual techniques include “fasting and dietary restrictions, temporary celibacy, cultic purification, and isolation and sensory deprivation” and prayer (306). For how these relate to Shamanism, see Davila, Descenders. 31 Satan.
Cairo Genizah ms Col. a). The vision concerns Levi’s heavenly elevation. He is made “greater than all” (Bodleian Col. a 7–8=4Q213b) and invested by seven men (likely angelic beings) as the specially chosen earthly high priest of the Lord (T. Levi 8:1–10). Afterwards his father, Jacob, tithes to him and clothes him as head of the priesthood, and Levi declares “I became priest to Go]d of eternity” (4Q213b 6b). Levi then receives divine revelation of the laws of the priesthood, judgement, purity, and cultic rites (4Q214; 4Q214b). He also teaches wisdom to his brothers (4Q213; 4Q214a).

A reference to Levi’s vision of third heaven implies there are plausibly more than three heavens: “1[And the angel led me into] the thir[d hea]ven, [(which was) higher, and I saw there] the heavenly [ligh]t, [(which was) much brighter than (that)] 2[of the (first) two heav]ens and there was no limit . . . 3[and I asked] what is the [signi]fication of th[e] heavens?” (1Q21 32–33+37 1–3).32 While the connection to paradise or garden in the extant ALD texts is not clear, a connection exists in T. Levi of which ALD forms a base text.

5.4 The Maśkil’s Ascent in 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\textsuperscript{a–b} and Parallels.

In 4QWar Scroll\textsuperscript{a} 4Q491 11 1 (=4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\textsuperscript{b} 4Q491c frag. 1) a human being is enthroned in the celestial temple, which presupposes a heavenly ascent. The exalted individual’s claim is as follows:

\begin{equation}
\begin{align*}
5&\,[… \text{et}lernal; a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods above which none of the kings of the East shall sit, and their nobles no[t …] silence (?)} & 6&\,[…] my \text{glory is in} \{\text{comparable}\} \text{and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I reside in […]}, \text{in the heavens, and there is no […] … I am counted among the gods and my dwelling is in the holy congregation; [my] des[ire] is not according to the flesh, [but] all that is precious to me is in (the) glory (of) \text{the holy [dwell]ling. [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? And who is comparable to me in my glory? Who, like the sailors, will come back and tell?]
\end{align*}
\end{equation}

9[...] Who bear[s all] sorrows like me? And who [suffe]rs evil like me? There is no-one. I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable\textsuperscript{10}[to my teaching \ldots] And who will attack me when [I] op[en my mouth]? And who can endure the flow of my lips? And who will confront me and retain comparison with my judgment?\textsuperscript{11}[\ldots friend of the king, companion of the holy ones \ldots incomparable, f]or among the gods is [my] pos[i]tion, and [my] glory is with the sons of the king. (4Q491c 1 5–11)

4Q491c is the first, shorter recension of two; the second recension appears in 4Q427 7 i + 9; 4Q471b 1–3; and 1QH\textsuperscript{3} xxvi. Paleographic and orthographic evidence evince the late Hasmonean or early Herodian period.\textsuperscript{33} Maurice Baillet first assigned 4Q491c to the War Scroll and identified the speaker as the archangel Michael (1QM XVII.6).\textsuperscript{34} Morton Smith, among others,\textsuperscript{35} corrects Baillet’s misidentification of the speaker and makes a strong case for a human who is glorified or deified in the heavens.\textsuperscript{36} Martin Abegg and others have also reassigned 4Q491c as an independent hymn of Hodayot, like its parallel 4Q427 7.\textsuperscript{37}

For Smith, the text exhibits “speculation on deification by ascent towards or into the heavens, speculation which may have gone along with some practices that produced extraordinary experiences understood as encounters with gods or angels”; moreover, he suggests this could be an early witness to Hekhalot mysticism.\textsuperscript{38}


\textsuperscript{34} Maurice Baillet, \textit{Qumrān Grotte 4, III (4Q482–4Q520)} (DJD VII; Oxford Clarendon, 1982), 12–68.


\textsuperscript{38} Smith, “Ascent,” 187–88; Alexander, Davila, and Nitzan concur with a mystical designation.
Taking a seat in heaven certainly has mystical implications, but 4Q491 differs from Hekhalot literature. The extant text lacks a *via mystica* and does not describe a vision of God. While one cannot rule out potential religious and mystical experience of the ‘I,’ the ascent traditions concerning Enoch, Levi, and Moses in Second Temple Jewish literature undoubtedly serve as a background to the ascent and enthronement found in 4Q491c.

In 4Q491c, the highly exalted speaker, whose glory is incomparable, is enthroned among the angels in heavens and “counted among the gods.” The eloquent speaker claims to have incomparable teaching and judgment. This individual is a friend of the king, companion of the angels, “among the gods,” and whose “glory is with the sons of the king” (king means God). Certainly, the speaker has changed status from not being in the heavens or reckoned among the gods, *ʾelîm*, to being so. This is a clear case of ascent, conceivable enthronement, and transformation of a human. Enthronement is a reasonable assumption because “a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods” is mentioned and the ambiguous phrase, *אני ישבתי*, translated here “for I reside in” could mean, “I have taken a seat” in the heavens. Interestingly enough, enthronement does not occur in the extant passages of 4Q427 7 or 4Q471b. The depth of the glorious transformation appears to be at the least angelomorphic, but may even be apotheosis. The speaker avows incomparable glory. He states, “besides me no-one is exalted” (line 6), and he maintains a place with the king’s (God’s) sons.

In 4Q471b, the speaker appears to go a step further and boastfully asks, “who is like me among the gods?” While this may show a scribal addition to the second recension, the idea is still present in 4Q491c line 11 and 4Q427 line 10 and suggests the speaker is superior to the angels. The context of the holy congregation could be the human community. Therefore, the speaker is incomparable in both the angelic and human groups.

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40 Collins lists texts, which promise heavenly ascent and enthronement after death (4Q521 frag. ii.7; 1 En. 108:12; Ascen. Isa. 9:24–26), but 4Q491c seems before death, *Apocalypticism*, 145–46.
41 Wolfson, “Poetic-Liturgical,” 199.
42 Alexander, *Mystical*, 86.
Because of the many similarities to the author of *Hodayot*, especially the communion with angels, Smith toys with this identification, but then notes major differences: explicit heavenly ascent with present enthronement; counted as one of the 'ělim; no mention of cosmic secrets, role of the spirit, or distinction between one God and the 'ělim. Besides the author of *Hodayot*, Abegg, John J. Collins, and Alexander propose the teacher of righteousness (though unlike the *Hodayot* teacher) and a teacher or maškil of the Qumran community; they rule out personified wisdom, Melchizedek, the archangel Michael, a Davidic messiah figure (Ps 110), and God himself. Alternatively, Esther Eshel proposes that the speaker is the “Eschatological High Priest”—formerly known as the teacher of righteousness. Evidently, no consensus exists concerning the speaker’s identity. Collins does note that the best parallel is to Moses in *the Tragedian*. In this regard, 4Q491 has three characterisations like Moses: incomparable teaching, glorification, and the exceptional exaltation (“in degree rather than kind”) of the ‘I.’ These aspects are not enough to identify the speaker as Moses. The content, nonetheless, does betray an awareness of “heavenly exaltation” traditions and the possibility of human ascent, enthronement, and angelomorphic transformation. One wonders, phenomenologically, if the community members, through liturgical recitation, identified with the exceptional ‘I’ of this *hodayah*, perceived with their theophanic imagination access to divine revelation and communion with God in the celestial temple.

5.5 Summary

Of the three ascent accounts examined, *I Enoch* and *ALD*, as pre-sectarian, demonstrate the significance of heavenly ascent figures in 2TJ. The ascent and divine revelation help legitimise religious teaching and practice of respective traditions

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50 Collins, *Scepter*, 145, 149. The clear differentiation between heaven and earth in the Hebrew Bible appears blurred in the Hellenistic age, even at Qumran (cf. *2 Bar.* 50–51).
(Enochic and Levitical). In 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\textsuperscript{a–b} and parallels, an extraordinary leader of the community relays an account of enthronement and glorification among and even above angelic companions in the heavenly realm. This shows how the Qumran community understood the potentiality for humans to ascend to heaven and to co-participate with angels in worship and become like the angels. If the hymn was recited corporately and in personal devotion, community members may have perceived through their theophanic imagination a similar experience of conjoining with the angels in heaven or in the “inbetween.” Thus, this investigation has shown the presence of a heavenly ascent motif in the DSS and broader 2TJ, to which Paul’s heavenly ascent in 2 Cor 12 will be compared in chapter 9.
In the foregoing investigation, Jewish mystical elements appear in a range of texts from the DSS. In *Hodayot*, the gift of God’s spirit to the *maškil* and the community members cleanses, enlightens, and transforms them so that the community can unite in a *liturgica mystica* with the angels before God’s throne. The theme of a common inheritance and union of human and angelic communities appears throughout *Hodayot* and constitutes the purpose of the community. In 1QS, the Qumran community identifies itself as a temple community of the holy spirit that reflects the imaginal heavenly temple in an archetypal relationship. As such, *Songs* discloses the mystical praxis of liturgical synchronisation with the angelic priesthood in the heavenly temple. In this way, 1QS and *Songs* add shared-priestly service with the angelic priesthood before God’s throne to the union espoused in *Hodayot*. In 4Q374, 4Q377, 4Q378, 4QEnc ar frag. 4 11, and *Jubilees*, Moses-Δόξα traditions portray Moses as an exalted, angelic-like mediator with supernatural authority, who exemplifies the ideal model for the Qumran priesthood. Despite the mystical elements ascribed to Moses, ascent and deification are not explicit. Accounts of human heavenly ascent, however, appear in *1 Enoch, ALD*, and *4QSelf-Glorification Hymn* and parallels. The Qumran community through preservation and use of *1 Enoch, ALD*, and through recitation of the hymns disclose the conceivability of human heavenly ascent and perhaps a liturgical re-enactment of the teacher’s ascent.

These findings clearly show the value of approaching the DSS through the lens of early JM. The Qumran community discloses an apperception of God’s transcendent presence given through his spirit personally in *Hodayot* and corporately in 1QS. The Qumran community also perceives the presence of angels in their midst and seeks to draw close to God through liturgical synchronisation and co-participation with angels. In a sense, the members are participating in an
eschatological, transcendent reality while still on earth (transcendental eschatology). They have a liturgical *via mystica*. All three aspects of an abstract definition of JM are evident. Moreover, elements of an indicative definition of JM (e.g., ascent, enthronement, angelic transformation, divine revelation) built on Ezekiel and Enochic traditions and found in later *Hekhalot* texts take centre stage in some of the pre/non-sectarian and sectarian texts surveyed. The results of this foray into these Jewish mystical texts can now be applied through heuristic comparison with mystical elements in the Corinthian correspondence to illuminate how Paul’s advocates communal participation in the spirit for the Corinthian *ekklesia* in Part II.
Part II

COMMUNAL PARTICIPATION IN THE SPIRIT IN
THE CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE
Part II

INTRODUCTION

Previous studies of JM and Paul (see §1.2), have largely focused on Paul’s heavenly ascent in 2 Cor 12 and whether Paul was a practicing Jewish mystic. Attempts to discern Paul’s mystical praxis or those of his opponents, while noble, appear beyond certainty. This study has a rather different focus that brings into consideration the larger pieces of the Corinthian correspondence and the corporate worship practice of the Corinthian community.

Part I has shown that early Jewish mystical elements in various texts among the DSS evince the community’s worship praxis and apperception of divine transcendence, which can be characterised as a liturgical and communal mysticism. These findings form the backdrop for a heuristic comparison of converging mystical phenomena and concepts in the Corinthian correspondence. Part II will compare these two and attempt to illuminate how Paul advocates a communal participation in the spirit and Christological transformation of the community by the spirit. Unlike previous comparisons, this approach will seek to highlight differences as well as similarities. The fruit of this endeavour will hopefully bring mutual illumination and demonstrate the value of using early JM as a heuristic tool for study of the DSS and the NT.
6.1 Introduction

Examination of *Hodayot* in chapter 2 disclosed that the *maškil* and community entrants, at points, speak of their experience of God in terms of the instrumentality of God’s spirit. This spirit functions epistemologically by revealing God’s mysteries, wisdom, and knowledge, and functions in a transformative manner by cleansing, atoning for sin, and enabling obedience. These functions of the spirit prepare the community member for mystical union with the heavenly assembly. The agency of God’s spirit to foster this mystical, liturgical participation will be compared heuristically with analogous portrayals of God’s spirit in the Corinthian correspondence.

The focus upon mystical aspects here provides a different approach and focus from previous studies comparing the spirit in *Hodayot* with the spirit in Paul. For example, the function of the spirit to enable union with the heavenly assembly in *Hodayot* has not been compared with the spirit’s function in the Corinthian correspondence. In contrast to the *maškil*’s personal reception of the spirit, Paul envisions a corporate participation in the spirit. The mode of revelation and the mystery of God when viewed side by side will show the different modes and divergent content of revelation in *Hodayot* and in Paul, especially 1 Cor 2:6–16. The spirit’s role in cleansing, purification, and atonement in *Hodayot* offers another aspect of comparison with 1 Cor 6:11, which will highlight how the spirit, for Paul, mediates Christ’s work. The communion/union with angels in *Hodayot* as a

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communio mystica provides a dissimilarity to the communal participation in the spirit Paul advocates in his benediction in 2 Cor 13:13.

6.2 A Corporate Epistemology of the Spirit in 1 Cor 2:1–16

When a comparison of spirit (רוּחַ) in Hodayot⁹ is made with first Corinthians, a similarity is found with ‘the spirit’ (τὸ πνεῦμα) as the means by which Paul, his ministry team, and the ekklesia receive revelation from God. In 1 Cor 2:1–16, “God’s wisdom, secret and hidden” (v. 7) and “the mystery of God” (v. 1) are “revealed to us through the Spirit” (v. 10) and “taught by the Spirit” (v. 13).² Paul defines spirit, here, as the spirit of God: “In this manner also the things of God no one has known except by the Spirit of God” (v. 11). Paul distinguishes God’s spirit from the human spirit. He denotes that they have received the spirit from (ἐκ) God in order to know the gifts of God: “Now we received not the spirit of the world but the spirit who is from God, in order that we may know the things which are freely given by God to us” (v. 12). People who are soulish (ψυχικὸς) do not receive the things of the spirit (τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος) (v. 14), which seem to be the same as the things of God (τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ) (v. 11). Things of the spirit may be gifts of God, knowledge of God, mysteries, or God’s secret and hidden wisdom. The spirit’s epistemological function is similar to how the Hodayot⁹ hymnist expresses the epistemological function of God’s spirit.

The spirit of God for Paul, nonetheless, has a qualitative difference in terms of agency from that of Hodayot⁹. In 1 Corinthians, the spirit “searches everything, even the depths of God” (2:10), comprehends (v. 11), reveals (v. 10), and teaches (v. 13). In chapters 12 and 14, the spirit of God activates and allots manifestations of the spirit “as he determines” (καθὼς βούλεται) (12:11).³ Thus, the spirit has “personal traits.”⁴ Fee explains, “Through the analogy of the human spirit, the Spirit is

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² Translations of NT are from NRSV or the author.
understood as the interior expression of God’s own being; yet the Spirit is clearly distinct from the Father.”

In contrast, the hymnist(s) predominantly refers to the spirit of God with the compound word הָרוּחַ, which emphasizes God’s action through, with, or by his spirit. God is the actor and the spirit is his agent. This action by God enables the hymnist to know, understand, listen, and heed. The hymnist does not portray the spirit as distinct from God, like Paul, but rather the spirit of God represents God’s activity in an instrumental sense or as his agent—an impersonal power. For the hymnist(s), the spirit is “an extension of God’s being.” Hence, Paul evinces a significant development in pneumatology beyond the development exhibited in Hodayot.

Hodayot primarily gives personal expression to the reception and revelation of God’s spirit. The hymnist personalises the national promise of spirit-infilling from Ezek 11:19; 36–37 for himself and his experience of sanctification. At times, the hymnist speaks in the third person of what God does for a chosen individual. In 1 Corinthians, Paul speaks of the spirit and revelation principally in corporate terms—notwithstanding personal, pneumatic expressions shared in the assembly (1 Cor 12:1–11; 14:1–40). Even there, Paul prioritises corporate upbuilding over personal edification. Furthermore, Paul speaks of the revelation from the spirit with a corporate tenor. In 1 Cor 2:10, Paul writes, “these things God has revealed to us (ὃς ἔρμην) through the spirit.” These things concern God’s secret and hidden wisdom—the mystery of God revealed in Christ crucified. He continues with the inclusive, corporate reception of the spirit and concomitant revelation in v. 12: “Now we

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7 F. Nötscher writes, “Dieser Geist erscheint zunächst unpersönlich als Kraft, in jedem geplanten Werk.” [“The spirit emerges initially as an impersonal power in every scheduled work.”] Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte (BBB 10; Bonn: Hanstein, 1956), 42. Sekki supports Nötscher and states “God’s Spirit was not regarded by the sectarians as a personal being distinct from god (e.g., as an angel) but as an impersonal power,” Ruaḥ, 71–72. Conversely, James H. Charlesworth states, “At Qumran ‘the Holy Spirit’ is angelic and a separate being (hypostasis); it is not the holy spirit of God but ‘the Holy Spirit’ from God” (21). He does distinguish between “God’s Spirit” and “a separate hypostatic being from God” (60 n.195), “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus,” in Jesus, 1–74.
9 While Scriptures ascribe personality to the spirit (e.g., Isa 63:7–14; Hag 2:5; Ps 143:10; and Neh 9.20), Paul goes beyond this with a distinction between the spirit and God.
10 Levison, Filled, 205–8.
(ἡμεῖς) have received . . . the Spirit that is from God, so that we may understand the gifts bestowed on us by God.” Paul concludes the section by connecting the spirit’s revelation to the mind of Christ, which is also corporate: “we (ἡμεῖς) have the mind of Christ” (v. 16).

Paul, like the Qumran community, understands reception of the spirit to come with incorporation into the ekklesia. A person enters and receives the spirit by belief in the gospel of Jesus Christ, which Paul preaches, and a personal turning to the Lord (2 Cor 1:21–22; 3:16–18; 11:4; 15:1–9; cf. Gal 3:2–3, 5, 14). Paul claims his kerygma comes “with a demonstration of the spirit and power” (1 Cor 2:4), which indicates the spirit’s convicting role in gospel reception.11 He characterises this admission as a spirit baptism into the body and a drinking of the one spirit. He writes, “For in one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit” (12:13). God has anointed and sealed them by giving the spirit in their hearts as a guarantee (ἀρραβών) of what is to come (2 Cor 1:21–22; 5:5). The divine spirit concretely embodies believers personally and corporately (1 Cor 3:16; 6:12–20) and engrafts entrants “in a process of personal transformation” within the community that will be fulfilled eschatologically (1 Cor 15).12 This is an outworking of baptism into the death and resurrection of Christ (cf. Rom 6). In Paul’s estimation, the common experience of the spirit of God in spirit baptism with gospel reception is a uniting factor for the Corinthians.

Paul provides more clarification in Romans 8. He explains that those who have the spirit of God and the spirit of Christ dwelling in them belong to God (v. 9). Furthermore, he speaks of the co-witness of the spirit of God with our spirit that confirms we are children of God (v. 16). Even here, Paul maintains the corporate aspect of this spirit reception, indwelling, leading, and life giving in/among you (ἐν ὑμῖν). The person, who does not have the spirit of Christ, does not belong to him (v.9)—and remains unincorporated and untransformed. Thus, for Paul, Spirit reception comes with gospel reception and is inherently communal and transformative.

Even though both communities speak of spirit reception upon entrance to the community, membership requirements differ significantly. The Qumran sectarian must believe the teaching of the *māskîl*; the Corinthians must believe Paul’s gospel concerning the crucified Christ. The sectarians required additional rigorous adherence to the community rules, keeping of the law, priestly purity regulations, as well as having intelligence (knowledge of God) before entrance (1QHᵃ vi.28–29; xviii.29; 1QS v.7–11, 20–22). In contrast, Paul expressed freedom for gentiles from having to become Jewish (e.g., circumcision) through the new covenant of the spirit that brings life rather than death (2 Cor 3; Gal 3:2–5; 6:15). In this Christian community, communal participation in the spirit builds up the community members to walk in holiness and love as bearers of Christ (1 Cor 3:16–17; 6:19; 13; 2 Cor 6:16–7:1; 13:13).

Both authors appear to build their understanding of spirit reception and new creation on the spirit’s role in sanctification and revelation from Ezek 11:19; 36:26–27; and 37:14, which can be attributed to a common Jewish eschatological background in 2TJ. For Paul, Christ has inaugurated the new age and new covenant—an eschatological fulfilment of Ezekiel’s promise of the spirit (2 Cor 5:5). The Qumran community understands only a partial fulfilment of Ezekiel and still awaits the full eschatological outpouring of the spirit. Both advocate an expansion of the divine encounter of the spirit to the whole community. Paul more explicitly democratises the experiential revelation of and mystical communion with the spirit (13:13).

6.3 Mystery and Mysteries of God in 1 Cor

In comparison to mystery and mysteries of God in *Hodayot*, what does mystery of God mean in 1 Corinthians 2 and who has received this mystery? In 1 Corinthians,
mystery (μυστήριον) occurs six times (1 Cor 2:1, 7; 4:1; 13:2; 14:2; 15:51). Paul claims to have proclaimed the mystery of God to the Corinthians (2:1), and this kerygma is Christ Jesus and him crucified (1:23; 2:2). This mystery describes the secret wisdom of God, which has been hidden from the rulers of this age for the Corinthians’ and Paul’s glory; these rulers would not have crucified Jesus, the Lord of glory had they understood this mysterious wisdom (2:7–8). Paul cites a conglomeration of Isaianic texts (64:3; 52:15) to substantiate that the mysterious wisdom concerns God’s plan for those who love him (1 Cor 2:9). The mystery includes the fact that Christ Jesus became the wisdom of God and righteousness, sanctification, and redemption through the cross (1:30). Paul sees himself and his fellow workers, Apollos and Cephas, as servants of Christ and stewards of God’s mysteries (4:1). In 1 Cor 13:2, Paul does not define the term mysteries but pairs it with knowledge and acknowledges that human understanding is partial and imperfect. Love is more important than understanding all mysteries. In 1 Cor 14:2, Paul describes speaking in a tongue as speaking mysteries in the spirit to God. The text does not explain what these mysteries are only that they edify the speaker and build up the congregation when interpreted. In 15:51, Paul defines eschatological bodily resurrection, mortality putting on immortality, as a mystery. Thus, the mystery of God for Paul is predominantly a Christological mystery that concerns God’s wisdom.  

How does this compare with mystery of God in Hodayot? Both see the mystery of God as concerning the hidden purpose of God with his people revealed by God’s spirit. They radically differ, however, in content, despite both having to do with cosmic and communal eschatology. Both interpret the mystery of God as having been hidden and secret until an appointed time. This may derive from a similar Jewish apocalyptic and Danielic background as both have a number of “apocalyptic topoi.” For the hymnist the time of revealing is now but also appears to be ongoing.

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17 NA prefers μυστήριον in P dευδ K A C pc ar r sy bo etc., over μαρτύριον in K2 B D F G Ψ 33, 1739, etc.
18 Gladd defines hidden wisdom as the cross, Mysterion, 119.
20 According to Gladd the apocalyptic topoi are “hidden wisdom,” “mystery,” “this age,” “rulers of this age,” “Lord of glory,” “Spirit,” “revelation,” and “depths of God,” Mysterion, 127. Gladd fails to mention JM and mystical elements, which grew out of Jewish apocalypticism. See Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, Revelation and Mystery (WUNT 2/36; Tübingen: Mohr, 1990) and Rowland, Mystery, 210; idem, Heaven, 304.
in the Qumran community. For Paul, the time for revealing the mystery of God came in Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection—a onetime event. Christ Jesus became the wisdom of God. Paul’s identification of Jesus—the crucified messiah—as the revealed mystery of God is poles apart from Qumran. At Qumran, the messiah has not yet come, and as Pierre Benoit notes the sharing of the spirit in *Hodayot* “is not the effect of any new act of God in the history of salvation.” For Paul, Jesus, the messiah, has created a new context. The outpouring of the spirit is an eschatological fulfilment of the messianic promise. The mystery of God in Corinth made a way for gentiles through Christ to be sanctified and join the holy *ekklesia*. Qumran would probably have never conceived of such an inclusion into its strict, law-abiding community—only judgment awaits the unrighteous outside the community.

Both Paul and the *maškîl* claim to have received esoteric revelation of God’s mysteries by the spirit of God, and both claim a mediatorial role as teachers of these mysteries to their respective communities. Paul, however, adds Apollos, Cephas, and others to the stewardship list and even notes that the mystery of God has been made manifest to the holy ones (saints). Thus, Paul moves from esotericism to open proclamation of these secrets to the whole community through the mediation of the spirit (1 Cor 2:9–10) and a demonstration of the spirit and power (2:4). The community through the spirit receives the revelation of God’s mystery in Christ—the gospel. In 1 Cor 2:6, the mystery of God’s wisdom, not human or of this age, is specifically spoken to the spiritually mature (τελείοις) and revealed by the spirit to believers (v. 10). Paul distinguishes between babes in Christ and those who are ready for solid food concerning this revelation (3:1–3). Even comprehension (ἐγνώκεν) of

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22 Benoit, “Qumran,” 27.
25 Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner explain, “The message of wisdom is the full scope of the teaching on salvation and the Christian life, which only ‘the mature’ digest and appropriate,” *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 123.
the things of God only comes by the spirit of God (v. 11). The wisdom even when proclaimed remains hidden to the “rulers of this age” (v. 8). Participation in the direct revelatory function of the spirit continues in corporate gatherings through speaking ἐν πνεύματι utterances of wisdom, knowledge, prophecy, and in tongues with interpretation (1 Cor 12:1–11). Conversely, while the Qumran community understands itself as the receptor of the mysteries, they do not espouse charismatic manifestations spoken by the spirit as the means of ongoing revelation. Instead, revelation comes by the spirit primarily through endowed scribal wisdom—one of the pesherist and maškil—a revelatory hermeneutic. 26

6.4 Holy Spirit as Cleansing Agent in 1 Cor 6:11

The spirit of God as the means of washing in Paul provides a close similarity to God purifying the hymnist by his holy spirit. Paul describes the spirit as holy in 1 Cor 6:19; 12:3; 2 Cor 6:6; 13:13 and elsewhere. 27 In 6:11, Paul speaks of the spirit of God as the means to washing, sanctifying, and justifying believers—making them holy. The spirit effects Christ’s work in believers. Paul writes, “you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in [by] the Spirit (ἐν τῷ πνεύματι) of our God.” Unlike Hodayot, however, the spirit for Paul not only cleanses (washes), but also makes holy (sanctifies) and justifies. Paul reiterates the spirit’s role in sanctifying (1 Thess 4:7–8; Rom 15:16) and justifying (2 Cor 3:8–9). 29

Why does Paul add the agency of the spirit to the work of Christ? The spirit for Paul not only effects or appropriates Christ’s work in believers at conversion, but also facilitates their ongoing spiritual transformation and represents God’s presence at work in them personally and corporately. In 3:16, the Corinthians are portrayed as God’s temple in which the spirit dwells and that temple is holy, and 6:19 their body is a temple of the holy spirit. In these two temple-related passages, the temple or body of the Corinthians is to be holy because the holy spirit indwells it. This implies again that the holy spirit makes them holy.

26 Levison suggests that revelations for the Qumran community come through scribal wisdom as a spirit, charismatic endowment following Sir 39:6–7, Filled, 125.
27 Holy spirit occurs in Rom 1:4 ‘spirit of holiness’; 5:5; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 16; 1 Thess 1:5, 6; 4:8; Eph 1:13; 3:5; 4:30; 2 Tim 1:14; and Tit 3:5.
28 Context implies an instrumental translation rather than a locative. See Fee, Empowering, 129.
29 Fee, Empowering, 130.
Another difference between the Corinthian correspondence and *Hodayot* is the spreading forth of God’s holy spirit in order to atone for guilt (1QHa XXIII.33). In comparing atonement or atone (רפס) in *Hodayot* with Paul, a semantic problem arises. The LXX generally uses ξευλάσκομαι in place of (רפס), which does not occur in the NT. The closest word ἱλαστήριον (mercy seat, expiation, or propitiation) appears once in Paul’s epistles. 30 Paul writes: “whom God put forward as a sacrifice of atonement (ἱλαστήριον) by his blood, effective through faith. He did this to show his righteousness, because in his divine forbearance he had passed over the sins previously committed” (Rom 3:25). God brings about atonement of sins, according to Paul, through the sacrifice of Christ and the shedding of his blood on the cross. In the Corinthian letters, atonement is implied in certain contexts. For example, 1 Cor 15:3–4 says, “Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures and that he was buried and that he was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures.” Certainly, this is an expression of atonement—the death of Christ is for people’s sins. 31 In 2 Cor 5:21, Paul depicts a sinless Christ becoming sin on our behalf, plausibly for the Day of Atonement. 32 Paul, however, does not explicitly denote a role for the spirit of God in atonement, like in *Hodayot* and in 1QS (see §§2.4, 3.2). Nonetheless, the ongoing appropriation of God’s salvation in Christ comes through God’s spirit.

6.5 Communal Κοινωνία in the Spirit in 2 Cor 13:13
While poetic passages in *Hodayot* advocate a liturgical communio mystica (יחד) with angels, Paul advances a communio mystica (κοινωνία), not with angels, but with the holy spirit in 2 Cor 13:13. 33 *Hodayot* does not speak of the relationship with God’s spirit this way. Despite the difference in the objects, both seek to engender the religious experience of communion with a perceived transcendent reality in their respective communities. These describe attempts to close the human-divine gap and commune with God. Union/communion with angels before God’s throne is the closest proximity for the covenanters. For Paul, participation in God’s spirit implies an indirect communion with God through the indwelling of the spirit and communal

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31 Fee, *Corinthians*, 724.
32 Dunn makes a case for Christ to be both the scapegoat and the atoning sacrifice, *Theology*, 216, 221.
33 Although ייחד and κοινωνία are not terminological equivalents, they share the meaning of communion.
spiritual practice. Heuristic comparison of these two religious expressions, which can be characterised as elements of JM, will shed light upon the communal and relational aspects of Paul’s concept of participation in the spirit and the corporate effects of this participation in the Corinthian ekklesia.

6.5.1 Context and Translation of ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος in 2 Cor 13:13

What did Paul mean contextually by this phrase? Paul is speaking to everyone in the church of Corinth and the all saints throughout Achaia—μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν (2 Cor 1:2). Did he intend the benediction to be a blessing (a prayer or wish for them) or a declaration of what will (should) be? Since the phrase does not contain a verb, some form of εἴμι may be understood. If the implied verb is εἶ (optative) or ἔστω (imperative), then this supports a blessing. Paul uses the optative in his blessings in Rom 15:5; 15:13; 1 Thess 3:11, 12–13; and 5:23. Hellenistic farewells were often written with ἔρρωσο in the imperative mood. Since Paul writes his blessings in the optative, then Paul is likely writing a blessing in the optative or imperative, rather than expressing a declaration with the indicative ἐστὶ (indicative) or ἔσται. A blessing or a prayer fits the context, and the added ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος is “the Pauline amplification of the ordinary conclusion of letters,” which is specific to the contingencies of 2 Corinthians.

Before examining how this κοινωνία relates to Paul’s address, one needs to consider which genitive—subjective, objective, or a combination of both—most appropriately translates τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. This interpretative crux has implications for how one understands the spirit in Paul and the possibility or quality of ‘participation in/of/with the holy spirit.’ What support does each case have?

A subjective genitive would mean the quality of κοινωνία brought about or made possible by the holy spirit. Murray Harris notes three arguments for a subjective genitive reading: 1) the first two genitives in 2 Cor 13:13 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ are both subjective, therefore, if one extends the

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35 The omission by Ἡ 46 does not significantly change the meaning.
38 κοινωνία,” BAGD, 439.
parallelism τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος should also be subjective; 2) a subjective genitive fits the context for unity among the believers in Corinth (v. 11; cf. Eph 5:15–21); and 3) the “concept of believers’ personal communion with the Spirit is an unparalleled notion.”

An objective genitive, preferred by most commentators, would have the spirit as the object in which one partakes, participates, or shares. The four major arguments for objective, according to Harris, are: 1) κοινωνία when it is followed by a genitive is often tantamount to μετοχή or μετάληψις and “means ‘participation (in),’ ‘a partaking of,’ and the genitive specifies the object in which one partakes” (cf. 1 Cor 1:9; 10:16; 2 Cor 8:4; Phil 3:10); 2) 1 Cor 12:13 provides a “conceptual parallel to this phrase” with an “inward participation in the spirit”; 3) a verbal parallel in Phil 2:1 “in all probability means ‘if any participation in the spirit’”; and 4) an objective genitive fits the context, in which mutual participation in the spirit would likely promote unity among believers. The majority prefer to translate the objective genitive as “participation in the holy spirit” instead of “fellowship with.”

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41 George explains, “[κοινων-] words refer primarily. . . to participation in something rather than to association with others: and there is often a genitive to indicate that in which one participates or shares,” *Communion*, 133.

42 See also Josef Hainz, *Koinonia. ‘Kirch’ als Gemeinschaft bei Paulus* (BU 16; Regensburg: Pustet, 1982), 47–51.

43 The emphasis in Phil 2:1 with an objective genitive is upon partaking in the spirit that results in having the same thinking, love, mind, and purpose as a community (v. 2, 27).

44 Harris, *Corinthians*, 940.

Paul, on other occasions, advocates for κοινωνία as mysterious participation in a particular person, Jesus Christ; this Christian union is “not the sharing of a thing, but a relationship with the divine person” (1 Cor 1:9; 10:16; Rom 6:1).46 Since the κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος in 2 Cor 13:13 indirectly implies participation in Christ—a “most profound union of life with the Father mediated by the Holy Spirit,”47 Paul means participation in the holy spirit as a relationship with a divine agent.48

Since both subjective and objective genitive explanations fit 2 Cor 13:13 and even complement each other, some49 argue for “a plenary (or full) genitive”50 with a combination of meanings. Among these, usually an objective genitive reading guides the meaning. Rather than arguing for two grammatical functions,51 Rabens explains the combination of two meanings as “a relationship of cause and effect.”52 This would “implicitly” give κοινωνία in 2 Cor 13:13 “both a receptive and a dynamic meaning.”53 Thus, Paul’s desire for the Corinthians to continue “in their common participation in the Spirit’s life, power, and gifts,” if practised, would lead to “an ever-deepening fellowship among believers.”54 This third option with an objective genitive guiding the interpretation is preferable.

### 6.5.2 Communio Mystica

In JM, the mystic yearns for a closer relationship and experience of the divine presence through communion (communio mystica) and sometimes union (unio mystica) (see §1.1).55 For the Hodayot56 hymnist(s), the poetic language describing the three-fold union of joint praise, common lot, and joint eschatological war with

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49 Thrall objects to dual grammatical functions, Corinthians, 2:919.
52 Harris, Corinthians, 941.
the host of heaven engenders in the Qumran community’s theophanic imagination a
sense of transcendence (see §3.3). This perceived liturgical union, while relational,
does not denote indwelling, absorption, or fusion with the angels or with God. The
communion, rather, is one of joint worship, united as one community before God’s
throne—a choral union, where the human worshippers become like the angels in
knowledge and shared inheritance. Only in 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn⁵⁺⁻ and parallels
does one become an angel (see §5.4).

For Paul, ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος speaks of a communion and potentially
a union with the divine presence. In the triadic benediction of 2 Cor 13:13, Paul
grants the holy spirit divine agency along with Jesus and God.⁵⁶ Paul, at other points,
hints at the divineness of πνεῦμα but again not as explicitly as Nicene Christianity.⁵⁷
For Paul, the holy spirit is more than an angel; it is the spirit of God (Θεοῦ)⁵⁸ and of
Christ (Χριστοῦ)⁵⁹ and has divine status. In Paul’s free and flexible use of God,
Christ, and πνεῦμα, roles often overlap (e.g., both Christ and πνεῦμα indwell
believers).⁶⁰ Paul does maintain a distinction between God and Christ (1 Cor 1:3;
8:6; 15:24; 2 Cor 1:2, 3; 11:31). While he speaks of the spirit in tandem with Jesus
and God, he does not explicitly say the spirit is God, just Lord (3:17–18) and from
God.⁶¹ Likewise, he does not deny the spirit’s divinity.

While the κενο- word group in Hellenistic Greek may refer to an ‘association’
and semantically may describe a union of a group of people, most scholars rightly
prefer communion, fellowship, or participation for Paul’s usage. Paul is not speaking
of a uniting together with the holy spirit, but an abstract and spiritual meaning—
“participation in the spirit.” Following the primary meaning of an objective genitive,
Paul advocates a communion with or participation in the divine spirit as an

⁵⁶ David E. Garland, 2 Corinthians (NAC 29; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 196–202;
James D. G. Dunn, “2 Corinthians III.17—‘The Lord is the Spirit,’” JTS 21 (1970): 309–20; Furnish,
Corinthians, 588; Thrall, Second, 1:274; 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), 399; Belleville, Reflections, 257–62. Contra David Greenwood,
⁵⁷ The question if Paul meant the triune God of Nicene Christianity may lead to an anachronistic
reading of 2 Cor 13:13, since Paul does not employ “Father” or “Son” here. Fee, however, calls the
prayer “unmistakably Trinitarian,” Empowering, 365. Thrall, following Barrett (Second, 345) suggests
a proto-trinitarian reading instead, Corinthians, 2:915–21.
⁵⁸ Rom 8:9, 11, 14; 15:19; 1 Cor 2:11; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; and Phil 3:3.
⁵⁹ Rom 8:9–11; Phil 1:9; and Gal 4:6.
⁶⁰ Furnish, Corinthians, 587.
⁶¹ 1 Cor 2:12; 6:19; 2 Cor 5:5; Gal 3:5; and 1 Thess 4:8.
expression of a believer’s experience of God’s ongoing presence, transformative power, and manifestation of love and grace in his or her life in the community of faith. Hauck clarifies that Paul nowhere mentions an unmediated κοινωνία θεοῦ; Christ mediates through the spirit.62 Thus, no absorption, fusion, or union with God explicitly appears in Paul.63 Nonetheless, in 2 Cor 13:13, Paul describes participation in or communion with the holy spirit as a transcendent divine being. Thus, κοινωνία implies a relational and intimate participation in the divine spirit.

6.5.3 Corporate Experience and Corporate Effects

Despite the analogous experience of transcendence, the phenomenological locus diverges between Hodayot⁶ and Paul. For Hodayot⁶ hymnist(s), communion with the angels, on the one hand, appears to be wholly transcendent at points, “in the eternal host,” at least with those angels of the face (XIV.15–17) and those passages which describe walking in angelic heights or standing in the holy place (XI.21–24; XIX.13–17). On the other hand, the union with angels appears to be on earth among the worshipping yaḥad of Qumran in Community Hymns I (VII.17–18). The variance in the locality of the perceived mystical experience may mean spatial dimensions are either not a concern of the community,64 or space and time are bridged in the theophanic imagination of the worshipper through liturgical synchronism between heaven and earth (see §3.3).65

Additionally, the hymnist(s) describes the union either with the personal “I” or in third person (VIII.15–17; XI.20–37; XIX.13–17). Only VII.12–20 has a clear communal expression with first person plural—“we” are gathered in community with those who know (angels). First person plural is “anomalous in the scroll.”66 The

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62 Hauck, TDNT 3:804 n. 51.
63 Marguerat argues there is no “mystique de Dieu” in Paul but “mystique du Christ,” which is a “communio mystica” not fusion, “le mystique,” 489. See Wikenhauser, Pauline, 183–84 and George, Communion, passim, esp. 236. Reitzenstein portrays Greek mystery religions and Paul (inaccurately) as having a union without distinction of a god and a person, Hellenistic, 34, 370, 455, 458. Deissmann, who like Reitzenstein characterizes union (union) as “transformation into the deity” with a “loss of the human personality in God,” sees Paul as a “communio-mystic” rather than a union-mystic, Paul, 150–51. For more on communion and union, see Litwa, Transformed, 10–20 and Constantine R. Campbell, Paul and Union with Christ: an Exegetical and Theological Study (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012).
64 Alexander, “Genealogy,” 226.
65 This supports Nitzan’s choice of communionist over celestial, “Harmonic,” 166–68. See also Wolfson, “Seven,” 193 and Corbin, Temple.
hymnist(s), however, expresses this union as God’s providential purpose for the people of the council—the elect of the community in XIV.15–17. As such, personalisation of the “ideal model” by liturgical participation allows the maškil’s union to be appropriated by chosen members of the yahad.

In contrast, Paul explains κοινωνία in the holy spirit as the abiding presence and power of God within believers and in the corporate assembly on earth. The κοινωνία has both personal and communal facets, although in 2 Cor 13:13 the emphasis is on communal participation. Paul does not reserve this κοινωνία for the elite few, but wishes all (πάντων ύμων) of those holy ones (τῶν ἁγίων) in the Corinthian congregation and the whole of Achaia to participate in the spirit (1:1; 13:13). In the Corinthian correspondence, Paul speaks of the initial anointing of the spirit and sealing in Christ as a gift given personally “in our hearts as a first instalment” (1:22). The spirit co-testifies (συμμαρτυρεῖ) with the spirits of believers that they are children of God (Rom 8:16). This speaks of the believers’ personal experience of and identification with the spirit of God as a new member of God’s family. The spirit is also a deposit or guarantee for glorious, bodily transformation at the resurrection (1 Cor 15:42–54; 2 Cor 5:5). The indwelling is continual and believers through grace can live according to the spirit, or fleshly, unspiritual lives (1 Cor 3:1–3). Paul clarifies that the spirit also dwells (οἰκεῖ) in/among them corporately as God’s temple (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19) and manifests through them in the corporate body (chs. 12–14). The spirit continually transforms the community of believers from glory to glory following the pattern of Christ (2 Cor 3:18). Thus, the transcendent reality of the heavenly, Christ himself, indwells the personal bodies and corporate body of believers on earth through the spirit of God. Participation in the spirit, while personal, cannot be divorced from incorporation and participation in the community of the ekklesia.

While τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος has an objective genitive meaning, participation in the holy spirit has communal implications—a subjective genitive effect. The community shares the common experience of participation in the holy spirit and lives

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67 Chazon, “Function,” 140.
68 Alexander, Mystical, 85–86, 90–91; Newsom, Self, 197–98.
69 Marguerat sees the descent of the spirit as “un correctif” [a corrective] facing the mystical Corinthian, “le mystique,” 483.
70 Rabens, Spirit, 241.
out participation in the spirit in fellowship with one another in the *ekklesia*. Paul addresses corporate participation in the spirit in 1 Cor 12–14 and in parts of 2 Cor.

In 1 Cor 12, Paul informs the Corinthians about proper use of πνευματικῶν. In v. 7, the manifestation of the spirit (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος) is given to each one (personally) for the common good (πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον). Manifestations of the spirit appear as divinely-inspired speech acts of wisdom, knowledge, prophecy, tongues, interpretation of tongues, discernment of spirits, as well as acts of power including faith, gifts of healing, and working of miracles (vv. 8–10). The divine speech acts reinforce the corporate epistemology of the spirit. Individuals speak what the spirit has revealed to them for the corporate edification of the church. Apart from corporate function, the pneumatika and charismata are incomplete. The practice of pneumatika, as allotted by the spirit, exemplifies corporate participation in the spirit.

Through the body metaphor in 1 Cor 12:14–28, Paul further illustrates how individuals participate corporately in the spirit to build up the *ekklesia*. Since incorporation into the body comes through baptism in and drinking of the one spirit (v. 13), members share a common experience of the spirit. This shared experience by both Jews and Gentiles provides what Dunn calls a “unifying bond” of “Christian communal life.” Thus, a corporate effect of this participation should be the unity and mutual honouring of community members.

In chapter 14, Paul encourages the pursuit of love (ch. 13) and pneumatika that edify the *ekklesia*. Paul argues that in the assembly personal participation in the spirit should give priority to intelligible speech acts that build up the *ekklesia* (ἐκκλησίαν ὀικοδομεῖ) (v. 3, 5, 12, and 26). If the personal participation in the spirit is tongues speaking, this should be interpreted to edify the community or the speaker should remain silent. Unintelligible speech acts have no meaning for others. Paul sees those who practise pneumatika that build up the community as greater (μείζων) than those who only seek personal edification (v. 5). The deference to corporate edification is a demonstration of the love and presence of God in their midst and a sign of mature understanding (φρεσὶ τέλειοι) (vv. 20, 25; cf. 2:6). Paul extends here the argument from 10:23–24 that participation in the spirit should include a concern for the

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spiritual welfare of others, especially the weak and inferior (12:14–27). Another corporate effect then of κοινωνία in the holy spirit should be the demonstration of love in the exercise of pneumatika and care for one another in the corporate body.

This gives chapters 12–14 a “spirit-enhanced emphasis on interpersonal dynamic.”74 Communal participation in the spirit, according to Paul, should follow this exhortation: “When you come together, each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation. Let all things be done for building up” (v. 26).

Another corporate effect of participation in the holy spirit appears in 2 Cor where Paul advocates a cruciform pattern of living as a community. Paul’s preaching and life follow the pattern of Christ crucified, and the community is to do likewise. In 3:18, the spirit is transforming the community into the image of God, i.e., Christ. This image for Paul means carrying about the death of Christ in the body so that the life of Christ may be manifest in their bodies (4:7–12). In chapters 10–13,75 Paul will only boast in his weaknesses for the sake of Christ, so that the power of Christ may rest on him. His climactic revelation from Christ is that Christ’s power rest on those who are weak for the sake of Christ (12:7). He ties this suffering and weakness to doing everything for the building up of the ekklesia (12:18). Paul is correcting an over emphasis upon personal strength and self-boasting in spiritual experiences by false apostles and, therefore, emphasises the need for genuine humility and an already-not-yet tension in the eschatology of the Corinthians (cf. 1 Cor 1:25–29).

The new age has dawned with the eschatological pouring out of the spirit on all flesh, but the gift of the spirit is only the first fruits and guarantee of what is to come for the Corinthians in eternity. Communal participation in the spirit consists of a shared experience of the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the demonstration of the power in the weakness of human flesh. The Corinthian ekklesia needs to participate as a community in the holy spirit to receive and live the grace of Christ and the love of God with fellow believers in a communal cruciform reflection of their Lord.

6.6 Conclusions

The agency of the God’s spirit in the Corinthian correspondence, when compared with Hodayot⁴, shows that Paul speaks of the spirit in Christological terms. The

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74 Rabens, Spirit, 239.
75 See also ch. 9.
indwelling gift comes through belief in the crucified messiah, whom Paul preaches, and incorporation into the community through spirit baptism. The holy spirit washes, justifies, and sanctifies through the work of Christ, but does not atone. While Paul and his colleagues are stewards of the mysteries of God, like the maškil, Paul speaks predominantly in corporate terms about the spirit’s ongoing revelation in the ekklesia. He democratises the mystical experience of the spirit’s revelation into a corporate epistemology of the spirit. Paul’s distinction between the spirit and God and the ascription of personal characteristics to the spirit denote a remarkable development and interpretation of the eschatological fulfilment of Ezek 36–37 through Christ’s inauguration of the new covenant and ministry of the spirit. The spirit’s revelation of the mystery or mysteries of God concern God’s purposes for his people, but unlike Hodayot⁹, concerns not a union with angels before God’s throne, but the new covenant community’s transformation into Christ-likeness and the outworking on earth of the baptismal participation in the death and resurrection of their crucified Lord. Revelation for Paul continues through ongoing, spirit-inspired utterances of participants in the worship of Corinthian assemblies, so that they can be transformed and continue spreading the gospel and reconciliation to God through a demonstration of the spirit and power.

Paul advocates communal participation in the holy spirit in 2 Cor 13:13. Like the union with angels in Hodayot⁹, this implies a communio mystica with a transcendent divine being. Neither Paul nor Hodayot⁹ advocate an absorption, fusion, or union with God. While Hodayot⁹ speaks of communion with angels by a few, Paul includes all Christians on earth in this corporate, relational participation in the spirit. This participation should foster unity and mutual honouring of community members, corporate upbuilding through pneumatika characterised by love, and a cruciform pattern of living as a Christian community.
Chapter 7

EXTENDED MEANING OF THE TEMPLE METAPHOR
IN LIGHT OF 1QS AND SONGS

7.1 Introduction

While previous studies have compared Paul’s temple metaphor with the Qumran community’s temple identity in 1QS and other DSS texts, these generally have not considered the relationship of Songs to the community’s temple phenomenology.¹

The Qumran community understood its temple identity as a reflection of the heavenly archetype, whose members through liturgical synchronisation shared in the priestly service of the angels in the celestial temple. In light of the findings of chapter 3, a revisitation of Paul’s temple metaphor through heuristic comparison with 1QS and Songs will illuminate some neglected temple associations including the relationship to celestial archetype, the presence of angels, and the tongues of angels for the Corinthian ekklesia. This will show lines of continuity and discontinuity between Paul and 2TJ regarding a temple identity and the Corinthians’ communal participation in the spirit.

7.2 Temple as a Metaphor

Paul’s identification of the church as a temple has often been called a metaphor. Michael Newton, however, questions scholars who presume the temple concept is “merely metaphorical.”² For Newton, Paul expands the temple theme through God’s indwelling presence, purity requirements, holy living, and Paul as a priest. These disclose the “deep reality” of the church as temple and “dispels” it being mere

¹ Gärtner only briefly covers the relationship to Cave 4 documents (95–99), Temple, 4–44; Michael Newton, The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 4–66.
metaphor. Newton rightly challenges those who limit the temple identity to linguistic decoration, but he and those he is critical of misunderstand metaphor and the distinction between linguistic and metaphysical statements.

What then is a metaphor? Metaphor concerns an expression of language with a transfer of meaning. Janet Martin Soskice identified the parts of metaphor as vehicle (the modifying term) and tenor (the primary subject). The vehicle is “the thing to which the word normally and naturally applies, the thing from which it is transferred, and tenor the thing to which it is transferred.” Gestalt theorists (metaphor expresses what can be expressed no other way) contend against the traditional substitutionist viewpoint (a metaphor says in another way what could be said literally) that metaphors create new and extended meaning. Janet Soskice’s definition that a “metaphor is that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are suggestive of another” will be employed here. Paul, then, speaks of the community of Corinthian believers, their bodies, and the whole church (tenor) in terms which are suggestive of another—a temple (vehicle) and all the ramifications of being the ναός of God (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:14–16).

According to David Aaron, metaphors have degrees of ambiguity on a continuum from a “literal meaning” (binary) to “nonsense” (non-literal). More points of convergence between the tenor and vehicle make the metaphor less figurative. This may help evaluate the figurative meaning of Paul’s temple metaphor and the inappropriateness of the phrase “merely metaphorical.”

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7 Soskice and Harré, “Metaphor,” 290.
8 Soskice examines three types of theories of metaphor (substitution, emotive, and incremental) and prefers a philosophical perspective on metaphor with incremental theory, *Metaphor*, 15.

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The temple metaphor has both a high development and high correspondence in 1–2 Corinthians. It appears three times, and twice with οὐκ οἴδατε: “Do you not know.” Paul nourishes the metaphor with temple imagery and symbolic language. In 1 Cor 3:5–17, Paul piles up successive metaphorical images in Hebraic style with planting, building, master builder, Christ the foundation, and finally the temple in v. 16—all of these could allude to a temple or tabernacle. This elaborate development indicates the seriousness, which Paul places upon being a temple community, and leads to less-immediate associations such as priestly service, angelic presence, worship, holiness, defilement, the celestial archetype, and the eschatological temple.

The creation of new and unique meaning and multiple points of interest between vehicle and tenor render the “merely metaphorical” description unacceptable. Linguistically, Paul’s temple metaphor appears less figurative and closer to a literal meaning. This, however, does not adequately address the metaphor’s theological significance, which is Newton’s main concern.

Soskice suggests “Theological realism” as a way to evaluate appropriately the theological significance of a religious metaphor. Realism, an empirical theory, is grounded in experience and “accommodates figurative speech which is reality depicting without claiming to be directly descriptive.” The metaphorical language is “forged in a particular context”—“experience, community and an interpretative tradition.”

For Paul the referential context is primarily 2TJ and the experiences, convictions, and traditions of the early Christian communities. The temple metaphor’s similar application at Qumran (§3.2) and as a prophetic fulfilment of Hebrew Bible passages especially Ezek 36–37 makes it “freighted with meaning.” Moreover, Paul’s temple metaphor goes beyond linguistic concerns.

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12 Caird, Language, 190.
14 Soskice, Metaphor, 148.
15 Soskice, Metaphor, 149.
16 God indwells the people in Exod 25:8; 29:45; Lev 26:11–12; Ezek 11:16; and Ps 114:12.
17 Soskice, Metaphor, 158. Soskice writes: “From the literary observation we return to the philosophical one, for the touchstone of these chronicles of faith is experience, experiences pointed or diffuse, the experience of individuals and of communities which are believed to be experiences of the activity of a transcendent God. The language used to account for them is metaphorical and qualified,
Paul extends the meaning of the temple beyond a building of stone to reshape the community’s “imagination” and transfer theological concepts concerning orderly worship and appropriate behaviour to the whole Christian community. 18 This chapter will go beyond linguistic concerns to the way Paul’s metaphor speaks to the Corinthian community’s experience of divine transcendence (God’s spirit) in corporate worship and how Paul’s temple metaphor extends to the community’s theophanic imagination in the areas of angelic presence and the practise of tongues speaking.

7.3 A Corporate Temple of the Spirit in 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; and 2 Cor 6:14–16
Paul characterises the Corinthian congregation as a temple in 1 Cor 3:16–17; 6:19; and 2 Cor 6:14b–16a. In 1 Cor 3, Paul reminds the Corinthians that they corporately are God’s temple and the spirit of God dwells in/among them: “Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ εστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα του θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;” (v. 16). The temple metaphor Paul uses is not an ad hoc argument but a known metaphor (Οὐκ οἴδατε) for the church community. This may be an early church concept (cf. 1 Pet 2:5; Eph 2:21), which Paul taught.19 In 1 Cor 1–3, Paul admonishes the Corinthians for the divisions, quarrels among them, and urges them to “be united in the same mind and purpose” (1:10). He castigates them as infants in Christ because of their fleshly jealousy and factious quarrelling based on mere human ways (3:1–3). Paul metaphorically describes the community as a plantation20 (vv. 5–9), and then as God’s building (οἰκοδομή), another sanctuary metaphor (3:9–15), whose foundation (θεμέλιον) is Jesus Christ. The fire of God’s judgment will test what each person has built on the foundation. The acceptable building materials of gold (χρυσόν), silver (ἄργυρον), and...
precious stones (λίθους τιμίους) resemble the building materials of the tabernacle and
temple (v. 12). The building up of the metaphors culminates in the temple metaphor.

Paul, then, warns them: “If anyone destroys (φθείρει) God’s temple, God will
destroy (φθερεῖ) that person. For God’s temple is holy, and you are that temple”
(3:17). Paul uses this “casuistic form of legal discourse” to drive home his point that
their disunity and childish behaviour are destroying or defiling21 God’s temple (the
church community), and those who do this will face God’s destruction—talionic
justice (cf. Josh 7:25). Paul may also be setting the stage to address the defiling
nature of porneia to the Corinthian ekklesia in 5:1–13 and other concerns after 4:18.

Paul characterises the Corinthian community, you (plural), as a temple in 1 Cor
3:16. They are a temple of God corporately because the spirit of God dwells ‘in’
and/or ‘among’ them (ἐν ὑμῖν). The dwelling spirit of God is an expression of God’s
holy presence (Isa 63:9–14; Ps 106:33) that fits well with contemporary Jewish
temple-theology traditions22 and Hebrew Bible temple-holiness traditions (Deut
23:2–9; Num 1, 3, 4, and 19).23 For Paul, the promised indwelling of the spirit of
God from the Scriptures (Ezek 36:26–27; 37:14; Joel 2:28–29) had come in the new
covenant with Christ’s crucifixion on the cross and the subsequent giving of the
spirit by God (1 Cor 2:12; 3:16; 6:16; 12:13; 2 Cor 3:3–6; Gal 5:25; Rom 2:29).
Moreover, Paul argues that since God’s temple is holy and they are that temple
corporately, then they should be a holy community. His contextual emphasis on
corporate unity and explicit reference to communal holiness is unequivocal. In light
of Paul’s ethics, they are to become as the ekklesia who they already are—God’s
holy people indwelt by the spirit (1:2).24

Paul again reminds the Corinthians that they are a temple in 1 Cor 6:19: “Or do
you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you
have from God, and that you are not your own?” This time, Paul clarifies that their
individual bodies are the temple of the indwelling holy spirit from God; therefore,
they are not their own and should glorify God in their bodies (v. 20). The context of

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21 Paul J. Sampley, NIB 10:831.
22 1QS viii.4–7; Sobriety 66; Abraham 56. For the spirit of God dwelling in the temple, see Ant.
24 Ciampa and Rosner, Corinthians, 158–61. The Corinthian church, then, has value to God as a
temple.
chapter 6 concerns immoral behaviour (listed vv. 9–10) and specifically fornication with prostitutes—potentially sacred prostitution in pagan temples (vv. 12–18). 25

While the temple metaphor speaks to individual bodies here, this does not preclude the continuance of the communal aspect of the metaphor from 3:16. Levison explains, “This is not exclusively a private matter between the Lord and the physical body of the individual; this is a matter as well between the Lord and the body of the Church.” 26 Unholy unions with prostitutes pose a real defiling danger to the body of Christ, the church. 27 Therefore, they should use their bodies as members of the ekklesia in a holy way and glorify God.

The temple metaphor reappears in 2 Cor 6:16b in a Qumran-like section of the letter 6:14–7:1. 28 Paul states, “For we are the temple of the living God.” Paul broadens the temple metaphor here to incorporate the whole church, “we,” as the temple, not just the Corinthian congregation “you” in 1 Cor 3:16 (cf. Eph 2:21–22). 29

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25 Levison, “Spirit,” 202–205. The words ‘body’ and ‘members’ has communal application to the church in 1 Cor 12–14 and in 3:13 body can refer to both the individual and the community. See also Dale Martin on the permutation of sexual sin into the whole church body, The Corinthian Body (New Haven: YUP, 1995), 175–79. Paul may evince a Jesus saying (Jn 2:19–22; Mk 14:58; Mt 26:61).
26 Martin, Body, 175–79.
27 Martin, Body, 175–79.
29 Although μᾶς . . . ἐστε appears in B F G (0209) c d* e l p 63 265 1175. 1881. 2464. pc 1 co; Or is preferred.
He adapts a threefold promise from LXX Lev 26:11–12 to confirm the Corinthians are the temple of God: God dwells in them, walks among them, is their God, and they are his people (cf. Ezek 37:26–27). The “living God” reference recalls “the spirit of the living God” from 2 Cor 3:3, in which Paul argues they are the letter of Christ written “with the Spirit of the living God.” This alludes to promised new covenant and corresponding gift of the spirit (Jer 31:31–33; Ezek 36:26–27; 2 Cor 1:18–22; 3:3, 6, and 18). Like in previous uses of the temple metaphor the purpose of it in 6:14–7:1 is “to support an ethical appeal.” The presence of God walking in their midst like with the tabernacle in the wilderness requires purity and perfecting holiness.

The temple metaphor has a clear connection to the indwelling of God’s spirit—the eschatological fulfilment of the new covenant promise (cf. Ezek 36–37). The indwelling of the spirit may imply that the glory of God no longer dwells in the Jerusalem temple, but now in those who are in Christ. Naturally, this corresponds to the idea of God dwelling, living, and walking with and among his people. They are to be holy and pure, both as called, sanctified ones and as spirit and grace enabled. The result of appropriately exhibiting manifestations of the spirit in corporate worship is a recognition by others that “God is truly among you” (1 Cor 14:25). Paul use of ναός for temple instead of ἱερόν may maintain a distinction in LXX between sanctuary and the whole temple complex; thus, they are the sanctuary or most holy dwelling place of God—a holy alternative to the pagan temples in Corinth.

In all three uses of the temple metaphor Paul makes either an explicit or implicit connection with the indwelling spirit of God in or among them as a community. This may be his underlying theological justification for a temple identity, notwithstanding, the temple metaphor’s rhetorical function to prescribe corporate unity, holiness (personal purity), and glorification of God.

31 Furnish, Corinthians, 373.
33 Gärtner, Temple, 60.
7.4 Paul’s Temple Metaphor and the Heavenly Sanctuary

The first part of this heuristic comparison will consider how Paul’s temple metaphor relates to the reflection of the *imaginal* heavenly temple in the Qumran community. In the Corinthian correspondence, Paul does not overtly link the temple metaphor to the heavenly sanctuary neither does he intimate an archetypal relationship. Paul’s successive temple-like metaphors in 1 Cor 3:5–17, however, may allude or have a background in a Garden-like temple from the Hebrew Bible and could imply the building of the eschatological temple of God.

As at Qumran, Paul’s temple metaphor may allude to the restoration of the perfect human temple of Eden—the sanctuary of Adam (Exod 15:15–17). The field metaphor could be taken this way, although only as an echo and not an unequivocal link. G. K. Beale cogently contends for the metaphors of a cultivated field, architects, and builders in 1 Cor 3:5–15 to be linked together through their allusions to the temple. The Solomonic temple has numerous references to plant-like items in its design (1 Kgs 6:18, 29, 32; 7:18–20, 24–26, 42, and 49–50). These reflect “the primeval sanctuary of the Garden of Eden” and are combined with precious metals used in the temple construction (1 Kgs 5:17; 6:20–21; 1 Chr 29:2; 2 Chr 3–4).³⁵ Ps 92:12–15 corroborates the concept of the righteous flourishing as trees planted in the house of the Lord. Paul employs similar ideas and similar language, particularly “wise master builder” σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων (cf. Exod 35:31–32), to build ἐποικοδομεῖ, and precious metals, which echo the temple and tabernacle construction.³⁶ These temple/tabernacle allusions and echoes suggest Paul may have seen the *ekklesia* as a garden-temple.

The allusions and echoes, however, do not necessarily mean a restoration or return to Eden, but may point instead toward the new eschatological temple. Christ is the last Adam and the first fruits of the new creation. The new age has already dawned, a new humanity has been created through the spirit, and the old is passing away (1 Cor 10:11). In 1 Cor 3:10–15, when Paul speaks of the foundation of the building as Jesus Christ, this has connotations of being an eternal eschatological

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The scriptural background of vv. 12–13 elicits the eschatological dimension of being a temple community. Paul warns how the fire on the day (ἡμέρα) will test the work of each builder. Paul’s language closely resembles Malachi 3–4 where the Lord comes to his temple on the day (4:1) and like a refiner’s fire and purifier of silver and gold refines the sons of Levi (3:1–3). Paul adapts the imagery to the believers who form the temple of God; their work, which may include bringing up new believers, is refined in the fire—preserving what is the true, eschatological temple of God.  

In this sense, the believers who form the temple of God are part of the latter day, eschatological temple—not made with hands (Exod 15:17–18). Although the idea of forming a foundation of truth is similar to the Rule of the Community, Paul does not see the foundation as the community. Christ is the foundation. Pauline literature, particularly Ephesians 2:18–22, makes explicit Christ Jesus as the cornerstone of the holy temple of the Lord composed of saints and members of God’s household; Christ holds the structure together; the temple is the dwelling place of God; those in Christ have access to the Father through the spirit as part of the temple (Eph 2:18–22). In Ephesians, the temple concept exhibits an analogous imaginal spanning of space and time, like the Qumran community, whereby saints of old are concurrently joined with members present on earth meeting with God as an eschatological temple—not fully realised. In the Corinthian correspondence, Paul does not expound upon his temple theology to this extent, but the conception of Christ as the cornerstone and the one who holds the structure together is not far off.  

Paul’s temple metaphor corresponds to the reflection of the imaginal heavenly temple among the Corinthians in three important aspects. First, respecting liturgical synchronism with the celestial temple, Paul does advocate some order in worship as a temple community (1 Cor 14:40). This order, however, is not expressly synchronized with or reciprocal to angelic worship—notwithstanding the implications of διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους in 1 Cor 11. The order of the Corinthian worship is

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37 Christ as the rock (1 Cor 10:4) may implicitly relate to foundation and cornerstone.  
38 Beale, Temple, 250–51.  
one of communal participation in the spirit. The spirit orders worship by allotting spiritual manifestations to participants (1 Cor 12-14), which should prioritise the building up of the community through selfless love.

Second, while the archetypal relationship appears in the Hebrew Bible background and much of Second Temple Jewish literature, Paul does not clearly portray the Christian community as one modelled after the heavenly temple. Paul’s temple focus is more on the dawning of the new age and how the new temple, embodied by believers, discloses the fulfilment of covenant promises through Christ.

Third, Paul, however, does mirror the celestial temple in two aspects: the presence of angels and angelic tongues may be reflection of the *imaginal* heavenly temple *and* participation in the heavenly realm. This may presume the existence of a paradigmatic celestial community of angels. This next section will investigate these two areas.

7.5 Presence of Angels in the Corinthian *Ekklesia* (1 Cor 11:10)
In light of chapter 3, comparison of the presence of angels in *Songs* and 1QS will shed light on the possibility of the presence of or even communion with angels in the Corinthian correspondence. This investigation will consider whether Paul’s understanding of angels corresponds to his portrayal of the community as a temple of God.

In light of *Songs* functioning in the Qumran community as a reinforcement of communion with the angels and a shared priesthood with the angels, διὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων in 1 Cor 11:10 may mean angels40 are present during worship. Looking through the lens of the temple metaphor here can provide more insight into this enigmatic phrase. As a temple community, they are to remain united, pure, and holy. The reason for “a symbol of authority”41 on the head of a woman praying or

40 Scholars have long debated this passage interpreting τῶν ἀγγέλων as human messengers (J. Lightfoot; J. Murphy-O’Connor), bishops, presbyters and clergy (Ambrose; Ephraem; Primasius), evil angels (Tertullian; M. Dibelius; J. Héring; H. Lietzmann; Hans Conzelmann; James Dunn), and good angels (Henry Cadbury; Robertson and Plummer; Joseph Fitzmyer; Morna Hooker; George Brooke; Antoinette Wire; C. B. Caird; F. F. Bruce; Michael Newton; Anthony Thiselton). Good angels fits the context and Paul’s Jewish background best.

41 Ciampa and Rosner prefer “a symbol of authority on her head” over “have authority over her own head,” *Corinthians*, 532–33. Francis Watson sees the authority as granting her freedom to proclaim God’s word, *Agape, Eros, Gender: Towards a Pauline Sexual Ethic* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 44.
prophesying in the assembly might be similar to Qumran’s priestly exclusion of the blind, lame, those with a visible blemish\textsuperscript{42} because of the presence of angels in the camp. Conversely, the Qumran community would have excluded women from the camp for this same reason (1QM VII.3), and the mothers cannot have a sign of authority (קרמה) in the congregation (4QD\textdegree{} 7 1.13–15).\textsuperscript{43} The presence of God and angels also prohibited the exposure of nakedness in the camp (4Q158 7–8 8; 1QM X.1; VII.4–7). Paul’s reason “because of the angels” could allude to a broader Second Temple Jewish background concerning purity during worship, the presence of angels, and the conception of being a temple community of God’s presence (Exod 20:26; 28:42; Rev 3:8).

For Paul, the veil may be a “mark of respect” for the presence of angels, covering of possible bodily defects (a woman with shorn hair), or prevention of angels worshipping man whose glory she reflects.\textsuperscript{44} The exhortation, then, encourages women to worship in a way that “respected the proper decorum expected in the presence of God and his angelic attendants, such that the community’s full attention was on the glory of God without being distracted by either human glory or shame” (1 Cor 14:40).\textsuperscript{45}

Most remarkable is how Paul, contrary to Jewish convention, gives women a place and a voice in this new temple of God in light of the new creation and oneness in Christ (Gal 3:28). Prophesying women full of God’s spirit fulfils Joel 2:28 where “your sons and your daughters” (οἱ υἱοί ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν) prophesy, because God has poured out his spirit on all flesh (cf. Acts 2:17). For Paul, the dawning of the new age and the pouring out of the spirit upon all people has opened

\textsuperscript{42} For a comprehensive list of exclusions, see Brooke, “Miqdash,” 296 n. 39. Cf. 4Q174 1 1.3–4; 4QMMT B 39–49; 1QSa ii.3–8; 4Q266 8 1.7–9; 4Q267 17 1.6–9; CD-A xv; 11Q19 xlv.12–14; 1QM vii.4–6.
\textsuperscript{43} While scholars debate what קרמה means, they agree the mothers do not have the same authority as men. See George J. Brooke, “From Qumran to Corinth: Embroidered Allusions to Women’s Authority,” in The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: Essays in Mutual Illumination (London: SPCK, 2005), 195–214; Sidnie White Crawford, “Mothers, Sisters, and Elders: Titles for Women in Second Temple Jewish and Early Christian Communities,” in Background, 177–83; Cecilia Wassen argues that the use אותקד in mystical texts in the DSS including Songs may disclose a particular function the Fathers had in the spiritual practices of the community to create “a sense of communion with the heavenly sphere” (193). Women did not or should not have this function according to 4QD\textdegree{} (193), Women in the Damascus Document (AcB 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 185–97.
\textsuperscript{44} Brooke, “Embroidered,” 212–213. For loosened hair as unclean (Num 5:18), see Newton, Purity, 109.
\textsuperscript{45} Ciampa and Rosner, Corinthians, 531.
the doors of the ναός, the inner sanctuary, for all in Christ, including the radical inclusion and active participation of women.

Paul’s temple metaphor, then, appears to be more than a rhetorical illustration, especially with this extended meaning. Angelic presence provides validation to the idea of being a temple community. The community has become the habitation of God and his angelic cohort and potentially the place where heaven and earth meet in *imaginal* sacred space. Paul, if not the Corinthians, perceives with theophanic imagination angels of God to be present observing his ministry (1 Cor 4:9), guarding the honour and glory of God, and perhaps participating in the worship of the ‘in Christ’ community. Paul, however, does not make the worship activities of angels a pronounced focus nor does he use a celestial archetype or a mystical liturgy like the Qumran community.\(^{46}\) Pauline literature in Col 2:18 bears out the disinterest in angelic worship: “Do not let anyone disqualify you, insisting on self-abasement and worship of angels (θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων), dwelling on visions, puffed up without cause by a human way of thinking.”

Paul’s understanding of the relationship between humans and angels differs significantly from *Songs* and the DSS. In the highly developed angelology of Qumran,\(^{47}\) the DSS generally see angels as higher beings and humanity retains a depraved status (creatures of dust) far below angelic perfection and in great need of God’s grace, election, and cleansing. *Songs* maintains this ontological dissimilarity.\(^{48}\) In fact, “Human inadequacy . . . might be the reason for the omission of the angels’ precise words” in *Songs*.\(^{49}\) This is also why “human praise is *like* but not *equal* to angelic praise.”\(^{50}\) Conversely, for Paul, believers through Christ become sons and daughters of God and are called holy ones (ἁγίοις) (1 Cor 1:2; 6:1, 2; 14:33; 16:1, 15; 2 Cor 2:2; cf. 1 Thess 1:13). In this way, the Corinthian believers are elevated above angels—to status as children of God. Conversely, unqualified ‘holy ones’ predominantly means angels in the DSS, and particularly in *Songs*.\(^{51}\) Many DSS

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\(^{46}\) Corbin, *Temple*, 330–32.

\(^{47}\) See Davidson, *Angels*.


\(^{50}\) Chazon, “Communion,” 105.

\(^{51}\) Newsom, *Songs*, 25. In the Hebrew Bible, holy ones as angels occurs in Deut 33:2–3; Ps 89:6; Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech 14:5; Dan 4:10, 14, 20; 7:27; 8:13; holy ones for humans unequivocally occurs
designate angels as sons of heaven. This notwithstanding, the rare occurrences of angelomorphic transformation in the DSS, such as 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\textsuperscript{a–b} and related texts (see §5.4) and disputed appellations which might mean angels or humans.

In contrast to this angelomorphic transformation, the Corinthians will be changed and be re-made in the image of the heavenly, i.e., Christ (1 Cor 15:39). Paul postulates a christomorphic transformation (2 Cor 3:18; Rom 8:29) rather than angelomorphic.\textsuperscript{52} Paul’s statement in 1 Cor 6:3, “Do you not know that we are to judge angels—to say nothing of ordinary matters?” not only has a rhetorical function regarding judgement of matters in the church, but also reveals the eschatological elevation of those in Christ over angels—albeit fallen ones (Rom 8:38; Gal 1:8; 1 En. 1–14). Overall, Paul seems to demote angels in light of salvation and glorification in Christ. For instance, angelic ordination makes the law inferior (Gal 3:19).\textsuperscript{53} Angels only have a secondary, diminishing importance in comparison with Christ and believers’ corporate participation in the new creation through the spirit.

So, looking back to 1 Cor 11:10, one can now ask the question, does this passage place humans (and in particular women) above or below angels? John Paul Heil, Roy Ciampa, and Brian Rosner make a case through the allusion to LXX Ps 8:4–5 in 1 Cor 11:10 that at the present the Corinthians are just below the angels, but will one day be glorified above them.\textsuperscript{54} Ciampa and Rosner suggest Heb 2:7–9 supports their interpretation that the life of Christ and Christians is “below the status of angels for a limited time, until their glory would be fully realized.”\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{52} N.B.: The Gospel saying, in the resurrection they will be ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Matt 22:30; Mark 12:25) or ἰσάγγελοι (Luke 20:36).

\textsuperscript{53} Jean Héring questions whether Paul’s angel references refer to bad angels just because they may be in the process of falling while trying to account for the complexity of Paul’s angelology, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (London: Epworth Press, 1962), 108. Cf. Poirier, Tongues, 55 n. 32.

\textsuperscript{54} The convergence of ἄνθρωπος, ἄνθρωπος, δόξα, and τιμή in v. 10 alludes to LXX Ps 8:5–6, in which humans were “made a little lower than the angels (LXX παρ’ ἄγγελοις); and crowned with glory and honour.” John Paul Heil understands this to mean “the woman should take account not only of her creational status as the glory of man, but also of the creational status of both men and women as having a glory and honor that approaches that of the angels,” The Rhetorical Role of Scripture in 1 Corinthians (SBLMS 15; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 183. So, by having a symbol of authority on her head, she maintains her “lofty creational status” just below the angels (184), Ciampa and Rosner, Corinthians, 529–33.

\textsuperscript{55} Ciampa and Rosner, Corinthians, 533 n. 118.
Despite their ambiguity about the meaning of status, their suggestion seems plausible at first. On closer inspection, however, Paul seems more ambiguous and Christ has already risen. Undoubtedly, Paul argues for respect and decorum in 1 Cor 11:10 and for the proper place of human glory in worship. If the veil keeps angels from worshipping the glory of man, then their lower status claim cannot be sustained. The worship of man’s glory by angels though is uncertain. For Paul what is undeniable is that the old order under angelic beings, rulers of this age (1 Cor 2:6–8; 15:24), and elemental spirits (Gal 4:3, 9; cf. Col 2:8, 20) is passing away and the new order has been inaugurated with the new creation (2 Cor 5:17). For Paul the glorious transformation of believers, both male and female, into the image and glory of God by the spirit has begun (2 Cor 3:18; cf. Rom 8:29), and they are now becoming the righteousness of God (5:21).

Furthermore, the ἐξουσίαν on the woman’s head does not mean subordination to man or to angels but her authority under God to prophesy and pray in the assembly.\(^{56}\) Francis Watson’s proposal seems more likely: “The veil is prophetic sign to the angels that the new creation has dawned and that their jurisdiction has passed away.”\(^{57}\) As part of the new creation in Christ, her ἐξουσίαν is greater than the angels’ authority and is a sign to them of her fitting participation in the worship of the temple community.\(^{58}\) Thus, all those in Christ are part of the new creation, have authority, reflect the glory of God and of Christ, and will eventually judge the angels. Paul’s use of κρίνω in 1 Cor 6:3 implies divine elevation of believers in Christ over angels as the ones judging have authority over ones being judged—just as the context mentions judging of the κόσμος, of which angels are part, and of life matters (βιωτικά) (v. 2).\(^{59}\)

\(^{56}\) Morna D. Hooker, “Authority on her Head: An Examination of 1 Cor. xi. 10,” NTS 10 (1964): 413–16.  
^{57} Watson, Agape, 71.  
^{58} Watson, Agape, 71.  
^{59} While κρίνω could have a broader sense of rule as in the LXX (see “κρίνω,” BAGD 451–52 and V. Hentrich, “κρίνω,” TDNT 3:923), Paul M. Hoskins argues contextually for a “strictly judicial sense” in 6:2–3 (295). He states, “Paul is not merely adapting a common Jewish eschatological belief; he is making, instead, a unique claim that is more closely tied to his Christology and ecclesiology than to his Jewish background.” Believers through their unity with Christ “will share in the judging activity of Christ at the Last Judgment. Even angels will fall under the jurisdiction of believers, since they also fall under Christ’s” (297), “The Use of Biblical and Extrabiblical Parallels in the Interpretation of First Corinthians 6:2–3,” CBQ 63 (2001): 297. Likewise, Thiselton connects “Christian corporeity” of being in Christ with sharing in Christ’s acts and pronouncements of judgment, Corinthians, 425–31 (cf. Dan 7:22; 1QpHab v.4). Whether this includes good and evil angels is unclear.
Paul appears to be separating himself from traditional Jewish conceptions of angels and humans. Paul also advocates ongoing transformation through a union with Christ into the image and glory of God that implies divinisation in Christ (2 Cor 3:18; 5:21). Unlike the angels and quasi-angelic beings in Songs who make up the celestial temple, the Corinthian community through Christ becomes the dwelling place of God’s spirit, personally and corporately—a spiritual, living temple of humans, a temple not made with hands. The body of Christ metaphor reinforces this union and glorious transformation as believers are united together into a corporate “mystical body” (1 Cor 12:12–27). This mystical corporeity provides a radical contrast with the Qumran community, in which communion with angels in the celestial temple provided the closest proximity to God.

7.6 Tongues of Angels in the Corinthian Ekklesia (1 Cor 13:1)
While the presence of angels in worship reinforces the temple concept in the Corinthian community, another area of extended meaning concerns the “tongues of angels” and angelic-like praise. In 1 Cor 13:1, Paul proceeds with a conditional statement to correct the Corinthians by reprioritising love and the building up of the community through appropriate practise of the manifestations of the spirit. Paul writes, “If I speak in the tongues of humans and of angels, but do not have love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal” (1 Cor 13:1). The protasis taken at face value is a confirmation by Paul that tongues (ταῖς γλώσσαις) can be of humans (τῶν ἀνθρώπων) or of angels (τῶν ἀγγέλων) and assumes angels have their own languages. He is referring to tongues as a manifestation of the spirit (12:7, 10). These tongues speak to God mysteries in the spirit and include prayer (προσέχωμαι) in the spirit, singing praise (ψαλῶ), blessings (εὐλογέω), and thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) (14:2, 14–17). If interpreted, the tongue will contain words of the spirit, which will build up and instruct (v. 19) the church; edification may come in the form of revelation, knowledge, prophecy, or teaching (14:6).

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60 Corbin, Temple, 330.
61 Could this refer to joint praise? See Poirier on interpreting this as earthly-heavenly counterparts or community, Tongues, 57.
63 Fee argues for the idea of communion with God through tongues since the believer is edified, Corinthians, 656.
The tongues of angels in Songs offer a striking correspondence to Paul’s tongues of humans and angels. Both phenomena include speaking to God, singing praise, blessings, thanksgiving, and mysteries in worship. Songs has two additions: the tongue of purity and the tongue of knowledge. One wonders if the tongues of humans and of angels may be referring to joint human and angelic praise, like Qumran, or earthly-heavenly counterparts. This would fit with a common understanding of the temple as a place of joint praise. Paul’s use of the hypothetical “I,” however, delineates humans who speak by the spirit either the tongues of humans (other human languages like in Acts) and/or the tongues of angels.64

What illumination does the similar correspondence in angelic tongues bring to the Corinthian community and Paul’s temple metaphor? Songs, as a pre-sectarian text with a copy found at Masada, reveals that joint angelic praise and praise like the angels was a broader concept in 2TJ.65 Moreover, Songs links angelic tongues with the heavenly sanctuary. The Corinthian community may have understood themselves as praying like the angels by speaking in tongues.66 Rather than ascend to the celestial realm and join the angels in worship in heaven, the holy spirit enabled angelic tongues in the worshipping community on earth.67 This could be a reflection of the imaginal heavenly temple in the Corinthian community. Angels joined or watched them in this temple (ναός) gathering.

Some in the community may have taken this angelic-like conception too far. Potentially, Paul may broaden tongues to include angelic and human to correct a narrower angeloglossic model of tongues in Corinth.68 Tongues speaking could have been an indicator of spiritual status.69 The Corinthians boastfully conceived of

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64 Thiselton, Corinthians, 1033; Martin, Body, 267 n. 263.
67 Notwithstanding, Paul ascends to heaven and hears unutterable things in 2 Cor 12:1–4.
68 Poirier cites λαλέως γλώσσαις from proto-Aquila Isa 28:11–12 as a model independent of Paul, which he follows instead of an angeloglossic model, Tongues, 56. Could accounts of tongues being different human languages from accounts of the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–11) have reached Paul’s ears and influenced his inclusion of human tongues along with angelic?
69 Martin, in Body, 86, 91–92 and “Tongues of Angels and Other Status Indicators,” JAAR 59 (1991): 547–89, and Ben Witherington, in Conflict and Community in Corinth: a Socio-rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 282, suggest a self-interested practice of tongues speaking to increase one’s spiritual status in front of others. Thiselton reasons for both a positive or negative use depending on the way an individual appropriates the gift, Corinthians, 1095.
themselves as πνευματικοί, who were above the present world (1 Cor 14:37). One can see how the practise of spiritual manifestations, especially speaking angelic tongues, could have been considered proof of their participation in the heavenly world and angelic-like spirituality. This may be a “realised eschatology” or better yet an “overspiritualized eschatology.”

In response, Paul admonishes them for their boasting, overemphasis on tongues speaking in the assembly, and neglect of holy behaviour with the physical body. His corrective reminds them that they are a holy temple of God: personally and corporately. Unlike the elevation of angelic tongues in Songs, Paul questions the usefulness of tongues in public gatherings unless articulated into intelligible words. The Corinthians need God’s true wisdom and love found in the cross of Christ. They should build up and instruct others through intelligibility in the gathered assembly. They need to demonstrate self-less deference to others, and they need to honour God with their bodies, which are the temple of God’s spirit. Paul maintains an eschatological tension and reminds them of their mortality. They have yet to be raised imperishable (1 Cor 15:50). They only see in a mirror dimly, not face to face with God on his throne as at the eschaton (1 Cor 13:12).

How does tongues speaking work as an extension of the temple metaphor? Intriguingly, Paul contends that when the Corinthians properly use tongues with interpretation and prophecy in public worship, the hearts of unbelievers will be exposed. They will bow down in worship exclaiming, “God is truly among you” (1 Cor 14:25)—an allusion to the temple metaphor. Recognition of God being ‘in’ and ‘among’ them ἐν ὑμῖν comes from worship that prioritises building up of the community in love rather than selfish personal edification through speaking tongues angelic or human in a public gathering without interpretation. Tongues speaking, appropriately exercised, then, are a manifestation of the community being a temple of the living God.

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70 Meier sees glossolalia as participation in the heavenly realm “der Teilhabe an der himmelischen Welt,” which brings the speaker near to angels through heavenly prayer: “Für die Glossolalie besteht die Nähe zu den Engeln darin, daß die Betenden am himmlischen Gebet teilnehmen,” Mystik, 224–25.
72 Fee, Empowering, 83.
73 Thiselton, Corinthians, 1081–1107.
7.7 Conclusions

Through this heuristic comparison the correspondence between angelic presence and tongues of angels between Songs and Paul’s temple metaphor, indicate Paul’s temple identification has extended meaning for the Corinthian ekklesia and draws upon the broader 2TJ background. While the temple metaphor has a rhetorical function to prescribe corporate unity, holiness, and glorification of God, the metaphor also speaks to the Corinthian community’s experience of divine transcendence associated with the ναός—a communal participation in the indwelling spirit of God. When they gather as a temple community, the Corinthians perceive angels present through their theophanic imagination of being a temple community—a possible reflection of the imaginal heavenly temple. Unlike Qumran, however, Paul breaks with some traditions concerning a temple identity and angels. Angels only have secondary importance to Christ and believers’ corporate participation in the new creation. Rather than synchronising with angelic liturgy, order is one of communal participation in the spirit. Those in Christ have greater authority than the angels, and women have authority and a voice in the worship practice of this temple community. For Paul and the Corinthians, the indwelling spirit enables the people to speak tongues of humans and of angels, not in the heavenly temple, but in an earthly, embodied one, while they anticipate transformation into Christ-like immortals. Thus, appropriate participation in the spirit as a community demonstrates the Corinthian ekklesia is the new dwelling place of God.
Chapter 8

COMMUNAL BEHOLDING, TRANSFORMATION, AND THEOSIS
IN 2 COR 3:18 IN LIGHT OF
MOSES-ΔΟΞΑ TRADITIONS IN THE DSS

8.1 Introduction

In the overview of Paul and JM in §1.2 the themes of Christ as the glory of the Lord, beholding of this glory, and the resulting transformation and glorification appear as key mystical ideas in Paul. These ideas converge in 2 Cor 3 where Paul refers to Moses’ radiated face as a model for transformation by vision. The foregoing examination in chapter 4 of Moses-Δόξα traditions¹ in 4Q374, 4Q377, 4Q378, 4QEnε ar frag. 4 10, and Jubilees evinces early Jewish mystical ideas concerning Moses in 2TJ. Moses at Sinai envisions or ascends to the heavenly throne of God, receives supernatural authority, and assumes angelic-like or god-like characteristics (akin to deification). Moses-Δόξα traditions and related themes of ‘shine on the face of the many,’ ‘the glory of Adam,’ and ‘transformation by vision’ in the DSS in comparison to 2 Cor 3 will illuminate Paul’s Christian utilisation of Moses-Δόξα traditions and how he advocates a communal beholding and transformation that could be described as communal theosis. This too will speak to communal participation in the spirit.

2 Cor 3:7–4:6 and Early Jewish Mysticism

Joseph Fitzmyer criticises W. C. Van Unnik for presuming that the mystical ideas in 2 Cor 3:17-18 illustrate Paul’s “non-Jewish mode of thinking.”² Fitzmyer demonstrates through Qumran parallels that Paul could have drawn upon a Jewish

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¹ Belleville notes multiple Moses-Δόξα traditions, Reflections, 79.
Palestinian background for his mystical ideas—including transformation by vision. Studies since suggest Paul reflects a variety of types of JM in 2 Cor 3, such as DeConick (vision mysticism), Scott (Jewish hydromancy), Segal (catoptromancy), and Karl Sandnes and Kim (throne-vision mysticism). While some of these refer to comparative passages in the DSS, they have not exhausted this area of study nor adequately accounted for Paul’s communal emphasis and the relationship to participation in the spirit.

Among the mystical elements present in 2 Cor 3:7–4:6, there are two examples of transformation by vision: Moses’ face is transformed (glorified) by beholding the glory of God, and all believers are transformed through the spirit by beholding the

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4 DeConick points to Moses Traditions and the roots of vision mysticism in Hellenistic Piety among mystery religions such as Hermeticism (39–44) (questioned by Kim, Origin, 141–42 n. 1) and in Second Temple texts including in the DSS (62–64). She argues the salvific mystical pattern appears in 2 Cor 3:18 where Paul states that the vision of the Glory initiates a metamorphosis into divine likeness (64). She concludes, “It is obvious that this text belongs to one of the oldest strata of vision mysticism in early Christianity” (65–66). She sees the transformation by gaze found in 2 Cor 3:18 as a combination of Greek mysteriosophy and eschatology, Voices, 66. For a critique of DeConick, see Litwa, Transformed, 221–22.
5 Scott, Corinthians, 100.
6 Segal points out Paul’s mystical vocabulary in 2 Cor 3:18–4:6 and suggests Paul’s mystical experience as the background (2 Cor 12:1–4). Paul’s comparison with Moses’ experience of the glory of God mirrors Jewish mysticism where beholding God’s glory precedes transformation. He sees Paul’s “ecstatic conversion and mystical ascension experience” as not necessarily the norm, but Paul likens the believers knowing Christ and ongoing transformation to his experience. The face of Christ is the glory of God; Christ is the morphe and eikon of God and believers are transformed into his image (cf. Col 1:15–20), which points to Christ’s pre-existence. Christ as Lord has received the divine name (Phil 2:5–11). Texts with similar themes include Dan 12, Enoch’s transformation into the son of man 1 En. 37–71. Paul’s “ecstatic conversion and mystical ascension experience” forms the basis of his theology. Segal’s four major points are: (1) language of vision informs Paul concept of Christ’s divinity with Jewish mystical tradition and as characteristically Christian, (2) Jewish mystical vocabulary expresses transformation of believers and warrants immortality (transformed with/like saviour), (3) transformation language from JM-apocalyptic ecstatic conversion to discuss ultimate salvation, and (4) fleshly v. Spiritual distinction (70). He also notes 2 Cor 3:18’s similarity to catoptromancy (bowl divination) from Magic Papyri (323–24 n. 94), Convert, 58–71; idem, Life after Death: a History of the Afterlife in Western Religion (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 399–440. Cf. A. T. Hanson, “The Midrash in II Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration,” JSNT 3 (1980): 2–28.
8 Scholars are divided on translating κατοπτριζόμενοι (2 Cor 3:18) as either ‘beholding’ or ‘reflecting.’ Slightly more favour ‘beholding.’ See arguments by Hafemann, Paul, 411 n. 239; Harris, Corinthians, 314; Furnish, Corinthians, 214, 221; Jan Lambrecht, Second Corinthians (SP 8;
glory of the Lord⁹ as in a mirror. As the transformation is into the same image, the possibility of theosis exists in this passage and may reflect Moses-Δόξα and glory of Adam traditions.

2 Corinthians 3:7–4:6: Summary and Context
In 2 Cor 3:7–4:6, Paul attempts to reconcile his apostolic relationship with the Corinthian ekklesia. Paul did not visit again after the severe letter to spare them another painful visit (2 Cor 1:15–2:4; 12:14; 13:1). He wrote 2 Corinthians in response to the positive report by Titus of how the Corinthians received his letter (7:11–16; 1:13). Paul offers them comfort (1:3–7), shares his afflictions in Asia (8–11), and reiterates his love and intentions toward them (1:12–2:4). He encourages forgiveness of the one, who has been punished, and reminds them of the triumph and fragrance of Christ (2:5–17). Paul defends the sincerity and truthfulness of his service to them, his proclamation of God’s word, and the valid origin of his and Timothy’s work as “sent from God” (3:17).⁹ Paul counters a maligning of his ministry and implies his rivals, like the hardened Israelites, are ones who cannot see.¹¹

In chapter three, Paul addresses the question of self-commendation and letters (ἐπιστολών) of recommendation. Paul counters that they are his letter of recommendation—a corporate letter of Christ, prepared by Paul and Timothy, and written by the spirit of God on human hearts (vv. 1–3). Indeed, the presence of the spirit of God in the community legitimately confirms Paul’s ministry.¹² Paul, through


⁹ In line with JM traditions, Paul seems to have identified Christ with the humanoid figure (kābōd) above the throne in Ezek 1:28. See Segal, Convert, 10–11, 52–61; Kim, Origin, 223–37; idem, Paul, 165–213; Sandnes, Paul, 139–45; Philip, Origins, 176–81; Hafemann, Paul, 420 n.266.

¹⁰ For suspicions of the Corinthians, see Furnish, Corinthians, 369.


“inference by analogy” of letter(s) (ἐπιστολῶν/ἐπιστολή) to the letter(s) (γράμμασιν/γράμμα) of the old covenant, draws a contrast to the ministry of the spirit of the new covenant (vv. 4–6).\(^\text{13}\)

Paul then picks up in a midrashic-like manner Exodus 34 and the glory on Moses’ face. He contrasts the temporal/fading glory of the ministry of death/condemnation with the permanent/surpassing glory of the ministry of the spirit/justification (vv.7–11). The external veiled face of Moses, an exclusive relationship with God, Paul freely associates with the remaining internal veil on the heart (ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν) of the people of Israel, who also have hardened minds (v. 15). For everyone in Christ, the veil is permanently removed (vv. 12–16). Through the freedom of the spirit and corporate beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, believers experience ongoing transformation into the same image (v.17–18). Paul, after another short defence and explanation of the openness (boldness) of his ministry by God’s mercy, associates the gospel he proclaims to the glory and the veiled gospel to Satan’s work—blinding the minds of unbelievers (4:1–5). The gospel, he explains in a possible section climax is “the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ” which God has “shone (ἔλαμψεν) in our hearts” (v. 6).

8.2 Shine on the Face of Many

Fitzmyer in his comparison of 2 Cor 3 with the mystical ideas in DSS notes the prevalence of “a motif of divine illumination of the face or the heart of the members of the [Qumram] community.”\(^\text{14}\) Two passages from Hodayot\(^a\) illustrate how this “motif” stems from Moses-Δόξα traditions. In 1QH\(^a\) xii.5–7, the hymnist speaks of the Lord in terms of light and as having illumined his face for his covenant: “\(^6\)I thank you, Lord, that you have illumined my face for your covenant and m[ ] \(^7\)[ ] \(^I\) seek you, and as sure as dawn, you appear to me as early [li]ght.” The covenant is the renewed understanding of the Mosaic covenant conceived of by the sectarian community (1QS v.8; CD-A v.1; vi.19). This theme reappears in 1QH\(^a\) xii.28a. The hymnist proclaims, “Through me you have illumined the faces\(^15\) of many (פְּלֵ stockholm),

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\(^{13}\) Fitzmyer, “Glory,” 634–35.

\(^{14}\) Fitzmyer, “Glory,” 643.

\(^{15}\) Or ‘face.’
and you have increased them beyond number.” In lines 28b–30, the author explains what this illumination means, “For you have made me understand your wonderful mysteries, and in your wonderful council you have shown yourself strong to me and doing wondrously before many for the sake of your glory and in order to make known to all the living your mighty deeds.” The maškil, whose face God has illumined through an understanding of God’s mysteries and deeds, can then illumine the face of others, likely in a corporate gathering, by teaching God’s law (Mosaic covenant) and the esoteric interpretation of it made by the teacher of righteousness (1QpHab vii.1–5; 4QTest 17–18).

According to 1QSb iv.24–28 this luminary, Mosaic-like function “to shine on the face of the many” corresponds to the purpose of the priests of the community to function like an angel of the face (from before God’s throne in heaven). They are to teach ‘many’ (רבים)—i.e., the community members. Line 28 ties the illumination to functioning like an angel in the holy of holies: “[… And may he make you] a diadem of the holy of holies, because [you shall be made holy] for him and you shall glorify his name and his holy things.” The priestly blessing in 1QS ii.2–4 shifts the illumination from the face to the heart: “May he illuminate your heart with the discernment of life and grace you with eternal knowledge” (line 3). This heart illumination consists of proper discernment with eternal knowledge, two concepts central to the identity of the yahad and similar to 2 Cor 4:6.

The examination of the shining/illumination of the face motif in the DSS discloses Paul’s nuanced use of the Moses-Δόξα traditions in 2 Cor 3–4. First, while the LXX describes Moses’ face as being glorified (Exod 34:29), Paul takes it one step further, possibly following some Second Temple traditions, and ascribes glory directly to Moses’ shining face. This glory, for Paul, represents the glory of the Mosaic covenant or law, which is being set aside. The context of Exodus 33–34 implies that the rays sent out from Moses’ face come from his encounter with God, who reveals his goodness to Moses and speaks with him face to face. The DSS do not grant Moses’ face glory, although they do speak of the illumination, brightness,

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18 Belleville, Reflections, 20–78.
19 The Hebrew text says the skin of Moses face shone (קרן).
and shining on the face that knowledge and understanding of the law of Moses or even knowledge of God’s glory brings. The DSS appear to maintain a distinction between glory and illumination, whereas Paul makes a direct correlation between the glory of God and illumination of the gospel.

Both 1Q34 and 2 Cor 3 connect God’s spirit and glory together. In 1Q34 frag. 3 11.7–8, renewal of the covenant comes “in the vision of glory” with the words of God’s spirit, possibly meaning the revelation (nistarot) of the law. They may both draw upon Ezek 36 and 37. For the Qumran community, the words of the spirit and the renewal of the covenant partially fulfil the promises of Ezek 36:26–27; 37:1–14. In contrast, for Paul, the new covenant is the ministry of the spirit, written on human hearts by the spirit not on stone tablets (2 Cor 3:3, 6). Paul radically calls the old covenant a ministry of death (v. 8). The content is not the renewed Mosaic covenant, but “the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God” (2 Cor 4:4) and “the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ” (v. 6).

In addition, the content of illumination for Paul is more than just inspired pesher (interpretation) of Moses’ words, like at Qumran. Christ is the mystery and wisdom of God himself, which has been hidden and is now revealed through the crucifixion (1 Cor 1:30; 2:1, 7). Christ is the fulfilment—the ‘Amen’—of all the promises of God in scripture (2 Cor 1:20). Hooker further clarifies here that Christ is not “the passive content of scripture” but “the active agent” and life-giving spirit “who writes in men’s hearts the truth to which scripture bears witness.”

Illumination, for Paul, comes through encounter with Christ, the Lord of glory, in the community of God’s people through the spirit. In 2 Cor 3:18, the often overlooked singular participial phrase ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ may disclose the communal nature of this unveiling and beholding (encounter). Since ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ is a singular and modifies the singular προσώπῳ, the plain translation should be “with unveiled face.” Translators, though, frequently use “with

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20 Belleville suggests Hodayot’s alludes to the association between the illumination of Moses’ face and the glory of the law, Reflections, 46–47. Fitzmyer, however, contends as do the passages examined above that no direct connection is made between the light from Moses’ face and glory in the DSS, “Glory,” 78.
unveiled faces” (e.g., NRSV, NIV, CEV, Harris). Harris, for example, defends his choice by calling it a “distributive singular”—meaning true for all Christians.22

A plural, however, potentially obscures a communal aspect to the beholding and illumination. The Israelite community beheld Moses’ face in a corporate setting. At Qumran, the maškîl illumines “the face of the many” (פָּנִים רבִּים), meaning the corporate face of the assembly (1QSb iv.27).23 Likewise for Paul, the glory of the Lord is mediated or shines from the face of Christ (2 Cor 4:6) and all those ‘in Christ,’ i.e., in the community of Christ, behold this glory corporately. Paul uses an abundance of corporate metaphors such as the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:3, cf. 12:12, 27; Rom 12), the temple of God (1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16), and the mind of Christ (1 Cor 2:16; Phil 1:27; 2:2). Paul also speaks in corporate terms in the context of 2 Cor 3. They corporately are a letter of Christ (v. 3) and they have moved from the veiled old covenant community to the unveiled new covenant community. These metaphors and the covenantal context reinforce that Paul speaks of the corporate unveiled face of the Christian community, who beholds the glory in v. 18.

Who receives the illumination? For Paul the glory on Moses’ face appears exclusive, and the Israelites’ hardened minds (2 Cor 3:14) leave their singular, corporate heart veiled (κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται) (v.15). This hermeneutical veil prevents a true understanding when reading Moses.24 Paul’s description of the blind Israelites is similar to those who do not understand the covenant, even in the DSS (Rom 11:7–32; 4Q271 frag. 4 II.4–5; CD-A XVI.1–18). This comes from a common scriptural background (e.g., Isa 6:9–10; 29:10–12; 63:17; Deut 29:2–4).25 Paul further attributes the veiling to cosmic opposition: “the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel” (2 Cor 4:4).

Paul states the one (ἔὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ) who turns toward the Lord will have the veil removed. In context, the antecedent appears to be “the heart of them” (τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν), i.e., the Israelites (2 Cor 3:15).26 Paul parallels those who turn to the Lord with Moses, himself, who removed the veil when he spoke with the Lord (Exod

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22 Harris, Corinthians, 313.
24 The old covenant=Moses=the Pentateuch, Harris, Corinthians, 305.
25 See Stockhausen on the “scriptural matrix” Paul uses to interpret Exod 34, Veil, 147.
26 Stockhausen’s translation, “whenever it turns toward the Lord,” Veil, 89.
Thus, the person receives illumination by turning to the Lord, not to Moses. Paul goes on “but we all” (ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες), Jews and Gentiles in Christ, with unveiled face are seeing as in a mirror, κατοπτριζόμενοι, (present middle participle) the glory of the Lord (2 Cor 3:16, 18).

Again, Paul has a communal aspect in mind with we all. When one personally encounters God’s glory in Christ through the spirit, one becomes part of the new, unveiled people of God and part of the new creation. Through participation in the assembly of saints and the same spirit (in pneumatika, preaching, Scripture reading, baptism, and Eucharist), one beholds “with unveiled face” (ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ) in the community the glory of the Lord. The “unveiled face” contrasts contextually to the veiled face/heart of the Israelites (vv. 14–15). Therefore, the beholding is primarily with the heart—envisioning the unseen (cf. 4:18). So, God “has shone” in their hearts (4:6). Likewise, the blessing of the priests, in 1QS II.3, ties illumination to the heart. For the Christian community, all believers have “direct access” through the spirit rather than relying upon a mediator like Moses to the glory of the Lord found in Christ. Nonetheless, this beholding takes place in community for the yahad and for the Corinthian assembly. Despite Paul’s own personal revelation of Christ, here he democratises the mystical beholding beyond the esoteric of the elite to the exoteric—the whole community. The beholding, then, can be characterised as communal participation in the transforming work of the spirit.

8.3 Glory of Adam

Paul links εἰκών ‘image’ of the Lord to mystical transformation into δόξα ‘glory’ in 2 Cor 3:18. In 1 Cor 15, Paul uses again εἰκών and δόξα, this time to speak of the eschatological bodily change into the εἰκών of the last Adam, who is Christ. So, Paul makes a clear connection between image, glory, and Adam (cf. Gen 1:26; 5:1; 9:6).

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27 The omission of πάντες and the variants of οἱ κατοπτριζόμενοι and μεταμορφούμενοι in Ψ may indicate one tradition that sees transformation occurring only with an elite few or Jews who turn to the Lord, i.e., Christ. The majority reading, however, is preferred.

28 See Stockhausen, Veil, 89 n. 10 on “we all” referring to the whole Christian community; Thrall, Corinthians, 1:282.

29 Furnish, Corinthians, 213–14.

What Paul does, however, and how 2 Cor 3:18 explicates believers’ transformation into the image of the glory, can be illuminated through a comparison to a similar linkage between דמות ‘likeness’ of God’s glory in 4Q405 frag. 8 and the glory of Adam in CD-A, 1QS, and 1QH.

In 4Q504 Words of the Luminaries (c.150 B.C.E.), a weekly liturgy of prayers, the only reference in the DSS to the likeness of God appears. Adam is fashioned in the likeness of God’s glory rather than the image and likeness of God (Gen 1:26). This connects the adamic likeness of God motif in the creation account and prelapsarian life in the Garden of Eden with God’s glory—a connection not found in Gen 1:

4[... Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the image of [your] glory (יצרתה כבודבדמות) [...] 5[... the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge [...] 6[... in the gard]en of Eden, which you had planted. You made [him] govern [...] 7[...] and so that he would walk in a glorious land [...] (4Q504 frag. 8 4–7)

This passage might indicate an exegetical connection between Adam made in the likeness of God’s glory and the divine, adamic figure of glory (מראה דמות כבוד־יהוה) in Ezek 1:26, 28. Other passages in the liturgy of 4Q504 suggest the author understood the Qumran community, as the true Israel, to be created “for your glory” (frags. 1–2 III.4) so others nations would “see your glory” (frags. 1–2 IV.8–9). Frag. 6 infers a present expectation, like in the wilderness, of God’s glory being “in [our] midst” (line 11). Since frag. 6 speaks of God’s glory, the column of fire and cloud, and the face of Moses (lines 10–12), Orlov suggests the parallels between Adam’s glory and Moses’ glory evince an Adam/Moses connection with the renewal of God’s glory upon the human body demonstrated with Moses as found among the

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31 Baillett, DJD VII:137. Alexander identifies 4Q504 as a mystical text, Mystical, 10.
32 דמות should be rendered as “likeness, appearance, form, or substance” rather than ‘image.’
DSS. Orlov’s reading, while based upon hints and concepts drawn mostly from later texts (cf. 3 Bar. 4:13; T. Ab. 11:8; Ps 104:1–2), when compared with Paul will show a slightly similar Adam/Christ connection in 2 Cor 3 and 1 Cor 15.

The elect among the Qumran community and possibly earlier concomitant Essene groups expected to receive ‘all the glory of Adam’ mostly in the eschatological future (e.g., 4Q171). In 4QInstruction, the elect will receive the inheritance of Adam and glory (4Q416 frag. 2 i.6; frag. 2 iii.12; 4Q417 frag. 1 i.11; frag. 2 i.13; 4Q418 frag. 9 12), which is a restoration (frag. 2 iii.9). In CD-A iii.20, the promise says, “Those who remained steadfast in it [a safe home in Israel] will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam is for them.” This exceptional, eschatological endowment in CD-A is reserved for priests, Levites, and the sons of Zadok only, as its exposition of Ezek 44:15 delimits (iii.20–iv.4). The “safe home in Israel” is the Qumran community raised up by the Teacher of Righteousness 390 years after the Babylonian exile (i.5–11).

The reception of the glory of Adam in some DSS oscillates between future, as noted above, and present. As mentioned in §2.2, the author(s) of Hodayot a has the elect receive all of Adam’s glory in this life (1QHa iv.27). Yet in Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch (4Q205–207), the restoration into pristine adamic likeness occurs when “an eschatological figure is born as a white bull—as Adam was in this vision’s allegory (1 En. 90:37; cf. 85:1)—and all humanity is transformed into white bulls (90:30).” The community still awaited this figure’s birth. This same oscillation between future and present reception of glory can be seen with the sevenfold shining of the righteous—a parallel to the glory of Adam. In 1QHa xv.27, the hymnist declares, “I shine forth with sevenfold light b [ you have established (me) for your glory.” While Hodayot a has a present expectation, 4Q212 iv.24–25b (=1 En. 91:16)

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35 Fletcher-Louis, Glory, 96–97.
36 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 85.
37 For heptadic light traditions of the righteous in early Judaism and the NT, see W. F. Smelik, “On Mystical Transformation of the Righteous into Light in Judaism,” JSJ 26 (1995): 135. He writes, “The representation of the light of creation by a multiple of seven and the participation in the splendour of the Shekhinah by identifying the number ‘seven’ with the righteous and with the increase of light seem to indicate a transformation of the righteous that goes far beyond metaphorical descriptions of material bliss” (144).
has an eschatological sevenfold shining after judgment: “In it the first heaven will pass away and [there will appear a new] heaven will rise and shine throughout all eternity, [seven times more.” This sevenfold light comes directly from God the everlasting luminary. This shining may be a conceptual reference to the righteous becoming angels at the eschaton (1 En. 51:4).

Does Paul envision glorification as at the same time present (already) and eschatological (not yet)? In 2 Cor 3:18, the metamorphosis into the same image of the glory of the Lord is an ongoing process from glory to glory. Like 1QHa IV.27, Paul unequivocally advocates a present expectation of glorious transformation. This transformation in 2 Cor 3–4 appears mostly to be internal (ἐσω) by the spirit into Christ likeness—the image of God (cf. Rom 12:1–2). The outward body is wasting away (4:16). Paul ostensibly postpones bodily change until the resurrection (1 Cor 15:50–54). Since Paul understands the glory of God to be disclosed in the “incarnation and the cross,” inward transformation includes sharing in Christ’s sufferings, death, and resurrection.

For Paul, the ongoing, inward transformation is by God’s spirit. In a similar comparison, the author of 1QS promises ‘all the glory of Adam’ to the elect: “For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam” (1QS IV.22b–23a). The fulfillment of the promise comes after the cleansing of a holy spirit, reception of the spirit of truth (lines 20–21), instruction in “knowledge of the Most High,” and wisdom of angels (“sons of heaven”) (line 22). Members of the yahad who walk in the spirit of holiness and truth with a right heart receive Adam’s glory, a crown of glory, and raiment of eternal light as an eternal reward (lines 6–8).

This theme has two distinctions from Paul. The spirit mentioned primarily concerns cleansing of the chosen rather than the present transformation into glory.

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40 Note the connection between walking with a right heart and in the spirit in 1QS that is similar to 2 Cor 3–4. Robes of light at times are equated with knowledge of God in Second Temple Jewish and Rabbinic literature, Golitzin, “Recovering,” 279.
that Paul ascribes to the spirit. In addition, this spirit of holiness and truth cannot be falsely equated with Paul’s understanding of God’s spirit, because IQS IV appears in the so-called Two-Spirit Treatise (III.13–IV.26), which discloses a complex “dual anthropology.”\textsuperscript{41} God placed two spirits in human hearts—the spirits of truth and deceit—which are at enmity with one another (III.17–19; IV.23).\textsuperscript{42} Two more spirits, the prince of lights and the angel of darkness, rule humanity—even the elect. Only the righteous with God’s assistance will receive the new creation (IV.25) at the appointed end, when “the spirit of injustice” will be eradicated from “the innermost part of his flesh” (IV.20–21). God does the cleansing “with a spirit of holiness” and by sprinkling over “him the spirit of truth like lustral water” (line 21). In a Second Temple Jewish context, the spirit of holiness and truth was likely understood as a divine entity with a resulting holy and truth-filled disposition. Clearly, in IQS, God’s chosen are still waiting for the fullness of Ezekiel’s promised divine spirit, but according to Paul, the eschatological spirit has already been poured out in fulfilment of Ezek 37:26–27. He alludes to this in 2 Cor 3:3, and in 5:17, the new creation already occurs in Christ. This may be one reason Paul sees the glorious transformation as present, while in the IQS it is eschatological.

Bodily transformation, according to Paul, will occur at the resurrection—a future event. In 1 Cor 15, Paul makes a distinction between the glory of the heavenly bodies and earthly bodies (v. 40). The mortal, physical body, which is perishable, will be sown in dishonour and weakness, but raised in glory and power (vv. 42–43). Paul distinguishes between the first Adam and the last Adam, who is Christ. He writes, “The first man, Adam, became a living being”; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit” (v. 45), and “the second man [last Adam] is from heaven” (v. 47). The first Adam left humanity in dishonor (ἀτιμία), weakness (ἀσθενεία), corruptible (φθαρτὸν), and mortal (θνητὸν). Paul, then, depicts a difference of images. He does not envisage a return to the image of Adam or even the glory of the prelapsarian Adam, but conceives of a new, heavenly image. He explains, “Just as we have borne the image of dust, we will bear (φορέσωμεν) the image of the heavenly” (v. 49). The aorist subjunctive variant φορέσωμεν, which has stronger textual support, offers an

\textsuperscript{41} Kooten, Anthropology, 20.

\textsuperscript{42} Kvalvaag, “Spirit,” 159–80. This duality has been compared to Paul’s σάρξ πνεῦμα dichotomy.
alternative translation of “let us bear.” This implies that believers have an ongoing participatory role in bearing the heavenly image, possibly meaning the inward aspects of the image as seen in 2 Cor 3–4 and Rom 8:29. Context clarifies the bodily change, ἀλλαγήσωμεθα, from corruptible to incorruptible will only occur at the last trumpet (1 Cor 15:52; cf. Phil 3:20–21).

Why does the last Adam supersede the first Adam? The first Adam brought death (cf. Rom 5:41) for all humanity and the last Adam, Christ, makes alive. In Paul’s Adam-Christ antithesis, he negatively assesses the first Adam because of his transgression and its pejorative effects on humanity, like later Jewish apocalyptic literature (4 Ezra; 2 Bar.; Apoc. Mos. 14–30), whereas in Jubilees, an influential book among the DSS, an exonerated, priestly Adam virtuously obeys the Law as the first Patriarch (3:1–35). Jubilees, like wisdom literature (e.g., Wis; Sir), does not identify Adam’s transgression as the source of death. The DSS largely follow wisdom and Enochic traditions and remain reticent on the negative effects of Adam’s sin. Fletcher-Louis also rightly clarifies that the glory of Adam is “rooted, not in the Endzeit, but the Urzeit: because the true Israel are the true Adam and the Qumran community are the true Israel they possess all that Adam possessed before his departure from paradise.”

Thus, all the glory of Adam might be called “protological” or prelapsarian, but for Paul the glory is Christological—clothed with Christ (Rom 13:14; Gal 3:27; Phil 3:21 σὺμμορφοφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) and tied to the Endzeit. Christ as the

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43 N.B.: UBS4 and NA27 cite φορέσωμεν as a textual variant despite substantial support ὧν A C D F G Ψ 075. 0243. 33. 1739 ἢν bo; INCT Cl. Only B I 6. 630. ἡμὴν have φορέσομεν. See Thielson’s discussion, Corinthians, 1288–89.
44 1 Cor 11:7 brings up the question of whether only believing men bear the image and glory of God and if this image is who they are becoming as in 2 Cor 3:18 and Rom 8:29, or if it is the remnant of the image of God from the prelapsarian Adam.
45 For the “diverse and unique” views of Adam in 2TJ, see John R. Levison, Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: from Sirach to 2 Baruch (JSPSup 1; Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), 96–97, 158–61.
46 In I En., the disobedient Watchers are to blame for the origin of evil in the world rather than Adam and Eve. In the dualistic view of the Qumran community, some DSS portray Belial as responsible for evil in the cosmos. See Davidson, Angels, 321.
47 Levison, Portraits, 158. Wisdom traditions, Philo, and Josephus do not portray Adam’s transgression as the origin of death, but apocalyptic traditions, like 4 Ezra and 2 Bar., do.
48 Fletcher-Louis, Glory, 97.
49 Golitzin, “Recovering,” 279.
image of God is the Adam of the new eschatological humanity—a new creation in Christ (2 Cor 5:17). The old humanity has died in Christ (5:14) and those now in Christ are being transformed (inwardly) into the image and glory of God through the resurrection life of Jesus (4:10–18). Christ, then, is the agent of new creation. At the eschaton, the glorious bodily change from ψυχικόν to πνευματικόν will happen corporately. Paul clarifies that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, but all must undergo a change. He calls this change a μυστήριον. At the last trumpet, “we will all [believers] be changed, in a moment” and the mortal and perishable body will put on immortality and imperishability (1 Cor 15:51–54). Thus, the resurrection for Paul includes a mysterious bodily change into the image and glory of the heavenly, the second man or last Adam, who is Christ. Paul’s ascription of εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν ‘a life-giving spirit’ to the last Adam (v. 45), may imply the spirit of God has some role in the physical change.

8.4 Enochic Perspective of Moses and Sinai in Paul

Does Paul demonstrate an awareness of the Enochic perspective in his depiction of Moses, the veil, and the glory of the old covenant? Paul does not present Moses as having received on Sinai further revelation on heavenly tablets of primeval history, cosmic secrets, division of days, or a vision of heavenly ascent, enthronement, and transformation. In Galatians 3:19, however, Paul says the law was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator (διαταγεὶς δι᾽ ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου), which is similar to the angel in Jub. 1:27, 29; and 2:1, who revealed primeval history to Moses. Paul draws upon this Second Temple Jewish tradition to demonstrate the superiority of the new covenant’s mediation by Jesus Christ.

In 2 Cor 3, instead of bringing in an Enochic perspective, Paul presents a contrast between the old covenant/ministry of death, condemnation with the new covenant/ministry of the spirit, justification that has come through Christ and the life-giving spirit from God. New covenant revelation has come through Christ and the spirit, not through Moses. This could be described as nistarot of what was originally given to Moses, but it is more than interpretation (pesher). Paul, himself, has become a mediator and steward of God’s mysteries, like Moses and the teacher.

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51 Kim, Origin, 265–66.
52 Kim, Origin, 268.
of righteousness. In fact, Paul’s ministry of the spirit is superior in glory to Moses’ ministry.\footnote{Stockhausen, \textit{Veil}, 122.} Those in Christ read Moses without a veil and thus have spiritual understanding of God’s mysteries revealed in Christ. Furthermore, unlike the Enochic perspective, Paul does not see God revealing his final purposes at Sinai. Instead, Sinai, for Paul, points to the revelation of Christ—God’s secret wisdom hidden from creation.\footnote{Hooker notes rabbinic traditions that tied wisdom and torah together, “Beyond,” 302–3.}

The only possible allusion to an Enochic perspective of Moses by Paul in this passage is to transformation by vision of Moses’ face (cf. \textit{1 En.} 12–14; \textit{Ascen. Isa.} 9:30–38). Paul draws upon the context of the old covenant narrative story in \textit{LXX} Exodus 34:29, 30 and 35 and enhances the glory of Moses’ face.\footnote{LXX translates Moses’ face shining as “δεδόξασται” in Exod 34:29, 30 and 35. See Stockhausen, \textit{Veil}, 97; Harris, \textit{Corinthians}, 99, 276–77.} Moses’ face was transformed as he spoke with God face to face and saw the glory of the LORD (33:18–23; 34:6–7, 29–35). This allusion becomes stronger in light of the parallel Paul draws in 2 Cor 3:18 where those who turn to the Lord behold the glory of the Lord (as in the face of Christ (4:6)) and are being transformed (μεταμορφούμεθα) into the same image from glory to glory. Moses then becomes the paradigm for the believers’ experience of the spirit.\footnote{Hays, \textit{Echoes}, 144.}

While Paul does not disclose an Enochic perspective of Moses and Sinai, 2 Cor 3:18–4:6 does resemble \textit{1 Enoch} in several ways. Believers gaze upon the glory of the Lord, which Paul identifies as Christ. The gazer is “transformed into a more divine state, which would be fully realized after his death.”\footnote{Segal, \textit{Life}, 413.} Segal notes, “Like Enoch, Paul claimed that this vision and transformation was somehow a mystical identification with the Son of Man figure. Like Enoch, Paul claimed to have received a calling, his special status as intermediary, which also came through the spirit.”\footnote{Segal, \textit{Life}, 413.} Yet for Paul this special calling has meaning for all believers, and as previously stated, he democratises the beholding and transformation by the spirit to all in Christ and gives it a communal focus.
8.5 Portrayal of Moses

Both Paul and the Qumran texts surveyed have a high view of Moses. Paul’s portrayal of Moses, however, is more circumspect than 4Q374 and 4Q377. Although Paul ascribes glory to Moses’ face, the glory is fading and far less than the glory given by the ministry of the spirit. Paul does not exalt Moses to angelic or god-like (אלהים) status or give his shining face healing powers as in 4Q374. Paul qualifies Moses’ glory and writings as waning and temporal in contrast with the glory of the new covenant. He may also be countering opponents, who perchance held an overly exalted view of Moses in comparison with what believers have in Christ.⁵⁹

What is the purpose of the veiling of Moses’ face for Paul? In 2 Cor 3:7, the sons of Israel were not able to gaze (μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι) because of the glory (διὰ τὴν δόξαν). The reason why is because the old covenant, according to Paul, came as a ministry of death and condemnation (vv. 7, 9). Thus, Paul negatively assesses the effects of Moses’ ministry. Contrastively, the ministry of spirit brings life, righteousness, and surpassing glory. Since Exodus 34:31–32 does not explicitly explain why Moses veiled his face, Paul concludes, in v. 13, that Moses “habitually”⁶⁰ veiled his face to keep the Israelites from seeing the end of what is fading. An ambiguity with v. 13, however, remains. If what is fading τοῦ καταργούμενου is neuter, then its referent cannot be the feminine δόξα, διακονία, or διαθήκη. It must instead be either the neuter τὸ καταργούμενον in v. 11 or τὸ γράμμα in v. 6. Either way, Paul seems to mean Moses’ veiled his face to hide all that was ending, which the glory on his face epitomizes.⁶³

In Exodus 20:18, the people “trembled and stood at a distance,” when God revealed himself through thunder, lightening, and smoke on the mountain (20:18). They pled with Moses to speak to God for them: “but do not let God speak to us, or we will die” (v. 19).⁶⁴ The veil in Exodus protects the people from the precarious

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⁶⁰ The imperfect ἐτίθει implies ongoing veiling. See Garland, 2 Corinthians, 183 n. 391.
⁶¹ The NRSV assumes ‘glory’ is the referent.
⁶² Hooker, “Beyond,” 299.
⁶³ Lambrecht, Corinthians, 52. Hooker questions whether it is a Jewish audience because Jewish tradition says the glory did not fade until Moses’ death, “Beyond,” 299–300. Paul, however, implies that the glory did fade and one can conceive of this from Exodus for Moses only took it off to mediate what the Lord said to him for the people. He veiled himself until he spoke with the Lord again. Kooten argues too for the fading of glory on Moses’ face, which is renewed through encounters with God, Anthropology, 324.
⁶⁴ Textual variant for ‘afraid’ in v. 18 as ‘saw.’
glory of the Old Covenant (death and condemnation) and the veil makes an exception for their inability to gaze even upon the reflected glory on Moses’ face—due to hardened minds and hearts and unwillingness to turn to the Lord. In Exodus 32:9 (not in LXX); 33:3, 5; 34:9 the people are described by the LORD as “stiff-necked” (ץֶ֚שֶׁנִֽיָּהִים; LXX τὸ λαὸν σκληροτράχηλόν) and prone to evil and disobedience. With each “stiff-necked” ascription, the Lord threatens to destroy them utterly (ἐξαναλώσω). Aaron in the narrative, likewise, describes them as having a bent for evil or being full of evil impulses (τὸ ὅρμημα) (v. 22). In Exodus, Moses’ veil is not the problem, and for Paul, the real problem is the hardened minds (ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα) of the people of Israel (2 Cor 3:14).

Since a primary theme of vv. 14–18 concerns veiling and unveiling of groups of people, the antithesis is not between Moses and all believers but between the hardened Israelites and all believers. Contextually, Paul begins with Moses’ veil in v.13, but shifts to a metaphorical veil over the reading of the old covenant in v. 14. Paul calls this the same veil (τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα) because Moses becomes both the man and the Torah. The veil is due to the hardening of the Israelites minds. In v. 15, when Moses (=Torah) is read, the veil lies over the collective heart of the Israelites. Those who turn to the Lord have the veil permanently removed (v. 16). Therefore, context points to the metaphorical veil on the Israelites’ heart as the true antithesis of the unveiled face of believers. The believers actually become like Moses by turning to the Lord.

The veil, for Paul, becomes a symbol of “a refusal to see the truth.” In Exodus, Moses intercedes on their behalf and the Lord relents and continues with them on the journey, but this does not change the heart of the people. The hardened Israelites misunderstand the temporary nature of the old covenant and fail to perceive the glory of the new covenant being unveiled (ἀνακαλυπτόμενον) in Christ. If the people of Israel, like Moses, turn to the Lord, (i.e., Jesus Christ v. 14), the veil would be removed and they would receive not condemnation and death, but justification, the spirit, freedom, permanent glory, knowledge of the gospel, and glorious transformation. Reading Moses with a hardened mind or heart leaves one blinded

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65 Hays, Echoes, 145.
66 E.g., Bultmann, Corinthians, 93–94; Martin, Corinthians, 60; Furnish, Corinthians, 213–14.
67 Martin, Corinthians, 71.
68 Hooker, “Beyond,” 300.
(ἐτύφλωσεν) by the god of this age and veiled to the knowledge of the gospel truth (4:4).

Paul and believers read Moses and understand who Christ is through the illumination of the gospel and the revelation of the spirit of God. His ministry is the full disclosure of this truth (τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας) — all scripture speaks of Christ. Unveiling and freedom comes through turning to the Lord, the spirit (v. 16). The spirit again has an epistemological and transformative role in this revelation. The spirit writes on the hearts of the people in Christ (3:3) — a fulfilment of LXX Ezek 36:26–27, 11:19–20 and LXX Jer 38:31–33. Furthermore, the emphasis in these texts is on internal change — law written on the heart. According to Richard Hays, this expresses an “ecclesiocentric,” hermeneutical transformation by the spirit. The healing of spiritual blindness and transformation comes not from Moses and law (4Q374), but by turning and gazing upon the glory of the Lord in the face of Christ. Moses’ ministry is ending. Hooker writes, “Moses was a minister of the Law, Paul is a minister of Christ; Moses’ ministry was temporary, not because the Law was temporary, but because the Law’s true role is to be a witness to Christ — this is why, when Christ comes, the Mosaic ministry is superseded. At that stage it is abrogated because the Law takes on its true role.”

8.6 Parallel Transformation by Vision

In 2 Cor 3:18, Paul parallels Moses’ transformation by vision (albeit an external one) with the believers’ glorious metamorphosis by vision. The pentateuchal narrative of Moses’ encounter with God’s glory in Exod 33–34 and Num 12:5–8 most likely provides the source for Paul’s transformational concept rather than a Hellenistic one. Both Moses and believers have access to and vision of the glory of the Lord, though in Paul’s case, it comes through the face of Christ (cf. 2 Cor 8:19, 23). The

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70 Hooker, “Beyond,” 304.
71 This does not rule out this possibility, but only looks at the immediate parallel available with Moses. See Kooten on metamorphosis in Greek sources, *Anthropology*, 90; Rabens, *Spirit*, 184–86 esp. n. 57 and 62.
72 For Thrall, Paul’s “idea of transformation through vision” plausibly came from the “Moses-narrative,” where Moses saw God (LXX Exod 33; 34; Num 12:8 τὴν δόξαν κυρίου εἶδεν) and was “transfigured,” *Corinthians*, 1:295. According to Segal in Jewish mystical and biblical tradition, the “Glory is itself a way of safeguarding the actual appearance of God,” *Convert*, 52. For Paul, the vision of the glory of the Lord is as in a mirror, who is Christ, “the Lord of glory” (1 Cor 2:8). The indirectness of the glory and the mediation of Christ and the spirit safeguard the appearance of God.
glory in both is indirect: Moses sees the backside of God’s glory and Paul uses the hapax legomena κατοπτριζόμενοι to retain a sense of indirectness “in a mirror” much like the seeing δι’ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι “in a mirror, dimly” (1 Cor 13:12) and walking οὐ διὰ εἴδους “not by visible form” (2 Cor 5:7).  

8.6.1 Mystical Visionary Background

In light of early JM, Paul has congruency with Moses’ visionary encounter of the Lord’s glory (Exod 33:18–23; 34:6–8; Num 12:8b) and Moses’ “mouth to mouth” auditory reception from God (LXX Num 12:8a). Paul has a vision of Christ, the Lord of glory (Gal 1:12, 16; 1 Cor 2:8; 9:1; 15:8; 2 Cor 4:6), and auditory revelation of the gospel. In 2 Cor 3, Moses becomes a “model of the change.”

If Paul draws upon his personal, visionary experience, does the text mean that all believers are to have a similar visionary encounter of Christ? The answer depends upon the interpretation of “beholding as in a mirror,” which traditionally splits along these two lines: a metaphor for understanding (revelation) of Christ and the gospel or a visionary encounter (experience). Paul could be referring to his visionary encounter with Christ and his calling (and “conversion”), and ἐπιστρέφῃ

Conversely, Furnish argues that the glory of the Lord refers to God not Christ, *Corinthians*, 214. Cf. Lambrecht argues cogently for indirect vision with the mirror motif, despite open face and steady growth (glory to glory), “Transformation,” 250.

Thrall writes, “the transformation which in Exod 34:29 derives from speaking with God can be seen also as the result of having beheld the divine glory,” *Corinthians*, 295; Rabens, *Spirit*, 183–84.


Both Kim and Segal understand Paul to be referring to his visionary experience—but not intending everyone to have a visionary experience too. Kim argues not for the same visionary experience of Paul for all Christians, but they experience “essentially the same as his Damascus experience, namely turning to the Lord and seeing the perfect revelation of God in Christ,” *Origin*, 231; Philip, *Origins*, 191–93. Segal writes, “Paul does not say that all Christians have made the journey [seen the Kavod or Glory of God] literally but compares the experience of knowing Christ to being allowed into the intimate presence of the Lord,” *Convert*, 60–61.


“one who turns” certainly indicates the “conversion” of the Israelites. Turning to the Lord unveils the beholder. Most likely, his visionary experience of the glorious Christ did influence his understanding and interpretation of Christ as the Lord of glory, who transforms those who behold him.

The present participle κατοπτριζόμενοι, however, suggests ongoing beholding rather than a one-time event (like the Damascus Road) and μεταμορφούμεθα describes a continual process rather instantaneous transformation into glory. Thrall and Duff are correct that the beholding the glory indicates more than just listening to gospel kerygma. Additionally, Paul extends the beholding beyond personal experience to a communal beholding with an unveiled face for πάντες “all” τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Despite Paul’s special calling, heavenly ascent, stewardship of God’s mysteries, and claims to the true gospel, he readily extends glorious transformation to all in Christ. Again, Paul moves beyond the one-time esoteric event of an elite mystic to the continuously exoteric—all ἐν Χριστῷ a corporate theophany shared through the experience of the divine spirit. Paul universalises the vision of the glory of the Lord—incorporating the participation of all believers into “the mystical and apocalyptic core of Christianity.” He democratises mysticism and makes it communal.

Like the cleansing holy spirit of the community being granted only to the members of the Qumran community, corporate participation through the spirit in the glory of the Lord appropriately illuminates those in Christ beholding the glory and fosters glorious transformation in 2 Cor 3:18. As in Moses’ encounter, both

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80 Paul’s “conversion” is from Pharisaic Judaism to an apocalyptic, sectarian group of Judaism, for whom Jesus is the resurrected messiah, Segal, Life, 401. Hooker also argues for Paul’s “conversion,” “Conformity,” 83–86.
81 Duff suggests Paul references his christophanic experience of the glory of the Lord (Gal 1:15–16), “Transformed,” 770
82 Thrall, Corinthians, 2:248; Duff, “Transformed,” 771.
83 Segal, Life, 418.
84 Segal, Convert, 155.
86 Rabens, Spirit, 178–90; Annette Weissenrieder, cited by Rabens (Spirit, 186 n 64), makes a case that in the ancient understanding seeing in a mirror meant participation in the mirror image and transformation by vision, “Der Blick in den Spiegel: II Kor 3,18 vor dem Hintergrund antiker Speigeltheorien und ikonographischer Abbildungen,” in Picturing the New Testament: Studies in
transformation and revelation are present. Since Paul’s use of δόξα in 2 Cor 3 reflects LXX usage for kābôd, then as such it refers to, in Duff’s words, “God’s powerful presence” mediated through Paul’s and Moses’ ministries.87 In this manner, Scott Hafemann explains 2 Cor 3:18 as “an expression of real participation in the presence of God in Christ mediated through the Spirit.”88 The Corinthians have experienced the surpassing glory mediated through Paul’s ministry (and proclamation) by the spirit which continues in their midst, and they participate in the presence of Christ through corporate participation, such as in the new covenant Eucharist (1 Cor 10:16–17; 11:23).89

Additionally, in the context of 2 Cor 4, beholding includes reciprocal illumination of the heart and mind. By turning to the Lord, minds τὸ αὐγάσαι “see” “the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ” (v. 4) and God shines upon the hearts “the light of the knowledge (τῆς γνώσεως) of the glory of God” (v. 6).90 This τῆς γνώσεως is not merely cognitive,91 but relational knowledge that comes from knowing God, as 2 Cor 2:14 attests: τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ.92 The gospel is not just cognitive either but an amalgamation of the whole Christian life including its proclamation and experience.93 In contrast, Qumran knowledge of God has to do with understanding God’s purpose for the community rather than a relational knowing; God is mostly beyond relational knowing in the DSS.94

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88 Hafemann, Paul, 419.
89 Thrall, Corinthians, 1:284–85. Hafemann adds to the glory encountered in the gospel proclamation, “but also in the worship of the gathered community where Christ’s death is repeatedly proclaimed and embodied in the sharing of the Lord’s Supper, as well as in the songs, Scriptures, teachings and revelations that surround it,” Paul, 426.
91 Cognitive revelation has much support from Belleville, Reflections, 285, 293; Furnish, Corinthians, 242. For a bibliographic list, see Rabens, Spirit, 177 n. 26.
93 Lambrecht writes, “‘Gospel’ means certainly proclamation and listening. But the mirror-type reflection of Christ’s glory is equally present in the whole richness of authentic Christian life: liturgy, prayer, and the inner experience of the Spirit, meditation on Scripture, goodness and holiness, and all kinds of charisms and ministrations,” “Transformation,” 250.
94 In a conversation, Philip Alexander made this distinction.
8.6.2 Inward Transformation

In light of the exalted Moses who functions like an angel and his possible apotheosis in 4Q374, 4Q377, 4Q378, or angelification in 4QEn3 ar frag. 4 10, what kind of transformation does Paul mean in v. 18?

The type and degree of transformation by vision in 2 Cor 3 corresponds to the type of glory and covenant. Paul differentiates between the lesser glory of the old covenant and the surpassing, abounding glory of the new covenant. Paul states, “what had glory did not have glory in this case on account of the glory which surpasses” (καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεδόξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει εἰνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης) (v.10). With the surpassing glory, the former glory appears dim or non-existent. Indeed, the LORD revealed to Moses the back of his glory, not the glory of his face (Exod 33:18–23). In contrast, Christ, who is the crucified Lord of Glory (1 Cor 2:8), not only emanates the glory of God, but also is the image of God, himself (2 Cor 4:4). Thus, the glory of God is in the face of Christ (4:6)—the “glorious Christ.”95 The lesser glory has an external glorification of one man’s face—limited by the Israelites’ hardened minds—and pales in comparison (3:10). The greater glory of the new, permanent covenant fosters ongoing transformation of ‘all believers.’ The marked difference in glory, according to Paul, comes from the ministry of the spirit—the fulfilment of the eschatological promise. Yet, the spirit is also the guarantee of what is to come; therefore, Paul maintains an already-not-yet tension in the midst of the fulfilment.

If one takes Paul’s parallelism with Moses to its logical conclusion, then the brightness of the glory on the face of believers would be even greater and many would not be able to gaze upon it. Paul, however, does the opposite.96 The ongoing transformation is not an outward one with light streaming from the face of believers, but rather an inward transformation of the heart and mind into the same image.97 In 2 Cor 4:4, Paul implies that minds can see the light of the gospel in contrast to the veiled or blinded minds of the Israelites, and in 4:6 hearts are illuminated. Both imply inward illumination and transformation. In 2 Cor 4:16, the transformation is explicitly inward: “Even though our outer nature (ὁ ἔξω) is wasting away, our inner

95 Lambrecht, “Transformation,” 245.
96 Hooker, “Beyond,” 297.
nature (ὁ ἔσω) is being renewed day by day”—from glory to glory (3:18). This inward transformation can and should have a visible effect on one’s outward behaviour (ethical transformation), but not necessarily a physical radiation of the face. The shining of 4:4–6, however, is not necessarily metaphorical, but seen through the eyes of faith.

The inward transformation includes boldness and freedom for direct (unveiled) access to the glory of the Lord provided by the ministry of the spirit through Christ. The contrast is not to Moses’ veiled face, but to the hardened (πώρωσις) sons of Israel’s inability to gaze at the glory on Moses’ face (2 Cor 3:14–16). Believers have direct access to the glory and, like Moses (v. 12), have unveiled their face corporately as they turn to the Lord (v. 18). They differ from Moses, however, in that they do not veil their face anymore, but with boldness and without secrecy proclaim the truth of the good news (2:17; 4:1–6)—a reiteration of “freedom of access to God” and “freedom from veiling.” The perfect dative participle ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ denotes the permanent manner of the corporate unveiling. The unveiling ensures “recognition” of that glory and “enables participation in that glory.” This is a corporate participation by the spirit. The presence of the spirit of the Lord, in those who belong to Christ, grants the freedom to shine the glory and truth through their open, unashamed hearts, a clear conscience, and proclamation of the gospel (4:1–6).

Paul potentially counters those who have used the word of God for personal gain like sophists, who boast “in outward appearance and not in heart” (5:12). His opponents may have proffered present somatic glorification, which pales in

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98 Thrall, *Corinthians*, 1:285. Glorification in other passages comes through suffering with/for Christ. Rabens rightly argues for a “relational work of ‘unveiling’” connected to “the (religious-ethical) transformation which is a consequence of the beholding,” *Spirit*, 176.

99 Van Unnik, “‘Unveiled,’” 159–68.

100 Martin, *Corinthians*, 60.

101 Moses’ veil, for Belleville, symbolises “a lack of openness,” *Reflections*, 78.

102 Harris, *Corinthians*, 313.

103 Harris, *Corinthians*, 313; Thrall, *Corinthians*, 1:282 n. 654.

104 Harris, *Corinthians*, 313–14.

105 Craig S. Keener, 1–2 Corinthians (NCBC; Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2005), 169.

comparison, according to Paul, with the future bodily resurrection.\textsuperscript{107} Moreover, for Paul, participation in the glory of the Lord presently means partaking in the suffering and death of Christ rather than the glory and riches of kings.\textsuperscript{108}

In light of this inward transformation, do believers acquire an exalted, angelic-like status similar to Moses? What Paul means by “same image” may elucidate this aspect.

\textbf{8.6.3 Same image}

If beholding the glory comes from the Spirit-induced encounter with God’s presence found in Christ and illumination of the heart and mind found in the gospel proclamation, what does Paul mean by the τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα? Paul clarifies in 2 Cor 4:4 that Christ is the image of God (ἕως ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ). To what, however, does the ‘same’ (αὐτὴν) adjective refer in the preceding context? Paul does not mention image before v. 18. Turning back to 1 Corinthians, in 11:7 man is the image (εἰκὼν) and glory (δόξα) of God and in 15:49 believers (men and women) will acquire (at the last trumpet) the image (εἰκόνα) of the man of heaven, i.e., Christ. In 2 Cor 3:18, it may be, as Lambrecht suggests, that the verb κατοπτριζόμενοι, which has the concept of ‘mirror’ in its meaning, expresses “the idea of mirror-image.”\textsuperscript{109} The connection of τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα to the present passive verb μεταμορφούμεθα indicates “both the manner and the goal of the transformation.”\textsuperscript{110} Since κατοπτριζόμενοι is a transitive verb, the direct object is τὴν δόξαν κυρίου, and this is the same image into which they are being transformed. Lord in “the glory of the Lord” could refer to God (Num 12:8 הוהי),\textsuperscript{111} Christ, or the spirit. An argument can be made for each.\textsuperscript{112} It seems most likely though to refer to Christ in v. 18, since Christ is the Lord of glory (1 Cor 2:8), the Lord (2 Cor 4:5), the image (εἰκὼν) of God and Paul has the parallel phrase τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ (4:4).\textsuperscript{113} This is notwithstanding the phrase τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ in 4:6 because, for Paul, Christ is God’s glory and Christ’s glory comes from God. So, believers are being transformed

\textsuperscript{107} Koenig, “Knowing,” 163–64.
\textsuperscript{110} Furnish, Corinthians, 215.
\textsuperscript{111} In LXX Num 12:8, Moses saw τὴν δόξαν κυρίου as opposed to the form, likeness of the Lord in MT.
\textsuperscript{112} Paul specifically mentions ὁ θεὸς in 4:2, 6.
\textsuperscript{113} See Lambrecht, “Transformation,” 244–46.
into the *same* image, which they see in a mirror—δόξα, i.e., the glory of Christ, the image of God. ¹¹⁴ This metamorphosis into the image and glory of Christ is a present ongoing process ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν by the spirit. ¹¹⁵ This will have an eschatological completion, Paul calls an “an eternal weight of glory beyond all measure” (2 Cor 4:17; cf. 1 Cor 15:40–54; Phil 3:20–21; Col 3:9–10).

By the singular image, Paul may be hinting at the corporate community as the image of Christ. Certainly, God’s glory in Christ “makes itself visible in fleshly communities.”¹¹⁶ This is akin to the body of Christ metaphor (1 Cor 12–14), but more explicitly here, “Christ is the glory-bearing eikon into which the community is being transformed.”¹¹⁷ M. David Litwa, then, in a noteworthy contribution on this passage, rightly calls the same image an “ecclesiological image” of redeemed humanity.¹¹⁸

A plural transformation into a singular image has a parallel in Rom 12:1. Paul beseeches them to present their bodies (plural) (τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν) as a living sacrifice (singular) (θυσίαν ζῶσαν) holy and pleasing to God. This singular sacrifice of many bodies is *their* spiritual worship (τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν). The context of Rom 12 concerns functioning as one body (vv. 4–5) and denotes corporate worship and participation. Rom 12:5 states, “so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another.” The singular sacrifice is a corporate, collective one. In the same regard, the singular image in 2 Cor 3:18 can be seen as a corporate, collective one since the context concerns veiled and unveiled covenantal communities.

Other passages lend further support for reading the same image communally. In 1 Cor 10:16–17, Paul speaks of the mystical participation (κοινωνία) in the blood and body of Christ through the Eucharist and reminds them how “we are one body” because we partake of the one loaf (cf. 12:12–27; Eph 4:4). Furthermore, in 2 Cor 4:10–11, when Paul speaks of “we” carrying about in our body the death of Christ so

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¹¹⁴ Furnish rightly suggests that image has “both a christological and a theological dimension simultaneously,” *Corinthians*, 215.

¹¹⁵ N.B.: The aorist subjunctive variant cited above for 1 Cor 15:49 implies they already bear the image of the heavenly. See Harris, *Corinthians*, 316.


that the life of Christ might be made manifest in our body, he may mean the collective body of Christ. Paul undoubtedly also sees his walk as paradigmatic for others. Philippians 3:21, a related text, also mentions the eschatological corporate transformation: “He will transform (μετασχηματίσει) the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed (συμμορφοῦ) to the body of his glory (τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ), by the power that also enables him to make all things subject to himself.”

A corporate image, therefore, coheres with Paul’s other corporate metaphors and the corporate and paradigmatic context of 2 Cor 3–5.

Thus, the beholding and metamorphosis happens in community and the people as a community are becoming the image of God corporately. This does not eliminate a personal transformation into the image of God, but highlights a communal dimension and the “ecclesiocentric character of Paul’s hermeneutic,” which is not always noted. This christomorphic transformation differs from the angelic-likeness and exalted status of Moses. Since the mirroring of Christ’s image includes both Christ’s suffering (death) and glory (resurrection), then suffering for the sake of Christ fosters the glorious transformation, as Paul concedes in 2 Cor 4:11–12. The transformation of mind, heart (inward), and practice (ethical) comes through a revelation of the knowledge of gospel and intimate encounter of God’s glory by the Spirit in the ‘in Christ’ community. In light of our discussion of the possible apotheosis of Moses (ch. 4), could this corporate beholding and transformation of the ‘in Christ’ community into the same image be called theosis—or more specifically a communal theosis?

8.6.4 Communal Theosis?

Can the transformation in 2 Cor 3:18 be characterised as theosis or deification? M. David Litwa, Michael Gorman, Stephen Finlan, Ann Jervis, and Ben C. Blackwell represent an emerging discussion among Western scholars who argue for the appropriate use of the eastern, etic terms deification and theosis to describe Paul’s

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119 The plural variant τοῖς σώμασιν that appears in  ℵ 0243. 326. 1739. 1881. pc r t vg sy boko; Or may be an attempt to make the statement unequivocally universal, but the singular with ἡμῶν can also mean the collective body.


121 Hays, Echoes, 151.

122 Marguerat, “le mystique,” 492.

123 Bousset, Kyrios, 203.
participationist soteriology, particularly in 2 Cor 3:18. A brief survey of how these scholars define and use *theosis* or *deification* to describe the transformation in 2 Cor 3:18 will set the context from which to evaluate the terms’ usefulness for this comparative discussion with the DSS texts on Moses’ exaltation.

Litwa has recently argued that transformation into the *same image* (i.e., Christ) in 2 Cor 3:18 can, as “an aspect of Paul’s soteriology,” be called “deification,” which he defines as “sharing in God’s reality through Christ.”¹²⁴ In particular, the transformation in 2 Cor 3:18, according to Litwa, substantiates a form of moral deification through a vision of Christ, which he entitles “moral assimilation to God.”¹²⁵ Litwa disagrees with Hafemann’s argument that believers are transformed only into Christ’s humanity in a moral sense.¹²⁶ Litwa sees in Hafemann’s assessment an unnatural separation of the natures of Christ and instead, contends the transformation includes both sharing of Christ’s anthropological (human) and theological (divine) image (cf. 2 Cor 4:4); this “participation in Christ’s divinity” means a “deifying transformation” into “divine glory.”¹²⁷ This is not a fusion of a believer with Christ, but “union in distinction.”¹²⁸ The moral transformation occurs along with a material transformation, which is concurrently present and eschatological.¹²⁹ Moreover, Litwa notes this transformation takes place in community¹³⁰ and is expressed primarily through “the self-subordinating virtues of Christ”¹³¹ in “joyful obedience” and “ethical acts.”¹³² Litwa’s qualified definition of deification as “the participation in the divine identity of (a particular) God”¹³³ allows him to ascribe a “peculiar (Pauline) form of deification” to the transformation in 2

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¹²¹ Litwa, “Corinthians,” 117.
¹²² Litwa makes an analogous case for moral assimilation to God as deification in Greco-Roman literature, *Transformed*, 192–222. He takes the identification in Paul a step further than Kooten who concludes that moral assimilation to God as divinization is “not yet (fully) drawn in . . . Paul,” *Anthropology*, 181.
¹²⁵ Litwa, “Corinthians,” 125. For Litwa’s longer discussion of the fusion model improperly construed see, *Transformed*, 20–27. The fusion idea partially stems from Protestant angst over Roman Catholic *unio* mysticism and a mischaracterization of mystery religions. See Smith, *Drudgery*.
¹²⁶ Assimilation includes becoming like Christ in his divine character through “self-subjugating humility” and “Christic sufferings” so as to partake of immortal life (divine power) of the spirit, *Transformed*, 212–20.
Cor 3:18 and its outworking in 5:21, where believers become the righteousness of God.  

Michael Gorman, following lines of Sanders’ participation and Hooker’s “interchange,” argues that theosis in Romans theologically extends “the embryonic theotic, or transformation, themes of justification and glorification” in 2 Corinthians 3:18; 5:21; and 8:9. He defines theosis as “‘becoming like God by participating in the life of God,’ with the caveat that the term and the reality it describes always maintain the creature-Creator distinction, even when a phrase like ‘becoming gods’ is used to describe theosis.” On the question of which divine attributes humans take on: he argues for holiness and immortality. While theosis is continuous, it happens in two stages: temporal and eschatological. Gorman is right to highlight the already-not-yet tension in Paul’s meaning, especially in 4:16. He further defines theosis as “transformative participation in the kenotic, cruciform character of God through Spirit-enabled conformity to the incarnate, crucified, and resurrected/glorified Christ.” He also offers incarnational designations of “Christification” and, following Ben C. Blackwell, “Christosis.” The same image is a cruciform one, noting the context of 2 Cor 3–4. He cites Mikhail Bakhtin to justify the use of the etic term “theosis” to describe retrospectively “transformative participation.” Paul desires to cover the earth with “communal cruciform theosis.” Gorman’s communal descriptor is a welcome clarification.

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139 Stephen Finlan adds anastiform to Gorman’s cruciform language, by which he means not only the future destiny of being with Christ, but also benefits already experienced in this life: discerning God’s will, Christlikeness, a new creation (2 Cor 5:17), and becoming the righteousness of God (5:21). While Finlan’s additional emphasis is helpful for balance, Gorman’s language adequately incorporates participation in the crucified and the resurrected/glorified Christ, “Can We Speak of Theosis?” in Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in Christian Traditions (ed. Michael J. Christensen and Jeffery A. Wittung; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 68–80.
140 Gorman, “Theosis,” 18; Bakhtin, Speech, 5.
Stephen Finlan argues for “divinization” in 2 Cor 3:18 since believers experience Christ’s mind and subsume God’s character. He expands upon Gorman’s cruciform language and adds anastiform: “living as though already in the kingdom of God and receiving eternal life and truth.” Finlan characterises theosis as “gaining an ability to discern the will of God, and being transformed into Christlikeness.” He also clarifies that “the believer does not become Christ” only “Christlike in substance and character.”

Ann Jervis notes how themes of being “in Christ,” “crucified with Christ,” “dying with Christ,” “living with Christ,” and more, “have also often been classed under the category of ‘mysticism,’ albeit of Paul’s own brand of mysticism.” She questions a ‘mystical’ designation because Paul does not envision union with God’s being, but a believer’s union is “with Christ in his death and his resurrection life.” Jervis prefers the emic description “conformity to Christ,” which she describes as “a concern to be like God.” In discipleship, this primarily concerns becoming like God in his righteousness (2 Cor 5:21) in the community of faith, and very similar to Gorman emphasises “continual participation in the death of Christ” to be glorified with him (Rom 8).

As can be seen, if one describes the transformation as ‘theosis’ or ‘deification,’ it must be a qualified ascription. Litwa clarifies that poor definitions of ‘deification,’ which include the fusion model improperly construed, rightly led to the denial of deification in Paul. However, if a definition maintains, as Gorman argues, a “creature-Creator distinction,” then theosis or deification, even as etic terms, can appropriately be applied to the metamorphosis in 2 Cor 3:18. The passage in question certainly does not imply a fusion of believers with God or Christ—although

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142 Finlan, “Theosis,” 75.
143 Finlan, “Theosis,” 77.
144 Finlan, “Theosis,” 78.
145 Finlan, “Theosis,” 79.
147 Jervis, “Becoming,” 152. Jervis defines Pauline mysticism following A. Schweitzer, A. Wikenhauser, and the ontological union proposed by R. Reitzenstein, which she rightly rejects. She appears to then use a qualified ‘mystical’ designation to describe 2 Cor 5:21 and argues against compartmentalisation of Paul’s hermeneutic of Christ’s death between mystical and juridical. Ultimately, she prefers the emic “conformity to Christ” rather than mystical or even theosis.
150 Litwa, Transformed, 14.
a union may be implied. Rather the transformation is into the same-mirrored image—meaning a reflection or likeness of the glory of Christ. Paul and believers remain distinct from Christ, yet equally dependent upon God’s sufficiency, throughout 2 Cor 3–4 (esp. 4:7–11). Transformation into the image comes about by participation in the death and life of Christ, though not in a triumphalistic manner put forth by Paul’s opponents. Ben Blackwell, along similar lines to Gorman’s cruciformity, clarifies they are “transformed into this christoform narrative of death and life.”

Blackwell and Litwa rightly emphasise both the inward and somatic dimensions to this transformation, which in Blackwell’s words is “nothing other than the embodiment of the dying and rising of Christ.” In light of this study, this includes a communal embodiment. The union with Christ and the transformation into the same image consists of what Paul calls a “bearing in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible in our body (ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν)” (4:10)—namely, the corporate body of believers. The present participle περιφέροντες ‘bearing’ of the death of Jesus indicates an ongoing process. Support for this present transformation can be found in the aforementioned variant of 1 Cor 15:49: “Let us bear the image of the heavenly” (see §8.3). This denotes a continuous process, and again, this appears to be all of redeemed humanity together bearing the image of the heavenly. The image of the heavenly, the glorified Christ is also a crucified Christ. A parallel follows in 2 Corinthians, “For while we live, we are always being given up to death for Jesus’ sake, so that the life of Jesus may be made visible in our mortal flesh” (4:11). For Paul, Jesus’ death goes hand in hand with the life-giving spirit, which is at work in the believers in the community. This develops what Litwa calls “self-subordinating virtues of Christ” and Gorman’s emphasis upon cruciform living. This is more, however, than just a mirroring of Christ-like character. Paul is speaking of corporate participation ‘in Christ’ through the spirit in

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154 Blackwell, Christosis, 196.
155 Blackwell, Christosis, 196.
156 NRSV follows the plural variant “bodies.” See n. 118.
157 While this passage most likely refers to apostles, Paul uses this to instruct the Corinthians that the life of believers should mirror their crucified Lord.
158 Litwa, Transformed, 223.
the community, such that believers corporately experience an ongoing, theotic transforma-
tion into and embodiment of the image of Christ by the spirit.

While some of the recent discussion on theosis in 2 Cor 3:18 by Jervis, Litwa, and Gorman mention a communal aspect of the transformation, the corporate nature of the beholding has not been emphasised enough. Furthermore, a communal understanding of the transformation could imply that becoming the righteousness of God in 5:21 not only happens in community, but also as a community. In 5:14, all have died in Christ and in 5:17 the phrase “If anyone is in Christ” is followed by “new creation” (καινὴ κτίσις) without a verb. The better translation would be “there is a new creation” (NRSV) rather than “he is a new creation” (NIV). This implies “something more inclusive than the new being of individual believers”—i.e., something more corporate with all of creation (consonant with apocalyptic Judaism). Theosis or “conformity to Christ” for Paul, then, does not happen as isolated individuals but through an integral incorporation and cruciform participation in the ‘in Christ’ community by the spirit, which has been permanently unveiled and is being transformed as a community from glory to glory into the same image.

As much as the discussion emphasises the soteriological aspects of this transformation, the theotic transformation in 2 Cor 3:18 must equally be characterised as “pneumatological” participation. The transformation is from the Lord, the spirit (ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος). The beholding includes a corporate communion with God’s glorious presence. Support for this comes from the fact that face in Hebrew can signify presence or intimate communion, which can be seen in 1 Cor 13:12 and in the aforementioned DSS texts. Paul’s prayer in 2 Cor 13:13 confirms this communal participatory notion: ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ύμων (see §6.5). This is a communal communion in the holy spirit, which enables ongoing beholding and transformation from glory to glory. The communal communion in the spirit coheres well with the broader context of the Corinthian correspondence.

If the transformation in 2 Cor 3:18 can be characterised as a qualified communal theosis, then how does this relate to Moses’ exaltation? Within the accounts from the DSS, Moses certainly acquires divine-like characteristics and functions as angelic

159 Furnish, Corinthians, 314.
160 Campbell’s terminology, Quest, 24–25.
mediator. In 4Q374, Moses, who is called לאלהים, brings healing through his transformed shining face and likely imparts knowledge to the people. In 4Q377, Moses is a messiah (anointed one), man of God, with God in the cloud, like an angel, speaks for God, and is incomparable to other humans. In 4Q378 26, Moses sees a vision of Shaddai and the assembly of Elyon (plausibly angels) listen to him denoting his superhuman authority. In the allegorical Animal Apocalypse, Moses even undergoes an angelomorphic transformation (I En. 89:36=4QEnPcPc frag. 4 10). While this is not unequivocally apotheosis, Moses is certainly exalted, functions as an angel, and undergoes a transformation acquiring a supra-human mediatorial role. Moreover, Moses appears to have a special relational status with YHWH and the assembly of Elyon.

The implications for the Qumran community are significant. If the priests of the Qumran community, following the model of Moses, are to function “like an angel of the face” with the angels in the holy place to God’s glory and mediate knowledge by shining “on the face of the many” (1QSb iv.25–27), then certainly “the worship experience of the priestly community becomes a substitute for a return to Sinai.” In this regard, they can renew the covenant and experience “the presence of divine glory.” However, Moses remains an exceptionally exalted figure unlike any human—despite the angelic imitation to which Qumran priests aspire.

While Paul is not advancing an angelomorphic transformation in 2 Cor 3:18, he is describing a Christomorphic one. Communal participation by the spirit in the death and life of Christ, while it may be from glory to glory, does not imply the same exalted status as Moses. Context clarifies that those in Christ are part of the new creation, who function, not as angels, but as ambassadors of Christ with a ministry and message of reconciliation (2 Cor 5:17–19). Like the priests at Qumran, they do mediate, but the message concerns reconciliation to God made available in Christ. The ultimate purpose is to become the righteousness of God in him (δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ) (v. 21). Since the old covenant has been surpassed, the inauguration of new covenant through the death and resurrection of Christ means more than a substitute for a return to Sinai. Moses is a transformation model for Christians for beholding

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161 Brooke, “Moving,” 89.
162 Brooke, “Moving,” 89.
Christ, not for angelic function. Instead of following Moses, however, believers are to follow the example of Christ and of Paul (1 Cor 11:1). They have died in Christ and the new creation has begun (5:11–17). The Corinthian community can now behold through corporate worship the glory of the Lord and experience an ongoing, glorious transformation through the spirit into the image of messiah. Paul does not retain a privileged status, but includes all those in Christ in this ongoing christomorphic transformation.

8.7 Conclusions

Heuristic comparison of similarities and differences of Moses-Δόξα traditions, themes of ‘shine on the face of many,’ ‘glory of Adam,’ and ‘transformation by vision’ in DSS texts to corresponding mystical elements in 2 Cor 3 highlights an overlooked corporate aspect to the encounter, beholding, and transformation. Paul democratises the mystical encounter and extends the esoteric to the whole ‘in Christ’ gathering. The glorification is both present and eschatological, like receiving all the glory of Adam at Qumran; nonetheless, Paul’s is not ‘protological’ but Christological and has more to do with the messianic Endzeit rather than the adamic Urzeit. The new creation has already happened through union with Christ. Moses parallels the transformation by vision for Paul through both encounter and revelation; the people, however, turn to Christ for a heart and mind illumination rather than a physical radiation of the face. The Qumran community’s knowledge of God lacks the relational knowing that Paul advocates. The continuous transformation is predominantly inward, producing boldness and freedom; yet mysteriously it has a somatic element, in which the death of Christ produces life in the body now and in the future. This metamorphosis can be described as a qualified communal ‘theosis’ brought about through participation in the spirit. Communal theosis means the ‘in Christ’ community is becoming the righteous of God with the goal being in the words of Michael Gorman: “to spread communal cruciform theosis, the divine dikaisyne and doxa throughout the world.”

9.1 Introduction

Since 2 Cor 12:1–12 is the only first-century autobiographical account of a heavenly ascent, it is a key mystical text, as noted in §1.2, for the study of Paul and early JM in 2TJ.\(^1\) Several notable examinations of Paul’s ascent (e.g. Tabor,\(^2\) Gooder,\(^3\) Wallace\(^4\)) have offered comparisons with a broad range of Greco-Roman and 2TJ ascent accounts. Some\(^5\) of these only briefly examine ascent in the DSS and others\(^6\) do not mention them. As this study is limited to heuristic comparison with mystical texts among the DSS, this chapter offers a narrower comparison with three accounts of heavenly ascent by human intermediaries in 1 Enoch, Aramaic Levi Document (hereafter ALD), and the 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\(^{a-b}\) and parallels. These early accounts provide additional veracity for mystical traditions and possibly mystical praxis in 2TJ and among the Qumran community (see ch. 5). While some consideration will be given to Paul and mystical praxis, the primary focus and contributions of this chapter will be to illuminate the often overlooked aspect of how Paul’s ascent account functions rhetorically in chapters 10–13 to advance his themes of power in weakness and the priority of communal upbuilding. These themes

\(^{1}\) Scott, “Triumph,” 279–81. While Scott provides valuable insights from JM, he overstates the connections between Paul and MM in 2:14–17 and 12:1–10, and often uses later ascent texts as evidence, 2 Corinthians (NIBCNT 8; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1998), passim, esp. 64, 221–31; Bowker, “‘Merkabah,’” 157–73; Scholem, Gnosticism, 14–18; Segal, “Paul,” 95–122. For differences between Paul and MM, see Schäfer, “New,” 32–35.

\(^{2}\) Tabor, Unutterable.

\(^{3}\) Gooder, Third.


\(^{5}\) For example, see Gooder, Third.

\(^{6}\) Tabor does not include the DSS, Unutterable.
reinforce the corporate effects of communal participation in the holy spirit noted in §6.5.3.

2 Cor 12:1–12: Context
In 2 Cor, Paul changes his style and tone from conciliatory (chs. 1–9) to harsh (chs. 10–13). Scholars offer an array of hypotheses, including partition theories, for these sometimes-overstated differences. The letter’s integrity, however, need not be suspect, as recent scholarship supporting the traditional hypothesis (e.g., Harris, Gooder, Lambrecht, and Barnett) has shown. If Paul writes in stages, he may have received distressing information about strong opposition in the Corinthian church after writing chapters 1–9. He then adds chapters 10–13 to address these concerns, and sends chapters 1–13 as one letter.

Since 2 Cor 12:1–12 fits within Paul’s apostolic *apologia* of 10:1–13:10, the identity of his opponents will establish the context for his unprofitable boast in visions and revelations. Paul identifies his opponents as Jewish Christians (11:22–23) with recommendation letters (3:1) who claim to be of equal apostolic status to Paul (11:12). Paul sees them as false apostles (ψευδαπόστολοι), deceitful workers, boasters, and even ministers of Satan (11:12–15), who preach a different gospel, give a different spirit, and teach another kind of righteousness (11:4, 15). They commend themselves and compare themselves with one another (10:12). They contend Paul is strong in his letters but his bodily presence is weak and speaking ability poor (10:10). Paul threatens to exercise his God-given authority, expressed in his weighty letters, while in person (10:7–11; 13:2, 10). His rivals, Paul claims, took financial advantage of Corinthians, while he self-sufficiently refused the Corinthians’ monetary patronage (11:7–11, 20; 12:13–15).

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7 For a summary of arguments, see Harris, *Corinthians*, 30.
9 Harris, *Corinthians*, 661.
Paul appears to take up their apostolic claims, which possibly include “visions and revelations,” to defend his apostolic legitimacy, even reminding them of the apostolic signs and wonders he performed among them (12:11–13). He, however, discloses the futility of conceited boasting and will only boast in his weaknesses, his assigned field (i.e., the Corinthian assembly), and in the Lord (10:13–17; 11:30). Thus, the whole section is ironic and is often called “Die Narrenrede” or “fool’s speech.” He uses these rivals as “foils” to reveal the true nature of his Christ-like ministry and to edify the Corinthians. Paul intends not only to win back the Corinthians’ trust and obedience (10:6), but also desires Christ to be proven in them (13:5–9) and for them to become perfect and built up through Christ as a community (12:20; 13:10). They are to test themselves, repent, and do good (13:5–11).

Paul’s Personal Experience

Paul, as the current consensus confirms, is speaking autobiographically in vv. 2–4 about his heavenly ascent experience. Five aspects of the ascent, according to Harris, support a case for Paul’s personal experience. First, Paul gives exact time of

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12 Windisch, Korintherbrief, 349.
13 Wallace, Snatched, 235.
14 Furnish understands doing good as obeying God’s will, Corinthians, 578; Windisch, Korintherbrief, 422.
fourteen years ago. Second, he knows what was heard. Third, he recalls an uncertain bodily state. Fourth, the thorn is direct consequence of the ascent, and, fifth, the account is irrelevant if it is not Paul. Moreover, Paul identifies himself with the ascent in vv. 6–7. Paul explains that if the boast refers to him he would be speaking the truth (v. 6)—implying his opponents were liars. The thorn, then, was given to him (μοι) because of extraordinary (ὑπερβολῇ) revelations—including the heavenly ascent—so that he would not become too elated.

9.2 Paul’s Heavenly Ascent and Early JM

An exegetical examination of 2 Cor 12:1–12 and its context in light of the ascent texts from ch. 5 will prove illuminating. The following areas related to mystical elements will be compared: vision of the throne, method/via mystica, cosmology, danger and opposition, and visions and revelations.

9.2.1 Vision of the Throne?

JM has often been characterised as throne mysticism because the object of a successful ascent vision is seeing the glory of God upon the merkabah throne (cf. Dan 7:9; Ezek 1). Merkabah exegesis in 2TJ connects God’s heavenly throne of Ezek 1 with the merkabah chariot (e.g., 4Q385 frag. 4; 4Q405 20 II.21–22; 11Q17 VII.1–15; Sir 49:8). Do the DSS ascent accounts include a throne vision? In one of the earliest ascent accounts, Enoch sees in the third chamber of the celestial temple a “lofty throne” with wheels and the “Great Glory sat upon it” (1 En. 14:18–20). The extant fragments of ALD do not contain a vision of the throne of God, but a throne vision is clear in later texts. In T. Levi 5:1, which resembles 4Q213a frag. 1 II.15–18, the angel opens the gates of heaven, and, in the additions, Levi sees the holy temple (τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον) and the Most High upon a throne of glory (ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης). T.

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16 Harris, Corinthians, 834.
17 Scholem argues this is the goal of Jewish mysticism Trends, 44. Conversely, Schäfer argues this is not consistent enough to be the primary characteristic of Jewish mysticism, “The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism,” in Hekhalot-Studien (TSAJ 19; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), 277–95.
Levi 3:1–8 shares details similar to 1 En. 14:19 and 102:3, where “in the uppermost heaven of all dwells the Great Glory in the holy of holies superior to all holiness” (v. 4). 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn does not mention the glory upon the merkabah throne, but describes the glorious transformation and enthronement of a human. Transformation and enthronement are common to later MM. The transformation here may be a result of a vision of God’s glory on the throne; thus, the vision may be presumed. Other DSS texts support a gazing possibly through contemplation upon God’s glory. For example, in 1QS xi.5–7b says, “my eyes have gazed on that which is eternal on wisdom concealed from men, on knowledge and wise design [hidden] from the sons of men, on a fountain of righteousness and on a storehouse of power, on a spring of glory [hidden] from the assembly of flesh.” The variety in these ascent visions shows the fluidity and diversity of early mystical accounts yet to be formulated into an expected journey.

In 2 Cor 12, Paul sees something by which he is able to identify the third heaven and paradise. His identification of these places demonstrates an awareness of early Jewish mystical texts, biblical and pseudepigraphic. Naturally, one can presume Paul was aware of the climactic vision of the throne in some heavenly ascents and theophanies, like 1 En. and Ezek 1. Does Paul then hint at a visionary apex in his account? Support for an affirmative answer lies in v. 1 and corresponding phrases in Paul’s letters. He identifies only one figure κυρίου in v. 1, who is either the content or the originator of the εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκάλυψεις. Paul, most likely, means an objective genitive with Lord as the content, which his other Christophanic revelations corroborate.

20 For more on the similarities between T. Levi 2–7 and 1 En. 12–16, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch,” 588–600 and Wallace, Snatched, 114–18.
24 Matera argues for both originator and content, Corinthians, 277.
25 Scholars debate this point. Baird, for instance, argues for a genre distinction between Paul’s heavenly ascent (apocalypse) and his conversion revelation (prophetic call), from which he contends for an objective genitive rather than a subjective, “Visions,” 659.
directs both ὀπτασίας and ἀποκαλύψεις, the objective genitive κυρίου implies both a vision of the Lord Jesus and a revelation (audition) of the Lord in v. 1 and in the superlative, representative example that follows. The linguistic evidence, the correspondence to Paul’s other visionary experiences of Christ (Acts 18:9–11; 22:17–21; 2 Cor 5:13), and the background of Jewish mystical tradition make a convincing case for Paul to have seen a vision of the Lord whom he would identify as Jesus Christ during his ascent. The identification of παράδεισος could indicate the place of God’s presence, angelic cohort, and throne as will be seen in §9.2.3, but Paul gives neither specifics nor the visionary goal of the ascent. Thus, one cannot ascertain with certainty whether he saw a throne.

What might be the rhetorical purpose of this omission? Paul may have either intentionally omitted this detail or was prohibited by God from doing so (12:4). The omission defers the expected peak to the Lord’s audible response in vv. 7–9. Thus, he maintains his theme of boasting in his weaknesses—centring his identity instead on cruciform living, and the vision appears unprofitable because it has no public revelation with which to build up the community—unlike his other revelations of Christ.

9.2.2 Method/Via Mystica

The definition of mysticism necessitates a via mystica or method of ascending to the heavenly realm (see §1.1). As an esoteric practice, the evidence, though scant, must be carefully considered—conversely, mystical praxis cannot be presumed from silence. The DSS surveyed, provide early ascent texts, which, apart from ALD, do not articulate a clear method. Thus, narrative details preceding each ascent will be understood as the via mystica.

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26 Thrall, Corinthians, 2:774.
27 While some have attempted to connect Paul’s revelation of Christ (Gal 1:11–17) with his ascent, the proscription of disclosure with the latter denotes a separate event, Baird, “Visions,” 652.
29 Marguerat, “le mystique,” 484.
30 Marguerat sees boasting as an ontological category rather than a moral one, “le mystique,” 484. Paul will not base a believer’s identity, or his own, on a heavenly journey, but on cruciform living.
The three accounts relate the following methods. In 1 En., Enoch’s method is to sit by the waters of Dan, pray through a list of petitions, and then sleep (13:4–10).  

ALD discloses Levi’s prayer, gaze heavenward, expressed desire to ascend, ritual ablutions of clothes and body with pure, living water, and positioning of the arms toward the angels (4Q213a frag. 1 i.6–18). Even though a method can be deduced, Levi’s access comes from his special calling as high priest and his holy consecration from all impurity. He has to be holy because he has access to God and the holy ones (angels) (Bod. b 14–18). Enoch’s access contrastively is a mediatorial role-reversal of humans and angels. The common sequence of Enoch and Levi, then, is prayer followed by vision (cf. Dan 9). In 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\(^a\)-\(^b\) and parallels the ascent, however, is assumed and relays no method.

Likewise, Paul’s sparse account gives no method, and contrary to Bowker’s speculation, Saul/Paul, as a Pharisee, cannot be said with any certainty to have practised *merkabah* contemplation.\(^{33}\) In fact, Paul employs the aorist passive participle ἀρπαγέντα “was caught up” (v. 2) and the aorist passive indicative ἡρπάγη “he was caught up” (v. 4) of ἀρπάζω (cf. Acts 8:39; Rev 12:5). These connote a sudden,\(^{34}\) passive—almost involuntary—catching up of the man rather than a planned or prepared for ascent.\(^{35}\) Paul also uses ἀρπάζω in 1 Thess 4:17 to describe the involuntary snatching away of believers. Paul’s use of ἀρπάζω may draw upon the word’s association with Enoch being caught up to heaven. In Gen 5:24, God takes (πήγα) or transfers (LXX μετέθηκεν) Enoch.\(^{36}\) The author of Wis 4:10–11 associates μετατίθημι with ἀρπάζω: “some who pleased God . . . were taken up (μετετέθη). . . . They were caught up (ἡρπάγη) so that evil might not change their understanding or guile deceive their souls.” This obvious allusion to Enoch may draw upon Jub. 4:23, which states: “Enoch was snatched away into paradise

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\(^{32}\) N.B.: Ezekiel’s vision occurs by the river Chebar (1:1, 3).

\(^{33}\) Bowker’s fruitful investigation of *merkabah* contemplation as a possible part of Saul’s pharisaic training has much to offer besides the overstated connection, “‘Merkabah,’” 171.

\(^{34}\) Harris, *Corinthians*, 837.


(παράδεισος ἡρπάσθαι).” Thus, Paul’s use of ἁρπάζω avoids the ambiguity of μετατίθημι and implies a passive action.\textsuperscript{37}

Paul does not reveal who takes him, but he may mean θεὸς like in Gen 5:24 and Wis 4:11, the spirit of God, or an angelic being. In contrast to Enoch, Levi, and the maškil, Paul characterises his experience, as a distinctly Christian one with ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ.\textsuperscript{38} Paul, however, does not make this a method for ascent. Paul has one similarity to Levi’s method, he desires to depart and be with the Lord (2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:23); while noteworthy, Paul does not associate his desire with the ascent. Thus, Paul divulges no via mystica for his visionary and revelatory experience despite its correlation to JM. Paul, then, can boast of the ascent following his boasting parameters because he did not bring it about.\textsuperscript{39}

The nature of the ascent may prove helpful here. As previously stated, Enoch most likely has a dream vision. Levi definitely has a dream vision. 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\textsuperscript{a–b} and parallels presuppose a bodily ascent due to the implied angelomorphic transformation, although equally it could be spiritual since he has no fleshly desire. Paul either has a bodily or non-bodily ascent—not a dream vision. This ascent is only one of his visions and revelations of the Lord (2 Cor 12:1). Twice Paul reiterates the ambiguity of his embodied state during the ascent. First, he says, “whether in body I do not know, or out of body I do not know, God knows” (v. 2). Then he writes, “whether in body or apart from the body, I do not know, God knows” (v. 3). The place of corporeal ascent in the first-century Judaism is ambiguous\textsuperscript{40} and a modern distinction should not be imposed; nonetheless, Paul demonstrates an awareness of corporeal ascent in Jewish tradition and its disembodied counterpart (soul/spirit excursion) often associated with Greco-Roman traditions.\textsuperscript{41} The reason for Paul’s disorientation could be the overwhelming nature of the experience,\textsuperscript{42} a polemical purpose, or both. Paul may be countering visionaries

\textsuperscript{37} Pfann, “Abducted,” 120.
\textsuperscript{38} For more on the significance of the ‘in Christ’ designation, see Wallace, Snatched, 256–57 n. 76. See also Campbell, Union.
\textsuperscript{39} Matera, Corinthians, 282.
\textsuperscript{40} Bodily ascent takes precedence in second century. Cf. 2 En. 1:3–9; 3:1; 22:8–10; T. Ab. 8:1–3 B Recension.
\textsuperscript{41} For this distinction and examples, see Martin, Corinthians, 400–401; Windisch, Korintherbrief, 374; Furnish, Corinthians, 525.
\textsuperscript{42} Harris, Corinthians, 840; Rowland, Heaven, 383; Wallace, Snatched, 259. For the physiology of ecstatic experiences, see Colleen Shantz, Paul in Ecstasy: The Neurobiology of the Apostle’s Life
who emphasise one or the other type, though this has little textual support. Paul’s disorientation, along with the date of the fourteen years ago, gives veracity to his account (cf. 2 Cor 5:13).

9.2.3 Cosmology

The cosmology of the ascent accounts surveyed is by no means uniform. Nonetheless, all three denote the plurality of the heavens and the existence of a celestial temple. In I En. 14, Enoch travels through two structures of the celestial temple to see the Great Glory upon the throne. His extended celestial journeys discover a heavenly expanse beyond the temple including the three realms: earth, the heavens, and the abyss. Whether the heavens are only one or have three distinct areas (wall and two chambers) and possibly represent a three-tiered cosmology is in dispute. Nonetheless, three areas of the heavenly temple would not only correspond to the celestial levels but also to the Jerusalem temple (I En. 14; 32:3; 77:4). In Levi’s vision, the gates of heaven appear on a high mountain connecting earth with heaven (ALD). The heavens consist in ALD of at least three gradations, maybe four, with a limitless heaven beyond the third (1Q21). T. Levi, which builds upon ALD, has two cosmological depictions in 2:7–10 and 3:1–8; a second recension expands 3:1–8 to seven heavens, but most scholars argue for three (from the α-text) as the earlier tradition. In 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn and parallels, the plural heavens

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43 Lincoln, Paradise, 82; Rowland, Heaven, 384.
44 By the 2TP, ōrānō and שָׁמַיִם were understood spatially as multiple heavens.
47 In the α-text, Levi “stands near the Lord” in the third heaven making it the highest. See Kee, OTP 1:778–89. For a detailed discussion of the recensions and the redaction of seven heavens, see M. de Jonge, “Notes on Testament of Levi II–VII,” in Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation (SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 247–60. Jonge argues for the “non-α” as priority, which has an earlier three-tiered cosmology (259). For the Greek text, see R. H. Charles, The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (London: OUP, 1908; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1960), xxviii. For the consensus on the third heaven as earlier, see generally 2 Corinthians commentaries and Gooder, Third, 53–54; Adela Yarbro Collins, Cosmology and Thought (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 98. Alternatively, Barrett suggests indifference, Corinthians, 308.
depict a heavenly congregation—possibly the meeting place of the earthly and heavenly congregations. The speaker takes up a throne in this celestial temple.

What does Paul’s scant description of his journey ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ and then εἰς τὸν παράδεισον reveal about his cosmology? Three main interpretations exist of the parallel descriptions in 2 Cor 12:2–4: (1) Paul has two ascents; (2) one ascent in two stages; or (3) one ascent with added details. For this reason, one ascent will be presumed for Paul’s cosmology. Two stages denote a distinction between the third heaven and paradise, whereas one stage equates them. In a two-stage ascent, Paul ascends as far as the third heaven in part one and then continues further in part 2 into the paradise. This, of course, presumes a multiplicity of heavens based solely upon Paul’s spatial designation of a “third heaven” and consonant accounts in 2TJ. If Paul has a two-stage ascent, as Tabor, Gooder, and others contend, then there may be more than three heavens in Paul’s cosmology. Assuming a seven-heaven cosmology, Tabor speculates that Paul’s journey to paradise was to the seventh (highest) heaven. Conversely, Gooder, who also assumes seven heavens, contends Paul’s ascent was a true boasting in weakness since he failed to ascend beyond the third heaven—presuming paradise is located somewhere in the third heaven. Gooder’s creative proposal relies primarily on her interpretation of ὑπεραίρω in v. 7 as a literal rising up rather than a metaphorical exaltation of oneself. Wallace rightly suggests the “logic of the passage” goes against her proposal. Even though a seven-level cosmology is common in the first-century, Paul, 1 En. 14, and ALD conceivably

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denote a three-tiered cosmos. If the ascent is one stage, as the majority support and evidence confirms, then the poetic-like parallelism locates paradise in the third heaven.

Can the cosmology of our ascent texts illuminate Paul’s cosmology? All four texts maintain multiple heavens with the existence of a celestial temple. If the celestial gradations are levels of the heavenly temple, does Paul hint at the third being a holy of holies or the place of God’s dwelling? While Paul does not explicitly mention the celestial temple, he may imply one. Upon entry to paradise he hears (ἤκουσεν) “ineffable words” (ἄρρητα ῥήματα) which a mortal is both not permitted to speak nor able to speak (οὐκ ἐξὸν) (2 Cor 12:4). The word ἄρρητος has the sense of something “too sacred” to be expressed, like the secrets of the mystery religions; they are divine or angelic words (1 Cor 13:1) from God’s holy dwelling place. In apocalyptic and early Jewish literature, ἄρρητος characterises heavenly glory. In light of the celestial temple in the DSS’s ascents and the angelic tongues in the seven chambers of the celestial temple in Songs, one can surmise that Paul too heard these utterances in the holy, celestial temple, which he lawfully cannot repeat. The content of the inexpressible is unknown. Nonetheless, Paul at times does reveal mysteries (Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 2:1; 7; 4:1; 15:51) and speaks of unspeakable experiences of God (Rom 8:26; 1 Cor 14:1–33; 1 Cor 2:6–16). Even here, he

59 Martin, Corinthians, 401–2. This is notwithstanding the seven-heaven cosmology of Songs (4Q403 1 I.41–44; 4Q405 6 I.3–5), where “the firmament of the uppermost heaven” is the holy of holies, Morray-Jones, Transparent, 31; idem, “Temple,” 315, 329; Collins, “Seven,” 81–87.
60 Thrall, “Journey,” 256–58; idem, Corinthians, 2:790–93; Martin, Corinthians, 401–5; Barrett, Second, 310; Harris, Corinthians, 840–42.
61 Thrall, Corinthians, 2:794; Lincoln, Paradise, 82; Harris, Corinthians, 843.
63 Windisch, Korintherbrief, 377–78; Tabor, Unutterable, 122.
65 Morray-Jones notes how the word דביר for a chamber of the temple in Songs designates the holy of holies in the Hebrew Bible and could have a “verbal association” from the root דבַר “to speak.” The living celestial temple, then, could be composed of living sound from the speech or “utterances” of the angelic and human worshippers, “Temple Within,” 326–27. Käsemann proposes Paul hears “die Sprache der himmlischen Sphäre,” “Legitimität,” 65. Wallace following Lincoln (“Visionary,” 216) argues Paul does not share details because Pharisaic training, as expressed in m. Hag. 2:1, forbids expounding upon the merkahah or the story of creation before three people, Snatched, 261.
66 For more on inexpressible experiences, see Wallace, Snatched, 259–63.
speaks of his heavenly rapture fourteen years afterwards.\(^{67}\) Ineffable words point toward a celestial temple, but is there more evidence?

Paul’s use of παράδεισος may strengthen the case for a celestial temple. The term is used in the LXX, as an equivalent of the Hebrew גן, the Garden of Eden (παράδεισον ἐν Εδέμ) (Gen 2:15; 3:8–9, 23–24; Ezek 36:35; 4QJub\(^a\) i.63; 4QDib Ham\(^b\) viii.6) or the garden of God (ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ). In Second Temple Jewish literature the use shifts to an eschatological return to Paradise, which becomes “a transcendent place of blessedness”; ὁ παράδεισος τῆς δικαιοσύνης; sometimes a place of judgment; or God’s heavenly dwelling place (Luke 23:43; Rev 2:7; 22; 4 Ezra 4:7–8; L.A.E. 25:3; 2 En. 8; 10:1–6; Apoc. Mos. 37:5; 40:1).\(^{68}\) Paradise is located in the third heaven in L.A.E. 25:3, Apoc. Mos. 37:5; 40:1, and 2 En. 8:1–8.\(^{69}\) In 1 En. 20:7, Gabriel guards the Garden of Eden and in 31:2–32:3 (4Q206 frag. 3 21) Enoch passes by the “Paradise of Justice.” Frag. 4 describes the trees in the garden and paradise’s location in the north—on earth.\(^{70}\) The extant fragments of ALD do not mention paradise or the garden despite having similar gradations of heaven and potentially being a base text for T. Levi. Paradise, in T. Levi, is part of heaven and the messiah will “open the gates of paradise . . . and grant to the saints to eat of the tree of life” (18:10).\(^{71}\)

Other evidence from the DSS may corroborate the identification. The Qumran community’s self-understanding as a temple and “eternal plantation” makes a self-identification with the restoration of the Garden of Eden. For example, in the allegorical Hymn of the Garden (1QH\(^a\) xvi.5–27), the hymnist speaks of the eternal planting, i.e., the Qumran community, in an eternal Garden of Eden in heaven (ll. 7, 14, 21; cf. xiv.17–20). The hymnist cultivates and waters the planting with his teaching. Biblical allusions and parallels in other DSS help identify Eden as

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\(^{67}\) Rowland, *Heaven*, 383.


\(^{69}\) Not all recensions of 2 En. 8:1 locate Paradise in the third heaven. Paradise seems to be on the same level as earth in [J] the longer recension where Enoch looks downward from the third heaven and sees Paradise. See F. I. Anderson, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) ENOCH,” *OTP* 1:114–115, esp. n. 8b.


representative of the celestial temple (Jub. 3:9–13; 8:19).\textsuperscript{72} In a similar manner, in Rev 2:7, the tree of life is situated in the paradise of God, and in this same place with the tree of life is God’s presence and God’s throne (22:3). Paul, reflecting early Christianity and 2TJ, associates paradise with heaven and adds the hearing of inexpressible words to his picture of paradise. From this external evidence, it seems highly plausible that the paradise Paul mentions could be considered part of the celestial temple and a place of God’s presence and possible throne (cf. Col 3:1). In this case, the Corinthian community’s temple identification would mirror the heavenly, where the spirit reveals mysteries of God through worshipping participants.

9.2.4 Danger and Opposition

Heavenly ascent journeys are, at times, fraught with danger and angelic opposition.\textsuperscript{73} Do the DSS ascent accounts or even Paul testify to this opposition and danger?\textsuperscript{74} Enoch’s precarious journey alone through the paradoxical celestial chambers elicits great fear. He exclaims, “Fear enveloped me, and trembling seized me, and I was quaking and trembling, and I fell upon my face” (1 En. 14:13b–14). While this holy fear precedes his vision of the Great Glory, it could come from the fiery cherubim in the second house and feeling of “no delight of life in it” (v. 13). Later in the vision, Enoch’s trembling occurs before the throne of the Great Glory and with the hearing of God’s voice (14:24–15:1). Thus, Enoch does not identify unequivocally angelic opposition to his ascent; in fact, his calling is to mediate between God and fallen angels.

In ALD, Levi’s preparatory prayer includes an apotropaic\textsuperscript{75} request: “and] may no adversary rule over me [to lead me astray from your path” (4Q213a frag. 1 1.17–18). The word for adversary could mean satan. Is Levi’s prayer for protection from a satan, which might oppose his visionary ascent to heaven or is it a general

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\textsuperscript{72} Davila notes the biblical allusions and argues, “as far back as the Second Temple period there was a cluster of motifs centered around the mystical experience of the celestial temple and the heavenly Paradise” (477), “Hymnist,” 457–77.


\textsuperscript{74} Spittler sees a link between the angel of Satan and angels in apocalyptic journeys, “Limits,” 265.

\textsuperscript{75} For the apotropaic nature of the prayer, see Nickelsburg, Jewish, 160.
prayer reflecting the two-spirits theology of 1QS? Two-spirits theology separates humanity into two lots. Belial or the angel of darkness rules the wicked, and the prince of light rules those in the covenant (1QS I.22–III.26). It is unknown if ALD is advocating here a two-spirits theology. The prayer for no satan to rule over him, however, is more likely a general prayer for help from God to keep Levi on the true path rather than a prayer for protection from angelic opposition to his forthcoming ascent. Moreover, an angel instead of hindering his ascent entreats him to enter heaven.

In 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn a–b and parallels, the exalted instructor is already in the heavenly temple when he reflectively claims that he suffers more evil than others do. He writes, “Who bear[s] sorrows like me? And who suffer[s] evil like me? There is no-one” (4Q491c 1 9). The sorrows and evil seem related to his exceptional instruction, judgments, and the resulting opposition from unidentified attackers and potentially could be as a result of his great exaltation. While 4Q491c does not disclose angelic opposition or fear from the vision of glory, it implies a connection between exaltation and suffering.

While Paul does not speak of fear during his ascent, does the angelic opposition in 2 Cor 12:7 come during his ascent and prevent him from ascending further? In understanding v. 7’s relationship to vv. 2–4, two important exegetical questions must be considered: (1) did the opposition come during the ascent or afterwards? (2) what is this ἄγγελος σατανᾶ? Gooder and Ashton makes a tenuous case for vv. 7–10 to have taken place during Paul’s ascent, and through a seven-tiered cosmological assumption argue for Paul to have been prevented from ascending further by this angel of Satan. Thus, Paul fails to ascend to the highest heaven.

This interpretation has several exegetical problems. Gooder’s non-metaphorical interpretation of μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι, while possible, seems forced. The metaphorical

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78 In 2 Thess 2:4 ὑπεραίρω clearly refers to metaphorical exaltation not a literal rising up, and Paul uses the same root ἐπαίρω to describe his self-exalted opponents.
meaning of ὑπεραίρω as “an undue sense of one’s self-importance”79 fits the context of vv. 5–6 and the problem of boasting better. While his opponents ἐπαίρω in 11:20, Paul has more reasons to become ὑπεραίρω, overly exalted, above them.80 Gooder’s incorporation of vv.5–10 in the ascent obscures the rhetorical weight of Paul’s switch from third to first person. Why would Paul be willing to boast of “such a one” in v.5 and call these revelations extraordinary (τῇ ὑπερβολῇ) if the ascent was a failure?81 If plural revelations (τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων) refer back to v. 1, then he is referring to more than just the heavenly ascent, which shows the thorn is a separate event. Even if revelations refer to ἰδίατα of v. 4, the thorn is still a post-revelatory event.82 The affliction of the thorn, therefore, likely began shortly after and because the revelations. Furthermore, the ἄγγελος of satan beats (κολαφίζῃ) Paul, which the present subjective suggests in a continuous or recurrent manner.83 If the ἄγγελος prevents him from rising higher, as Gooder proposes, Paul would not have implied an ongoing torment. For these reasons, Gooder’s proposal of an angel halting Paul’s ascent must be dismissed.84

Paul’s weakness derives from a thorn85 in the flesh (σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί) so that he would not exalt himself. Scholars propose many interpretations of the thorn. The answers can be generally categorised into a relational opposition, spiritual/psychological anxiety, or a physical ailment.86 Relational opposition appears to have some contextual support. If one takes the meaning of κολαφίζω, to strike or beat with the fist87 literally, then Paul may be speaking of recurrent human opposition guided by Satan. His other use of κολαφίζω describes human opposition as do other New Testament texts (1 Cor 4:11; cf. Matt 26:67; Mark 14:65).

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79 “ὑπεραίρω,” BAGD 839.
80 Wallace, Snatched, 269.
81 Wallace, Snatched, 18.
82 Price argues the revelations refer to v. 4, “Punished,” 35.
84 Wallace notes the late connection between ascent and angelic opposition, Snatched, 269–70 n. 113.
85 Septuagintal usage suggests thorn rather than stake. The thorn could metaphorically refer to an affliction or trouble. See Gerhard Delling, “σκόλοψ,” TDNT 7:409–10; Harris, Corinthians, 853–54. In contrast, David M. Park argues that stake better stresses the severity of the affliction than thorn, which suggests superficiality, “Paul’s ΣΚΟΛΟΨ ΤΗ ΣΑΡΚΙ: Thorn or Stake? (2 Cor. 12:7),” NovT 22 (1980): 179–83. Cross as a potential meaning cannot be substantiated.
86 For summaries, see Thrall, Corinthians, 2:809–18; Furnish, Corinthians, 548–49; and Harris, Corinthians, 858–59.
87 κολαφίζω,” BAGD 441.
Conversely, the striking could be like Satan afflicting Job with physical ailments (Job 2:7). A physical malady based on a locative dative τῇ σαρκί has many proponents and makes more sense exegetically, especially if the identity of the ἄγγελος is in fact an angel.88 Support for a physical affliction comes in a parallel passage in Gal 4:13. Paul cites a ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς, which caused him to stay and preach the gospel in Galatia. Since he was a trial to them ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ μου (v. 14), a physical infirmity is implied. Paul also admits a weak bodily presence, which could be the result of a physical affliction (2 Cor 10:7–10). The third case of anxiety is difficult to maintain and has little scholarly support.

For clarification of the thorn, is Paul’s appositional phrase ἄγγελος σατανᾶ human or angelic?89 Since Paul does not speak of a single oppressing person who attacks him over a fourteen-year period and the angel and Satan in 2 Cor 11:13–15 do not form an adequate parallel, a human ἄγγελος is implausible.90 Furthermore, demonic induced illness is frequent in Second Temple Jewish literature (Luke 13:10–17; Mark 3:22; T. Job 20).91 Thus, Paul speaks of an angelic being of Satan, which strengthens the case for the thorn to be a physical affliction.

In light of Levi’s apotropaic prayer, satanic opposition fits the 2TJ background. The “theological passive”92 (ἐδόθη) and the remedial purpose of the thorn, suggest God or the Lord (Christ) is the giver. Paradoxically, Paul simultaneously suggests the thorn is a gift from God and an instrument of Satan. He implies the ἄγγελος acts by God’s permission and for God’s higher purpose.93 Paul’s prayer reveals that, at first, he could not see the benefit of the thorn, satanic buffeting, but after auditory clarification from the Lord, he sees the protective purpose which he emphatically recalls is to prevent excessive elation (ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι). Paul does not disclose the angel’s awareness of its remedial use by God (cf. 1 Cor 2:8).

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88 Harris argues for physical illness, which he also interprets as ἀλήθειας in Asia 2 Cor 1:8–11. His detailed reconstruction of three occasions when Paul prays for relief, however, is tenuous, *Corinthians*, 164–82 and 851–58. On physical illness and supporters, see Harris’ summary (858–59); Thrall, *Corinthians*, 2:809–18; Heckel, “Dorn,” 76–92; and Wallace, *Snatched*, 273.


90 Heckel, “Dorn,” 74–75; Thrall, *Corinthians*, 2:813; Furnish, *Corinthians*, 549–50. If a human, Paul probably would have used ἀδύνατος rather than ἄγγελος as in 2 Cor 11:15.


92 Harris, *Corinthians*, 855.

93 Harris rightly notes that the second ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι speaks to God’s role not Satan’s, *Corinthians*, 856–57.
In this way, Paul is like Levi in *ALD*. He prays for deliverance from a satan, but later Paul learns, like Job 2:1–7, that Satan can be an effective instrument in God’s hands for further revelation of God’s character and purpose. This shows Paul understood Satan and his angels as subservient to God, and essentially needed God’s permission to touch those in Christ. The remedial nature for self-exaltation also leads one not to rule out a secondary meaning of τῇ σαρκί as *for* the flesh, that is, debased passions and desires commiserate with Gal 5:19–21. This fits too with Satan’s destruction of the flesh for a salvific purpose in 1 Cor 5:1–5.

The connection between suffering and revelations corresponds to the ongoing suffering of evil, which the speaker of *4QSelf-Glorification Hymn* and parallels shares. The speaker experiences suffering because of his exceptional instruction and judgment, but not necessarily as remedial or preventative to pride. The speaker appears beyond desires of the flesh and in no need of humbling. Indeed, the speaker appears to be boasting excessively. Paul, in contrast, identifies his suffering as part of his apostolic calling to emulate his crucified Lord and as a consequence of revelations—a mystical suffering. Thus, Paul differs from later mystical accounts, where the opposition comes during the ascent; Paul sees opposition and suffering coming after and as a result of the extraordinary revelations to prevent self-exaltation.

### 9.2.5 Visions and Revelations

Each of the DSS ascent texts discloses some kind of revelation. In *I En.*, Enoch sees the Great Glory and hears divine speech, which commissions him as a mediator to the watchers, who receive judgment (*I En.* 14; 4Q204 vi.13–19; 4Q204 vi.4–10). Enoch records the vision. Enoch’s observations reveal the paradoxical makeup of the celestial temple and God’s throne (4Q204 vi.20–29; viii.27–30). His cosmic journey reveals cosmological mysteries about the heavens, earth, and abyss (xii.23–30; xiii.23–28). In *ALD*, Levi receives a divine commission, investiture as the priest of...
God, priestly lore on cultic practice not in the Torah, and divine wisdom. In *4QSelf-Glorification Hymn* the exalted individual claims, “I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable [to my teaching. . .]” (4Q491c frag. 1 9–10). The speaker receives divine knowledge, “his truth and the mysteries of his wisdom” (ll.1–3), which he teaches to his community, “the council of the poor,” and to Israel (ll. 3–4). This hymn functions, then, like a prophetic commissioning as a divine teacher and worship leader. The speaker’s elevation to angelic status implies he has angelic, esoteric knowledge since angels are “angels of knowledge” (cf. 1QS iv.22).98

Paul gives the appearance that he is going to boast in an extraordinary example of a heavenly ascent. He gives a concise, parallel description of his experience in third person with no details of what he saw. He, then, notes the man in Christ cannot share the inexpressible utterances—possibly sealed up for a later time.99 When one looks back to v. 1, the reason for the restraint becomes clear. Paul follows “it is necessary to boast” with οὐ συμφέρον μέν.100 Since μέν ties the statement with what follows (δὲ) rather than what proceeds,101 Paul emphasises that going on to εἰς ὀπτασίας καὶ ἀποκάλυψεις Κυρίου is not profitable—more specifically for self-acclamation and boasting.102 Paul at other occasions does not hesitate to relate his personal revelation of Jesus Christ (1 Cor 9:1; 15:8; Gal 1:12; 2:2). These autobiographical confidences generally substantiate his proclamation of the gospel and have a Christological and soteriological function. Paul, however, in the end, refuses to use an extraordinary visionary experience for apostolic legitimacy. He feigns a boast for apostolic credibility—not discounting its truthfulness (v. 6)—but then divulges a weightier revelation—Christ’s power perfected in weakness.

The lack of profitability of sharing visions and revelations seems to have a two-fold purpose for Paul. First, Paul does not want the Corinthians to think more of him than what is seen or heard from him (2 Cor 12:6). This recalls Paul’s appearance as both weak and rhetorically unskilled (10:10) as well as the demonstration of the spirit and power through his preaching of Christ crucified (1 Cor 2:1–5). He should

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98 Alexander understands the speaker’s claim to counted one of the angels as “like one of the high angels in his knowledge of God,” *Mystical*, 87. Knowledge at Qumran often means revealed knowledge.

99 Lincoln, *Paradise*, 84. For more on the reluctance of recounting aspects of heavenly journeys, see Scott’s notes, *Corinthians*, 240.

100 Despite textual variants, ἕν B F G etc. make a strong case for the current reading.

101 BDF §447.

not need to tell them more visions and revelations because they have already seen his apostleship. Indeed, their existence as a Christian community came from Paul’s ministry (2 Cor 9:1–2); he first preached the good news to them (10:14). Second, Paul may not see any profitability toward the community’s edification. This parallels his argument concerning tongues speaking and the building up of the ἐκκλησία in 1 Cor 14, and using the gifts of the Spirit for the common good (12:7). Additionally, Paul acknowledges he was prohibited from sharing revelation from his ascent, from which he might build up the church. The sharing of personal visions and revelations does not necessarily build up the community either, unless it has a Christological or soteriological function. In fact, it could be problematic. The one sharing could become too elated and others might think of him or her too highly, which would draw focus away from Christ crucified. Likewise, a congregation prone to factions, concerned with status and comparisons, like Corinth, could easily be abused and misused by false apostles “propagandistic” boasting and putting on airs, which they already have (2 Cor 11:1–20, esp. 20).

Of the many reasons for his inclusion of the ascent account, two are significant for this study. First, Paul ironically relates the ascent to demonstrate his relinquishing of a rightful claim to a boast so that he can exemplify his refusal to boast except in what is for the sake of Christ, i.e., weaknesses. Secondly, the ascent account sets up the resulting thorn in the flesh and satanic buffeting—a weakness consonant with some ancient ascent accounts, which the false apostles appear not to have claimed. The auditory revelation he then receives forms the climax of Paul’s argument, which is the sufficient grace for weakness through which the Lord’s power is perfected. Paul uses the three-part scenario to teach the Corinthians about Christ-like weakness, true apostleship, Christ-centred identity, and the perfecting of Christ’s power at work in them through weakness and sustaining grace. This paradoxical Christ-centred instruction counters the culturally conditioned perspective of the Corinthians, who

103 Matera, Corinthians, 277.
104 Matera, Corinthians, 281.
106 Wallace, Snatched, 282.
107 Young, “Ascension,” 81.
were more concerned with status and egotism than a cross-shaped ministry and faith.\textsuperscript{108}

While scholars often focus upon Paul’s defence of his apostolic authority,\textsuperscript{109} this is not his main point. Instead, Paul is primarily instructing the Corinthian community about the Christological—Christ crucified, grace-reliant pattern and where the power of Christ truly lies—in weakness for the sake of Christ. He writes, “All along you have been thinking that we are defending ourselves to you. It is before God, in Christ, we are speaking; and all, beloved, for the sake of your edification/building up” (12:19). This fulfils the purpose of Paul’s God-given apostolic authority to build up the community (10:8; 13:10).

Thus, Paul is speaking to the Corinthians’ situation.\textsuperscript{110} Paul’s boasting in weakness offers a Christ-centred and cruciform antithesis to their opposing, human—typically Greco-Roman—outlook that prizes self-boasting, physical strength, rhetorical skill, and patron-client relationships.\textsuperscript{111} The Corinthians, it seems, do not understand that Christ crucified means that weakness ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ is both a prerequisite and the facilitation of the Christ’s power resting upon them. This power is a present reality, enables labour for the sake of Christ, and is a grace gift.\textsuperscript{112} Paul delights in weakness, because then Christ dwells in him and he is powerful—living in the fullness of grace (12:9–10). Paul substantiates the pattern of Christ in 13:4: “For he was crucified in weakness,\textsuperscript{113} but lives by the power of God.” Paul through his union with Christ follows the same Christological pattern: “For we are weak in him, but in dealing with you we will live with him by the power of God.” Thus, Paul’s weaknesses in Christ make him powerful in Christ to speak to them. He threatens to be severe (ἀποτόμως) with his gifted authority (13:10), which would further humble him before God (12:21). Paul, however, wants to remain meek and gentle towards them.

\textsuperscript{108} Timothy B. Savage, \textit{Power through Weakness: Paul’s Understanding of the Christian Ministry in 2 Corinthians} (SNTSMS 86; Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 99, 185–86.
\textsuperscript{109} Käsemann argues that Paul is boasting to defend his apostleship, “Legitimität,” 48, 69–70.
\textsuperscript{110} Wallace, \textit{Snatched}, 283.
\textsuperscript{111} Savage rightly points out that Paul’s boasting in Christ is meant to challenge their opposing worldly outlook and to edify the Corinthians with a Christ-centred perspective, \textit{Power, passim}, esp. 62–64, 99, 185–86. For a reconstruction of a Greco-Roman and Corinthian outlook, see 19–53.
\textsuperscript{112} Wallace, \textit{Snatched}, 276.
\textsuperscript{113} Thrall understands ἐξ ἀσθενείας to mean Christ’s “weakness essentially inherent in mortal human existence,” \textit{Corinthians}, 2:883. Cf. 2 Cor 8:9; Phil 2:7.
The way Paul uses the ascent account to instruct the community in some ways resembles the purpose of the three ascent accounts from the DSS. Each helps legitimise through heavenly ascent the mediator and his divine teaching in the respective communities.\textsuperscript{114} Since the Qumran community uses 1 En., ALD, and 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn\textsuperscript{a–b} and parallels, each reinforces particular aspects of the community’s belief and practice. Levi’s ascent legitimises, as eternal and divine, the priestly institutions, priestly lore, and scribal education inherent within the priestly orientation of the Qumran community. Enoch’s ascent underlines their cosmology, angelology, and hamartiology to a certain degree, notwithstanding differences, and reinforces the promise of God’s justice in the world.\textsuperscript{115} The maškil of the Self-Glorification Hymn lends divine authority to his sectarian teaching and establishes an expectation among the worshipping community that communion with the angels is possible through his liturgical guidance. The maškil, who has gone before them, can lead them into the celestial temple before God’s throne. Each account also grants hope of eternal, celestial rewards for the faithful and provides exemplary lives to follow.

At the same time, Paul’s boasting in his weakness provides a remarkable contrast to boastful self-exaltation of the ascended maškil. A brief comparison will help further illuminate Paul’s polemical point. The maškil boasts in triumph about his incomparable glory, boasts of his place in heaven, and claims, “besides me no-one is exalted” (4Q491c 1 6). He asks a series of rhetorical questions, which no one can answer. Most of the references to glory include the first person possessive pronoun “my.” Only in line 7 does the maškil seem to refer to the glory of another, but a lacuna leaves this indecipherable. One can suppose this glory relates to the holy dwelling and possibly God, which could have caused the glorious transformation. The maškil does boast like Paul in regard to his suffering of evil, but not for the sake of Christ. In general, the maškil is boasting and commending himself—claiming no equal. In this sense, he mirrors Paul’s opponents more than Paul.

Paul begins to boast like the maškil in 2 Cor 11:11–30 with a series of rhetorical questions; after two boasts on lineage, however, he shifts to his labors and hardships

\textsuperscript{114} Collins notes two functions: the figure’s legitimacy as an intermediary between earth and heaven and divine revelation, Septer, 140.

\textsuperscript{115} For what T. Levi and 1 En. might legitimise circumstantially, see Segal, “Heavenly,” 1359–62. For how the Qumran community used 1 Enoch, see Davidson, Angels.
for the sake of Christ. He concludes with his determination to boast in his weaknesses not his strengths. Paul’s prescribed boasting only includes the Lord, his assigned field, and his weaknesses endured for the sake of Christ—this is his apostolic witness and legitimacy. He refuses to glory in himself or claim he is incomparable. In fact, he sees comparison as without understanding (2 Cor 10:12). He does not boast in his teaching, but admits his lack of rhetorical skill as a weakness, which allows for the demonstration of the spirit and power and the proclamation of Christ crucified (1 Cor 2:1–5). Paul even claims the opposite of maṣḥīl: “I am no one” (σοῦδέν εἰμι) (2 Cor 12:11). He does this to follow the power in weakness model demonstrated by Christ. If he claims to be no one, he can then be through Christ’s power “not in the least inferior” to the super (ὑπερλίαν)-apostles (11:5).116

While Paul has similar elements to the DSS ascents,117 his account and its rhetorical purpose provide a striking contrast to the triumphalism and detail given in the other accounts. His Christological perspective circumvents the disclosure of unnecessary details outside its illustrative point to reinforce the Christ-crucified pattern of his own ministry and instil this pattern of pathos in the lives of the Corinthian believers (13:4). As a fool’s speech, Paul maintains this paradoxical pattern with irony. He cannot utter his heavenly revelations. His thorn is not healed, and power is in weakness.118 By playing the fool, Paul becomes a fool of Christ, and remarkably discloses “the paradoxical nature of existence ‘in Christ,’” which is παθήματα Χριστοῦ (cf. 2 Cor 1:5–7).119 The heavenly ascent—a rightful boast—works rhetorically to legitimise Paul’s auditory revelation from the Lord that power comes in weakness and that Paul indeed bears this power (cf. 2 Cor 4:12).120 In this manner, while Paul bemoans his foolish behaviour for not being profitable to the Corinthians, in reality he has built them up through his climactic revelation and

117 Baird notes five parallels with heavenly ascent motif: (1) “transported by supernatural power”; (2) “journeys through plurality of heavens”; (3) “sees various hidden things” for Paul “visions and revelations”; (4) “journey discloses secrets”; and (5) “meaning of the revelation is interpreted by an angel,” which the communication is implied for Paul, “Visions,” 658–59.
118 See Betz, Paulus, 69–100.
120 Wallace centres Paul’s irony in v. 6b: “By reinterpreting his own weakness, Paul has simultaneously demonstrated that what appears to be weakness in fact points to the divine power he bears,” Snatched, 283.
sustained modelling of weakness for the sake of Christ. Paul’s experience and
revelation are distinctly Christian and are shaped by Paul’s Christology concerning
his crucified Lord. The pattern of Christ for Paul reverses the status quo of the
Corinthians, and to a certain extent the boasting and self-exaltation found in other
ascent accounts in 2TJ.

Paul maintains with early Christianity, Christ as the “unique and definitive
mediator,” who has risen, ascended, resides in heaven, is seated on the throne, and
announces revelation in response to Paul’s prayer. In Paul’s ascent, he does not
assume the place of a mediator, as with Enoch, Levi, or the maskil, but follows the
weakness model of his Lord. As in Phil 2:6–11, God highly exalts (ὑπερύψωσεν) Christ after his obedience unto death on a cross. Paul, therefore, prefers not to exalt
himself, but to be obedient in suffering through God’s grace so that (ἵνα) God can exalt him and the power of Christ can tabernacle (ἐπισκηνώσῃ) in him (2 Cor 12:9).

Paul’s proof of power in weakness is the signs, wonders, and miracles he has already
performed in their midst by the power of the spirit (v. 12). This provides an example
for the bewildered Corinthians to follow, and whether Paul intends it or not, the
ascent does give heavenly endorsement to his teaching and the promise of
immortality for believers who follow his cruciform version of the gospel.

This becomes the interpretative backdrop of the whole section of the letter and
has immediate Christological and soteriological value for Paul’s polemic and self-
understanding and the identity formation of the Corinthian community. Paul’s
weaknesses experienced for the sake of Christ, his mission, and ministry to the
Corinthians proves Paul is a true apostle of the crucified Christ, who is the Lord.
Paul’s intent is to destroy those arguments in the community, which are proud obstacles against the knowledge of God (10:5). He warns them that he will use this
authority when he arrives, if they have not repented. This for Paul would be another
humbling experience—further evidence of his mirroring of Christ. This punishment
would be a hardship for the Corinthians—a potential experience of weakness—and a
negative experience of Christ’s power exercised by Paul (13:2–5). Although the

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121 Christ is the man from and of heaven. See 1 Cor 15:47–49.
123 Lincoln, Paradise, 85.
124 Thrall notes how the power exercised by Paul could be “to their disadvantage when he
arrives,” Corinthians, 2:881.
Corinthians have experienced Christ as powerful in them (δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν) (v. 3) through pneumatika, charismata, revelations, and more, they exhibit contrary behaviour to the way of Christ—even pride (φυσιώσεις) (12:20). Likewise, they need to recognise their weaknesses and hardships already experienced at the hands of the pseudo apostles (11:19–20). If they respond appropriately, they too will experience the power of Christ being perfected in and among them through weaknesses experienced for the sake of Christ.

9.3 Conclusions
This heuristic comparison of Paul’s ascent in 2 Cor 12:1–12 with three ascent accounts of 1 En., ALD, and 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn a–b and parallels has proven fruitful for illuminating not only mystical elements of Paul’s ascent, but also how this ascent account functions rhetorically in chapters 10–13 and relates to communal participation in the spirit. Each comparative mystical element examined contributes to the understanding of Paul’s argument and purpose. Paul does not divulge a vision of God’s throne common to JM, which reinforces his own point that visions and revelations with prohibited revelation are not profitable for building up others. Communal upbuilding, a corporate effect of communal participation in the spirit, remains a litmus test for what personal revelations should be shared in the community. Paul gives no via mystica and intimates the involuntary nature of his snatching into paradise so that he can boast in the Lord. Paul’s three-tiered cosmology may allude to a paradisial, celestial temple, which corresponds well with 2TJ and Qumran. If so, the Corinthian community’s temple identification could mirror the heavenly temple. When considering danger and opposition in heavenly ascent, Paul was not prevented from ascending higher, but the angel of Satan was, in fact, God’s protective and remedial action to inhibit self-exaltation. Paul differs from later mystical accounts, where opposition comes during the ascent; angelic opposition for him comes afterward and because of revelations to inoculate against pride. In the final section on visions and revelations, Paul’s rhetorical purpose for communicating the ascent appears and clearly relates to communal participation in the spirit.

Paul shares the sparse heavenly journey to set up the thorn in the flesh and his key revelation that Christ’s divine power is made perfect in the weakness of fragile
flesh. Paul’s rhetorical purpose is not, however, his apostolic defence as so many have focused upon. Rather, he seeks to build up the community with a cruciform perspective. His three revelatory experiences in 12:1–12 model and reinforce this key revelation to the bewildered Corinthian community, who are being taken advantage of by triumphalist false apostles. Paul’s rivals, then, become foils for this greater revelation. Paul potentially has learned to live with the ongoing affliction and to rely upon sufficient grace for 14 years. If the Corinthians will come to understand that the Lord’s power “tents” on those who acknowledge their weaknesses, then they too will find sufficient grace to follow the paradoxical Christ-crucified pattern of power in weakness in the community. This can be characterised as a corporate effect of Paul’s desire for communal participation in the holy spirit (2 Cor 13:13). By being weak for the sake of Christ, the power and grace of Christ and the love of God will be evident in the fellowship of the community and its participation in the spirit.

Neither Paul nor the three accounts from the DSS consistently employ typical aspects of heavenly journeys as found in later MM. This shows the early development of these mystical traditions, which have yet to be formulated or standardised. The most striking contrasts from Paul’s perspective, however, are the distinctly Christian nature of his visions and revelations, how radically the crucified messiah has transformed his perspective, and continuous concern for the upbuilding of the Christian community. The auditory revelation given by his crucified Lord in v. 9 colours his evaluation of ecstatic experiences and the execution of his ministry with a paradoxical delight in weaknesses for the sake of Christ so that the power of Christ can transform the communities to whom he ministers into Christlikeness.
Chapter 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Summary

This study has examined communal participation in the spirit in the Corinthian correspondence in light of early JM in the DSS. In order to illuminate how Paul advances the ongoing christomorphic transformation of the Corinthian *ekklesia* in and by the spirit, the thesis employed early JM as a heuristic tool for comparison and illumination. The introduction defined early JM and reviewed its place in DSS research and Pauline studies. Part I investigated Jewish mystical elements in mystical texts among the DSS. The results confirmed that the Qumran community practised a liturgical and communal mysticism. The particular findings from each chapter in Part I were then compared heuristically with converging phenomena and concepts in 1 and 2 Corinthians in Part II.

In the first of these heuristic comparisons, chapter 6 compared the agency of the spirit of God in *Hodayot* with the spirit’s agency in the Corinthian correspondence. The comparison determined that Paul primarily speaks of participation in the spirit in corporate and, unlike the DSS, in Christological terms. The spirit mediates the work of Christ to Corinthian community in various ways: indwelling, incorporating, washing, sanctifying, justifying, and revealing. Paul democratises the mystical experience of the spirit’s revelation to the whole community of Christ—a corporate epistemology of the spirit (1 Cor 2). Revelation continues through ongoing, spirit-inspired utterances of participants in the worship of the Corinthian assembly (chs. 12–14). For Paul, personal participation in the spirit cannot and should not be divorced from the community. In light of JM, Paul advances an implicit corporate *communio mystica* with a transcendent divine being (the holy spirit), not in heaven, but on earth (2 Cor 13:13). Paul desires that this intimate and relational corporate participation in the spirit foster three corporate effects: (1) unity and mutual honouring of community members, (2) corporate upbuilding through *pneumatika*
characterised by love, and (3) a cruciform pattern of living as a Christian community by the spirit. This way the new covenant community can be transformed into Christ-likeness and fulfil God’s mysterious purpose for his people (Ezek 36–37).

In chapter 7, the heuristic approach compared Paul’s temple metaphor with the Qumran community’s temple identity in 1QS and the liturgical outworking of its temple phenomenology in Songs. The Qumran community understood its temple identity as a reflection of the heavenly archetype, whose members through liturgical synchronisation shared in the priestly service of the angels in the celestial temple. A correspondence between angelic presence and tongues of angels indicated that Paul’s temple metaphor has extended meaning for the Corinthian ekklesia and draws upon the wider 2TJ background. While the temple metaphor has a rhetorical function to prescribe corporate unity, holiness, and glorification of God, the metaphor also speaks to the Corinthian community’s experience of divine transcendence associated with the ναός—a communal participation in the indwelling spirit of God. When assembled, the Corinthians perceive angels present through their theophanic imagination of being a temple community. Angels, however, have only secondary importance to Christ and believers. Instead of synchronising with an angelic liturgy, order is one of communal participation directed by the spirit. People in Christ have been given authority over angels, and women have authority and a voice in worship practice. The indwelling spirit enables believers to speak in the tongues of men and angels, not in the heavenly temple, but in an earthly, embodied one, even as they anticipate an eschatological completion of their ongoing, christomorphic transformation. Thus, communal participation in the spirit demonstrates that the Corinthian ekklesia is the new dwelling place of God.

In chapter 8, Moses-Δόξα traditions and the themes of ‘shine on the face of many,’ ‘glory of Adam,’ and ‘transformation by vision’ in the DSS were compared with analogous mystical elements that converge in 2 Cor 3. The comparison found in Paul’s Christian utilisation of the Moses-Δόξα traditions and related themes an overlooked corporate aspect to the encounter, beholding, and transformation by the spirit in 3:18. Paul democratises the mystical encounter with the Lord’s glory and extends the esoteric to the whole ‘in Christ’ gathering (exoteric). The resulting glorification is not only both present and eschatological, for Paul, but also christomorphic. Paul advocates a transformation by vision, whereby one turns to
Christ for a heart and mind illumination in the community. The transformation, while predominantly inward, has a somatic element in which the death of Christ produces life in the body now and in the future. Since the community is being transformed into the same image of Christ and is becoming the righteousness of God, this metamorphosis can be characterised as a qualified *communal* theosis. Moreover, the spirit’s facilitation of the mystical encounter and transformation make 2 Cor 3 crucial to understanding the mystical and transformative aspects of Paul’s communal participation in the spirit.

The final chapter of this investigation examined Paul’s personal account of heavenly ascent (2 Cor 12:1–12) in light of the three accounts of heavenly ascent by human intermediaries in the DSS. Heuristic comparison of mystical elements (vision of the throne, *via mystica*, cosmology, danger and opposition, revelation) showed how Paul’s sparse account functions rhetorically in chapters 10–13. While the account is unprofitable—due to prohibited revelation, it sets up Paul’s thorn in the flesh and Christ’s audition that divine power is perfected in weakness. Paul’s account then functions, like those at Qumran, to build up and instruct the community. The crucified messiah has transformed his perspective. Paul edifies the community with a cruciform perspective by an example of cruciform living—ongoing weakness for Christ’s sake and for the sake of the community. He desires for the *ekklesia* to follow suit and become perfect. Paul thereby prioritises communal upbuilding over personal edification and self-boasting. The corporate effects of appropriate communal participation in the spirit become like a litmus test for what visions and revelations should be shared in the community. The Corinthians, Paul argues, need to be weak for the sake of Christ so that they too can experience Christ’s power, grace, and the love of God working in their community. In this respect, cruciform living and corporate edification exemplified in 2 Cor 12:1–12 should characterise the communal participation in the spirit Paul prays for in 13:13.

**10.2 Contributions to Research**

The results of this thesis have made important contributions. First, this study has made a *methodological* contribution through a fruitful use of heuristic comparison. Second, the findings contribute to the study of early Judaism, particularly in the areas
of early JM and the DSS. Third, the comparative examination has contributed to Pauline studies in various areas.

The appropriation and application of heuristic comparison as a method allowed this study to compare the DSS and the Corinthian correspondence through the lens of early JM. This study identified common mystical elements in corresponding texts by using JM as a heuristic device. The study compared these elements to illuminate how Paul advocates communal participation in the spirit for the Corinthian community. Heuristic comparison avoided some of the previous comparative pitfalls of ‘parallelomania’ and erroneous claims to Paul depending upon or borrowing from the DSS. This comparative endeavour contributed to the mutual illumination of both the DSS and the Corinthian correspondence by focusing upon both similarities and differences. Previous comparisons have mostly highlighted similarities while neglecting differences. The following contributions of this study testify to the fruitfulness of this method.

In the area of early JM, this investigation into sectarian and non-sectarian DSS and the Pauline Corinthian correspondence showed the currency of Jewish mystical elements in 2TJ. Employing the work of Henry Corbin on the *imaginal* has helped move the understanding of Jewish mystical practice at Qumran forward—beyond the limitations of philological and exegetical studies.¹ This also avoided the false dichotomy assumed by some scholars between text and experience. The research in Part I demonstrated the presence of Jewish mystical elements, both abstract and indicative, as well as the praxis of a liturgical and communal mysticism at Qumran. This supported a modified Scholem hypothesis that dates JM back to the time of the Qumran community. It did not contend, however, for a direct literary relationship between the DSS to the *Hekhalot* texts. Rather, the DSS and even the Corinthian correspondence are evidence of the wider dissemination of early JM traditions in 2TJ that form antecedents to MM. The lack of standardised heavenly ascent journey highlighted the diversity of the voices concerning early Jewish mystical traditions. They were suppressed and marginalised after 70 c.e. This research confirmed a clear connection between Jewish mystical elements, the heavenly temple archetype, and the earthly and angelic priesthood. This corroborated Elior’s thesis that the Jewish

¹ See §3.3.
mystical traditions in the DSS perhaps originated with “theosophical speculation” of the Jerusalem temple priesthood.²

Part I determined that the mystery of God for the Qumran community is union, joint inheritance, and joint holy war with the angels. This central theme of Hodayot, 1QS, and Songs needs to be more prominent in the depiction and consideration of the Qumran community and its liturgical practice. Furthermore, the analysis clarified how prominent the celestial archetype of the temple and priesthood is to the Qumran community’s temple identity. The Qumran community amalgamated these mystical themes with halakic concerns.

In Part II, heuristic comparison between the Corinthian correspondence and the DSS made an important contribution to establishing Paul in his Jewish background. While this study focused exclusively on the early Jewish mystical background and did not consider the possible influence of a Hellenistic mystical background, the thesis ascertained that mystical elements in Paul’s theology and ecclesial practice derive from Jewish influence. Both Paul and Qumran appropriated Jewish mystical traditions from the “Jewish matrix”³ of 2TJ and the Scriptures. This comparison mostly disclosed significant differences between the Paul’s Corinthian ekklesia and the Qumran community. Paul drew upon his personal revelatory experience of Christ and early church traditions to reinterpret these Jewish mystical traditions in light of Christ. He then appropriates some of these mystical elements to advance the ongoing Christological and mystical transformation of the Corinthian community in and by the spirit. Like the Qumran community, Paul integrates the mystical and juridical rather than unnaturally or anachronistically separating the two. Paul, the research proved, evaluated mystical experience by its benefit to the whole community. Paul, as an apostle, became “the decisive mediator of the revelatory experience and the arbitrator of its trustworthiness” to the community.⁴

This study has also shown how Paul employs Jewish mystical elements in his letters to the Corinthians. While Paul shares private mystical experience, a heavenly ascent, he does not divulge a mystical praxis that would correlate to MM. Contrary to what Segal, Bowker, and others have presupposed, Paul cannot be said with

⁴ Rowland and Morray-Jones, Mystery, 208.
certainty to have practised Merkabah speculation. Neither does he reveal a passing on of mystical praxis to the Corinthian ekklesia. Nonetheless, Paul still fits within the scope of early JM, meets most abstract and indicative qualifications of JM, and further corroborates the presence of mystical traditions in 2TJ and early Christianity.

The investigation of this thesis into participation in the holy spirit in light of early JM has revealed the largely communal conception of this participation or κοινωνία in the Corinthian correspondence—a clear contribution to studies on participation and confirmation of the communal dimension highlighted by Bousset. Scholarship has generally neglected this communal dimension possibly due to an individualistic Western worldview or the Protestant penchant for individual salvation. In contrast with the spirit of God in Hodayot and 1QS, Paul exhibits a remarkable development of the spirit of God. The spirit is distinct from God, has personal traits, and is relational (as opposed to impersonal). The exegesis of the overlapping spirit and mystical passages showed that Paul conceived of a communal epistemology of the spirit in 1 Cor 2. Paul discloses the corporate indwelling of the spirit in the community through the temple metaphor (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19). The ongoing revelation through spirit-inspired speech comes through personal participation in corporate worship gatherings of the Corinthian ekklesia (1 Cor 12–14). In 2 Cor 3, the beholding of the glory of God happens in the community and has a corporate tenor. The christomorphic transformation by the spirit points toward the transformation of the whole community into the same ecclesial image. Paul’s benediction in 2 Cor 13:13 also corroborates corporate participation, κοινωνία, in the holy spirit.

The analysis determined that Paul maintained corporate effects of participation in the spirit. Paul evaluated the appropriateness of participation in the spirit by whether or not it builds up the community in Christ and fosters unity among the community members. This participation, as modelled by Paul’s cruciform pattern of life and ministry, should promulgate a cruciform perspective and practice in the Corinthian ekklesia.

In line with his corporate emphasis, Paul democratised the mystical encounter with the divine transcendence (the holy spirit of God). He extended the esoteric of Jewish mystical tradition to the exoteric—the whole “in Christ” gathering. They all experience the presence of God and the mediation of the work of Christ through the
indwelling spirit of God on earth. Participation takes place in the community, not in isolation. Paul, therefore, maintained a largely communal orientation, akin to Judaism, and contended with the self-exalted focus of the Corinthians steeped in Greco-Roman culture.

Since Jewish mystical traditions include a transformation by vision, this study made another contribution to the area of theosis or deification and Paul. In agreement with recent studies by Litwa and Gorman, among others, the designation of theosis in Paul must be a qualified ascription. This offers a correction to the unqualified exclusion of deification in Paul by Deissmann and Schweitzer. The ongoing theotic transformation is christomorphic, cruciform, pneumatological, and communal. The community itself is undergoing a metamorphosis by participating in the life and death of Christ. The community is becoming the righteousness and glory of God by the spirit. Communal and pneumatological aspects need greater emphasis in studies of theosis in Paul.

10.3 Areas of Further Research
The approach of heuristic comparison through the lens of JM in the DSS can be applied to the rest of the Pauline corpus. This may prove beneficial to an investigation of Colossians 2 where Paul dissuades the believers from the worship of angels or the enigmatic statements in Ephesians 2:6 about being seated in heavenly places with Christ. This may show how Jewish mystical elements were common among early Christian communities. Equally, this same approach could illuminate Johannine literature and Hebrews, which have corresponding Jewish mystical facets.

Since this thesis concentrated upon participation in the holy spirit, other areas in Paul need further examination with early JM in the DSS, especially Paul’s Christology. Previous studies of Paul and JM have not had a singular, contextualised focus upon the DSS. Likewise, this same study, but with a focus on mystical elements in Philo, instead of the DSS, could further clarify the extent to which Hellenistic JM might have influenced Paul and his use of *pneuma*.

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