

JOHN GRANGER COOK

The Enspirited Body in 1 Corinthians 15

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

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Mohr Siebeck

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530



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Note: Extremely late in the production process I discovered that I had quoted some lengthy texts twice in different places in the manuscript – an error for which I ask the reader’s forbearance.

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Introduction

The Enspirited Body in 1 Corinthians 15

Paul's description of the resurrection body in 1 Cor 15 as a *σῶμα πνευματικόν* (enspirited/spiritual body) has intrigued readers both ancient and modern.¹ It is most likely that Paul created the concept, perhaps based on his self-described experience of the risen Christ, although it remains possible that an earlier Hellenistic Jewish writer developed a similar understanding of resurrection. The expression, *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, does not appear in any text datable prior to 1 Corinthians although it does appear later in some non-Christian philosophical texts in addition to its numerous expected occurrences in Christian authors. One, consequently, has primarily to examine Paul's concept of an enspirited body in its context in 1 Corinthians rather than seeking its origins in earlier pagan or Hellenistic Jewish sources. That context indicates the following result: the claim occasionally seen in modern scholarship that the enspirited body in Paul is entirely non-physical is unwarranted – a thesis that I will seek to demonstrate in the monograph.

In my recent monograph on resurrection in its Mediterranean context, I examined two hypotheses that I had developed in my preliminary research: “first,

¹ I first came across this felicitous translation in F. S. Tappenden, *Resurrection in Paul. Cognition, Metaphor, and Transformation*, ECL 19, Atlanta 2016, 115, 116, 119. Earlier Edmund Hill used it in his trans. of the Pauline expression in Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* (Augustine, *On Genesis ... The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, *The Works of St. Augustine* I.13, trans. E. Hill, New York 1990). After a quotation of 1 Cor 15:54, Augustine, *Gen. litt.* 6.24 (CSEL 28.1, 197 Zycha) writes, *ut sit spiritale corpus, in quod nondum mutatus, sed mutandus erat Adam, nisi mortem etiam corporis animalis peccando meruisset* (so that it may be an “enspirited” body, into which Adam had not yet been changed, but into which he was to have been changed if he had not earned the death of his “ensouled” body by sinning; trans. Hill, 321). Hill (323) uses the same translations for *Gen. litt.* 6.28 (199 Zycha) *corpus spiritale* (enspirited body) and *animale ... corpus* (ensouled body). According to the (OED) Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. *inspirit* (v.), July 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/4554159849> the verb “inspirit” was first used in ca 1610, and “enspirit” is a variation of “inspirit.” The OED, s.v. *ensoul* / *insoul* (v.), June 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9239432475>, cites R. W. Emerson, *Essays*, Boston 1841, 152 “... the body is wholly ensouled.” The OED cites an author from 1652 for the sense “infuse a soul into” – the same sense in which Emerson used the word. Hill used “enspirited body” for “pneumatic body” in *Being Human. A Biblical Perspective*, London 1984, 133.

there is no fundamental difference between Paul’s conception of the resurrection body and that of the Gospels; and second, the resurrection and translation stories of Greco-Roman antiquity probably help explain the willingness of Mediterranean people to gradually accept the Gospel of a crucified and risen savior.”² For example, Paul’s primary verbs for resurrection with their derivative nouns (ἐγείρω and ἀνίστημι) are irreducibly physical in their ancient context, both pagan and Hellenistic Jewish.³ I found nothing in the present investigation of 1 Cor 15:35–58 and 2 Cor 5:1–10 that caused me to doubt the first hypothesis. It is clear of course methodologically that one cannot use the Gospels to evaluate Paul’s δῶμα πνευματικόν.

Synopsis of the Monograph

During the course of my research I found it necessary to evaluate the thesis that Paul is an adherent of Stoic physics.⁴ One of the main results of that analysis is that Paul’s concept of spirit is not the Stoics’ concept of spirit (a mixture of fire and air). In addition, it is not the case as a number of scholars have claimed, that the Stoics believed the stars comprise πνεῦμα (*pneuma*). Consequently, one of the fruits of the investigation is the result that Stoic physics do not illuminate Paul’s concept of the δῶμα πνευματικόν (enspirited body) in 1 Cor 15.

In the investigation Alexandrian tradition became key for understanding the enspirited body due to the fundamental importance of Paul’s reference to “enspirited food” (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα) in 1 Cor 10:2. Philo, in an Armenian text, uses the identical concept (at least from a linguistic perspective). Because the expression appears nowhere else in Hellenistic Judaism, it is apparent that both Paul and Philo shared a common Alexandrian source for the concept. “Enspirited food” (πνευματικὸν βρῶμα) – manna – is both physical and spiritual in some sense, and therefore is a crucial analogy to the δῶμα πνευματικόν since both expressions are so close linguistically and conceptually.

Similarly, in Second Temple Judaism Philo’s understanding of ψυχὴ (*psychē*) and πνεῦμα (*pneuma*) is closest to Paul’s usage of the categories even though Paul’s use is less precise. There are indications of anthropological du-

² J. G. Cook, *Empty Tomb, Resurrection, Apotheosis*, WUNT 410, Tübingen 2018, 1–2. Admittedly the second hypothesis is more speculative.

³ Cf. Cook, *Empty Tomb*, 13–37, J. G. Cook, *Resurrection in Paganism and the Question of an Empty Tomb in 1 Cor 15*, NTS 63 (2017) 56–75, and J. G. Cook, *The use of ἀνίστημι and ἐγείρω and the “Resurrection of a Soul,”* ZNW 108 (2017) 259–80.

⁴ Some of those results I published in: J. G. Cook, *A Naked Seed: Platonism, Stoicism, or Agriculture in 1 Cor 15:37?*, ZNW 111(2) (2020) 289–309 and idem, *1Cor 15,40–41: Paul and the Heavenly Bodies*, ZNW 113 (2022) 159–79.

alism in Pauline texts, and they should be traced to common Alexandrian tradition. Paul's opposition between ψυχικός (ensouled, psychic) and πνευματικός (spiritual, enspirited) probably emerged in Alexandrian exegesis of Gen 2:7. Nevertheless, one cannot find any texts before Paul that include the precise opposition between the two categories ψυχικός and πνευματικός. One result of the research is that "natural" is a thoroughly inadequate translation of ψυχικός. Paul's belief that one can exist in a bodiless state (2 Cor 12:2) probably implies that he believed the *pneuma* (or perhaps the *psychē*) could survive death. His minimal but clear statements about an intermediate state support that thesis.

Paul's reference to the first *anthropos* (human being), Adam, bears many resemblances to Philo's earthly or first *anthropos*. Philo can call the earthly Adam "the second *anthropos*." Philo's heavenly person resembles Paul's resurrected bodies and Paul's second *anthropos* because all are heavenly and incorruptible. This shared tradition probably indicates that the Alexandrian interpretation of Gen 1–2 was the source or impetus for Paul's development of his own concept of two *anthropoi*, although he certainly transformed it. Paul reverses the Alexandrian order of the heavenly and earthly *anthropoi*, if one can assume that Philo's own position was based on Alexandrian exegesis. The εἰκὼν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου (image of the heavenly one) in 15:49 and the σῶμα πνευματικόν are almost certainly identical in reference even though their senses differ.

Paul's statement in 1 Cor 15:50 that "flesh and blood" (σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα) cannot inherit the kingdom of God has often been misinterpreted to mean that the resurrection body is nonphysical. "Flesh and blood" in ancient Jewish texts, however, simply refers to thisworldly human nature. The opposite of existence in a body of "flesh and blood" (human nature in this world) is existence in a heavenly, transformed, immortal, and incorruptible body – not an incorporeal body. This is probably why Paul never uses an expression such as an "immaterial" or "incorporeal" body to envision a resurrected body. Paul describes such a body as one that possesses power, honor, and glory. 1 Cor 15:51–52 refer to the transformation of earthly bodies in the resurrection and not the creation of a new bodies completely out of nothing (*e nihilo*).

Although Paul alters the vocabulary of resurrection in 2 Cor 5:1–10, there is no proof that he fundamentally altered his conception of the risen body – something that one sees clearly already in 2 Cor 1:9 and 4:14 where the resurrection is an eschatological and corporate event – not one in which individuals receive their resurrected bodies immediately after death. The eternal house not made with hands in the heavens of 2 Cor 5:1 should not be distinguished from the σῶμα πνευματικόν (the enspirited body). There are shared concepts and vocabulary in 1 Cor 15:35–58 and 2 Cor 5:1–10. For example, in both texts Paul depicts risen bodies as eternal and incorruptible or indestructible (1 Cor 15:42,

52–53, 2 Cor 5:1).⁵ 2 Cor 5:3 probably implies that period between death and resurrection is “naked” or bodiless, what one can describe as an “intermediate state” (Phil 1:23), which is warranted by Paul’s affirmations in 2 Cor 5:8–9.

Verbs Paul uses in his discussions of resurrected bodies such as “change” (1 Cor 15:51 ἀλλαγῆσθε), “clothe” (1 Cor 15:53–54: ἐνδύσασθαι; 2 Cor 5:2, 4: ἐπενδύσασθαι), and “swallow” (1 Cor 15:54, 2 Cor 5:4: καταπίνεσθαι) all show that he did not envision risen bodies as a complete *novum*, but rather as transformed bodies. This implies that risen bodies are neither wholly spiritual nor wholly non-physical. It is best to confine oneself to the qualities such as “immortality” (ἀθανασία) that he actually uses to describe the resurrected state. Paul leaves the substance of risen bodies undefined. He does not, for example, say that risen bodies comprise “light” (φῶς or δόξα), although δόξα (glory) is one of the fundamental characteristics of such bodies. The concept of an enspirited body remains one of the most intriguing elements in Pauline eschatology, and it is my hope that this monograph will be a useful contribution to the ongoing debate.

⁵ See chapter five § 1.1.

Chapter One

Biological and Astronomical Bodies in 1 Cor 15

Biological and astronomical bodies play a role in the analogies Paul develops in 1 Cor 15:36–44. While he does not attempt to derive the resurrection from nature, his statements about the bodies of seeds and his brief references to heavenly bodies are important for understanding his arguments about the resurrection body. The analogies are crucial for providing some limits for what the enspirited body is and what it is not. In the chapter below I will develop arguments concerning the following topics: the role of seeds in Paul’s analogical thinking (15:36–38); the role of examples drawn from earthly and astronomical bodies for the analogies (15:39–41); and the fundamental oppositions he develops in 15:42–44a.

1 Naked Seeds in 1 Cor 15:36–38

Paul uses agricultural imagery as a metaphor for resurrected body:

(15:35) But someone will ask, “How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?” (36) You foolish man! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies. (37) And what you sow is not the body, which is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain. (38) But God gives it a body as he has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body (NRSV).

(35) Ἀλλὰ ἔρει τις, Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; (36) ἄφρων, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζῶσσοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ; (37) καὶ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τίνος τῶν λοιπῶν (38) ὁ δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἐκάστω τῶν σπερμάτων ἴδιον σῶμα.

The expression in 1 Cor 15:37, γυμνὸς κόκκος (naked seed), is not the Platonist naked soul nor is it an example of Stoic imagery of sowing and seeds. Too many scholars in the history of interpretation have heard the Siren’s call of Platonism, and the current fashion of finding Stoicism everywhere in Paul has gone too far. My argument is threefold: the Platonist and Stoic texts do not resemble Paul’s affirmation in 1 Cor 15:37; the context itself indicates that agriculture is the source of the metaphor of the γυμνὸς κόκκος; and texts from Greek biology and agriculture are far more illuminating of 15:37. The context and comparative texts indicate Paul’s fundamental analogy: the naked seed is

to the sown body as the plant body is to the (resurrection) body that will be (τὸ γενηθόμενον).

1.1 Platonist Anthropology

The continuing importance of the Platonist position in the exegesis of 1 Cor 15:37 consists in the fact that the fundamental lexicons for NT scholarship in the German and English-speaking worlds resolutely defend it. Walter Bauer's *Wörterbuch* and its transformation, BDAG, both adopt a Platonist approach in their lemma on γυμνός (naked), although their primary comment is on 2 Cor 5:3. With regard to 1 Cor 15:37, BDAG write: "a naked kernel ... where an adjective is applied to a grain of wheat, when it properly belongs to the bodiless soul which is compared to it."¹ To my knowledge Carl Holsten was one of the first scholars to claim that γυμνός in 1 Cor 15:37 means "bodiless" and implies (as in 2 Cor 5:3) that the "ψυχὴ or πνεῦμα is stripped of its bodily cloak at the moment of death."² Johannes Weiss believed that, as in its use in 2 Cor 5:3, γυμνός referred to the bodiless condition of an individual after the removal (*Ablegung*) of one's body in death – although "taken strictly" such a view belongs to a Platonizing anthropology and not Paul's own. The presumed *terminus technicus* signifies "the condition of the dead" who do not yet possess their "heavenly clothing."³ Hans Lietzmann also argued that the naked seed (γυμνός κόκκος) of 1 Cor 15:37 is a "naked" soul that leaves its old garment

¹ Some of the research in this section was published in Cook, *Naked Seed*. BDAG s.v. γυμνός § 1b: Plato *Cratyl.* 403b, *Gorg.* 523ce, 524d ("f" is an error), *Aelian, Nat. An.* 11.39, and *Artemidorus Onir.* 4.30, 5.40; W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, ed. K. Aland and B. Aland, Berlin ⁶1988, s.v. γυμνός § 4 "ein nacktes Korn, womit dem Weizenkorn ein Beiwort verliehen ist, das eigentlich nur auf die mit ihm verglichene leiblose Seele paßt." A. Oepke, γυμνός κτλ, TDNT (1964) 1.773–6, esp. 774: his general lemma is "without bodily form," which he interprets so: "the naked seed represents both the body which is buried and also the bearer of individuality, i.e., the soul in the current and not the Pauline sense."

² C. Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus. Teil I. Die äußere Entwicklungsgeschichte des paulinischen Evangeliums. Abteilung 1. Der Brief an die Gemeinden Galatiens und der erste Brief an die Gemeinde in Korinth*, Berlin 1880, 426. Noted by G. Heinrici, *Erster Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5, Göttingen ⁷1888, 478.

³ J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, KEK 5, Göttingen ⁹1910, 369–70. Besides the text from b. San. 90b, he mentions Lucian *Men.* 12 (the dead stripped off their splendid possessions and stood naked before Minos [οἱ δὲ ἀποδυσάμενοι τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ... γυμνοὶ κάτω ... παρεστῆχεσαν]) and Plato *Gorg.* 532ce. For text and trans. of b. San. and *Pirq. R.* El. 33 (both R. Meir), cf. Cook, *Empty Tomb*, 533–4: "wheat, which is buried naked, rises in many garments" (חִישָׁה שֶׁנִּקְבְּרָה עֲרוּמָה יוֹצֵאתָ בְּכַמָּה לְבוּשִׁין). R. Meir uses the example of beans (אֲפֻנִין) sown naked in *Qoh. Rab.* 5:10 (*Midrash Qohelet Rabbah* 1–6, ed. M. Hirshman, Jerusalem 2016, 310 [Hebrew]): He [R. Meir] asked him, "have you ever sown beans?" He said to him, "yes." He asked him, "how did you sow them, naked or clothed?" He said to him, "naked" (אָמַר לֵיהּ זֵרְעִית בְּיָמֶיךָ אֲפֻנִין אָמַר לֵיהּ אֵין אָמַר לֵיהּ הֵיאֵךְ זֵרְעִיתָן שְׁלִיחִין אוֹ לְבוּשִׁין אָמַר לֵיהּ שְׁלִיחִין).

in the earth,” and he appealed likewise to 2 Cor 5:3.⁴ In his interpretation of 2 Cor 5:3, Lietzmann listed many of the texts collected by Johann Jakob Wettstein along with others that will be briefly reviewed below.⁵ Dieter Zeller, although he rejects an origin in a “Platonizing anthropology,” believes that “naked” (as in 2 Cor 5:3) refers to the loss of one’s body in death.⁶ Because of its importance in the history of exegesis, it is worthwhile to examine the Platonist position. Plato’s language in the *Cratylus* clearly refers to a soul: ἡ ψυχὴ γυμνὴ τοῦ σώματος (the soul, naked without a body).⁷ In the *Gorgias* he envisions a judgement after death:

The judge must also be naked, dead, with the soul itself beholding the soul itself of each, immediately after his/her death.

καὶ τὸν κριτὴν δεῖ γυμνὸν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν θεωροῦντα ἐξαιφνης ἀποθανόντος ἐκάστου.⁸

The judge is naked, his body dead, but the soul is naked and alive. In the same treatise, Socrates argues: ἔνδηλα πάντα ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐπειδὴν

⁴ H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I · II*, HNT 9, ergänzt von W. G. Kümmel, Tübingen 1969, 84.

⁵ Lietzmann, *Korinther*, 120. Cf. J. J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 2 vols., Graz: Akademische Druck, 1965 (1st ed. 1751), 2.179 (2 Cor 5:3), with modern ref. numbers: Plato *Gorg.* 523ce, *Cratyl.* 403b, Maximus of Tyre 7.5 (Trapp), *Aelian Nat. an.* 11.39. Wettstein’s ref. to Targ. Job 38:14 is somewhat far afield: “It is changed like the clay of their seal, and they are not broken like their bodies in that their breath is not like an empty garment” (אִתְּחַכֵּם הַדָּךְ שֵׁנָה חוֹמָה דְּלֶחֶן וְלֹא אִתְּבְרִיא כְּמוֹ גִּישְׁמֹחֵן בְּלֹא נִשְׁמֹחֵן הַדָּךְ כְּסוֹ סָרִיק). Text and trans. from Aron Pinker, *Breaking of a New Day in Job 38:12–15*, OTE 31 (2018) 184–216, esp. 188 (doi.org/10.17159/2312-3621/2018/v31n1a10). Cf. the text (T2) of D. M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job. An Introduction and Critical Edition*, Leiden 1994, 271*. Several of Wettstein’s texts are reproduced at length (on 2 Cor. 5:3) in G. Strecker, U. Schnelle, with G. Seelig, *Neuer Wettstein. Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechenland und Hellenismus. Band II.1. Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996, 445–6.

⁶ D. Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5, Göttingen 2010, 508. J. Moffatt, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*, New York 1938, 258, on 15:37, writes, “What a contrast between what you sow (the ‘you’ is emphatic) and what God gives later to the same spirit” and “Paul’s hope is for an order of being in which the spirit is endowed by God with ‘a body’” – a position that implies that the naked seed is the spirit. Cp. G. S. Oegema, *Für Israel und die Völker. Studien zum alttestamentlich-jüdischen Hintergrund der paulinischen Theologie*, Leiden 1999, 203: “Alles Natürliche wird verschwinden, das Geistige aber wird bleiben, ein Kern des menschen (1 Kor 15,37).” K. Paesler, *Das Tempelwort Jesu. Die Traditionen von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelerneuerung im Neuen Testament*, FRLANT 184, Göttingen 1999, 104 attributes the view of a “naked soul” to the Corinthian opponents (with ref. to 1 Cor 15:37 and 2 Cor 5:3), as does R. H. Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, ANTC, Nashville 1998, 209.

⁷ Plato *Cratyl.* 403b.

⁸ Plato *Gorg.* 523e. Cp. *Gorg.* 523c (= [Plutarch] *Cons. Apol.* 123b): πολλοὶ οὖν ... ψυχὰς πονηρὰς ἔχοντες ἡμικεσμένοι εἰδὶ σώματά τε καλὰ (many who have evil souls are clothed in beautiful bodies).

γυμνωθῆ τῷ σώματος ... (“All things in the soul are clear, when it is stripped of its body ...”).⁹ There is no statement that the soul is naked in 1 Cor 15. The reference to Aelian is not any more appropriate:

The Egyptians say that when the hawk ... has departed life and stripped off its body and has become a naked soul it prophesies and sends dreams.

Λέγουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν ἰέρακα ... τοῦ βίου δὲ ἀπελθόντα καὶ μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ὀνειράτα ἐπιπέμπειν, ἀποδυσάμενον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν γεγενημένον γυμνήν.¹⁰

Paul avoids any language in 1 Cor 15 of “stripping off the body.” Lietzmann mentions a comparable text in Maximus of Tyre who reflected on the relation of soul and body:

Or do you believe that a man who has disciplined and trained his body with unceasing effort would be upset to find his clothing splitting and tearing around him, rather than hurling it away gladly and exposing his free and naked frame to its kin, the pure and unencumbered air? For what other role do you think this skin of ours and our bones and flesh play in relation to the soul? For they are nothing but short-lived cloaks, flimsy and tattered rags ...

ἢ οἶει ἄνδρα ἡσχημένον καλῶς καὶ διαπεπονημένον τῷ σώματι ταραχθῆναι ἂν τῶν χλαυιδίων αὐτῷ διαρρηγνυμένων, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἀπορρίψαι αὐτὰ ἄσμενον καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀέρι, γυμνὸν γυμνῷ, φίλον φίλῳ, ἐλεύθερον ἐλευθέρῳ; τί οὖν ἄλλο ἤγει τῇ ψυχῇ εἶναι τὸ δέρμα τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ὀστέα καὶ τὰς σάρκας <ἢ> χλαυιδία ἐφήμερα καὶ ῥακία ἀσθενῆ καὶ τρύχινα;¹¹

None of Maximus’s images cohere with Paul’s insistence on the death of the naked seed. There are Stoic images of the body as clothing.¹² Hadrian’s famous poem, noted for its difficulty to translate, seems to refer to a naked soul:

⁹ Plato Gorg. 524d. Cp. Lucian, Ver. hist. 2.12 καὶ ὄλως ἔοικε γυμνὴ τις ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν περιπολεῖν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὁμοιότητα περικευμένη ([describing the bodiless individuals on the isle of the blessed] it appears that their naked souls wander about wearing the semblance of a body). In Dial. mort. 20.5, Hermes tells Damascias: Οὐ γυμνόν, ὦ βέλτιστε, τοσαύτας σάρκας περιβεβλημένον (you are not naked, O fine fellow, as long as you are clothed with all this flesh).

¹⁰ Aelian Nat. an. 11.39.

¹¹ Maximus of Tyre 7.5 (BiTeu 58 Trapp), trans. of Maximus of Tyre, The Philosophical Orations, trans. M. B. Trapp, Oxford 1997, 64. Cf. Lietzmann, Korinther, 120. For the image of body as clothing cp. 7.4: ὡς Φερεκύδης ὑπερεφρόνει ἐν Σύρῳ κείμενος, τῶν μὲν σαρκῶν αὐτῷ φθειρομένων, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστώσης ὀρθῆς καὶ καραδοκούσης τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ δυσχρήστου τοῦτο περιβλήματος (... just as Pherecydes on Syros scorned his: as his flesh wasted away, his soul stood firm and waited for its release from this useless covering in which we are all enfolded; trans. Trapp, *ibid.*, 63).

¹² On the general metaphor (clothing of the soul), cf. A. Kehl, *Gewand (der Seele)*, RAC 10 (1978) 945–1025, esp. 954–61 (Greco-Roman texts [pagan]), 967–71 (Jewish sources). Cf. Seneca Dial. 6.25.1 *ossa cineresque non magis illius partes quam vestes aliaque tegimenta corporum* (bones and ashes are no more parts of him than were his clothes and the other protections of the body [trans. of Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 3 vols., LCL, ed. and trans. J. W. Basore, Cambridge, MA 1928–35, 2.89]), Ep. 92.13 *Nam hoc quoque natura ut quendam vestem animo circumdedit, velamentum eius est* (for nature has surrounded our soul with the body as with a

Little soul, little wanderer, little charmer,
 Body's guest and companion,
 To what places will you set out for now?
 Pale, cold, and naked –
 And you won't make your usual jokes.

*animula vagula blandula
 hospes comesque corporis,
 quae nunc abibis in loca
 pallidula rigida nudula
 nec ut soles dabis iocos!*¹³

This is not mentioned in 15:37. Nor does Paul state that the body surrounds the soul, as Artemidorus does:

The same man who dreamt that he saw his cloak ripped was wounded, quite predictably, in the part of his body where the cloak he had put on was ripped. For just as the cloak surrounds him, so also his body surrounds the soul.

ὁ γοῦν δόξας τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐρρωγὸς ἰδεῖν εἰκότως ἐτρώθη κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, καθ' ὃ καὶ περιβληθέντος τοῦ ἱματίου ἡ ῥαγὰς ἦν ὅσπερ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἱμάτιον, οὕτως καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα περιέχειτο.¹⁴

If Paul believed that the body surrounded the soul, he omitted his views in all of his extant letters. The following text of Artemidorus is not any more helpful:

A man dreamt that he stripped off his flesh just as a snake sheds its old skin. He died on the following day. For his soul, which was about to depart from his body, provided him with these images.

Ἔδοξέ τις ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν ἐκδύνειν ὅσπερ ὄφις ἐκ τοῦ γήρωος. τῆ ὑστεραία ἀπέθανε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ σῶμα καταλιπεῖν μέλλουσα τοιαύτας παρείχετο φαντασίας.¹⁵

Paul's image of a naked seed, which is sown in the ground and dies, is incompatible with Artemidorus's belief in the soul's immortality. Porphyry's Neo-Platonist views on the body as clothing emerge in this affirmation:

sort of garment; the body is its cloak [trans. of Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, 3 vols. LCL, ed. and trans. R. M. Gummere, Cambridge, MA 1917–25, 2.455]), 102.25 *detrahetur tibi haec circumiecta, novissimum velamentum tui, cutis* (you will be stripped of the very skin which covers you – that which has been your last protection [better “clothing”; trans. of Gummere, Seneca, *ibid.*, 3.183]). Cp. Epictetus *Diatr.* 1.25.20–1 quoted in chapter 5 § 1.2.

¹³ SHA Hadrian. 1.25.9 (trans. revised of A. Birley, Hadrian. *The Restless Emperor*, London 1997, 301); text from H. Hohl, ed., *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, BiTeu, Stuttgart 1997, 27 (*quae* is from MS P = codex Palatinus Latinus nr. 899 bibliothecae Vaticanae, IX C.E.). Birley emends *nudula* to *nubila* and translates the fourth line as “to darkling, cold, and gloomy ones.”

¹⁴ Artemidorus *Onir.* 4.30, trans. of Artemidorus, *The Interpretation of Dreams*. *Oneirocritica*, trans. and comm. R. J. White, Torrance, CA 1990, 204.

¹⁵ Artemidorus *Onir.* 5.40, trans. of White, Artemidorus, 240.

It is necessary that we strip off our many tunics, this visible and fleshly tunic, and those with which we are clothed within, that are next to our tunic of skin. Nude, without tunics, let us enter into the stadium to contend for the Olympics of the soul.

ἀποδυτέον ἄρα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἡμῖν χιτῶνας, τὸν τε ὄρατὸν τοῦτον καὶ σάρκινον καὶ οὗς ἔσωθεν ἡμφιέσμεθα προσεχεῖς ὄντας τοῖς δερματίνοις, γυμνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον ἀναβαίνωμεν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνιζόμενοι.¹⁶

This is far from Paul's view of a dying naked seed in 15:37. It is also true that Paul does not use any of Philo's similar expressions including "naked mind" (γυμνὴ διάνοια) and "naked soul."¹⁷ For example, Philo describes the death of Moses:

... he began to pass over from mortal existence to life immortal and gradually became conscious of the disuniting of the elements of which he was composed. The body, the shell-like growth that encased him, was being stripped away and the soul laid bare and yearning for its natural removal hence.

... ἤρξατο μεταβάλλειν ἐκ θνητῆς ζωῆς εἰς ἀθάνατον βίον καὶ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον συνησθάνετο τῆς τῶν ἐξ ὧν συνεκέρχρατο διαζεύξεως, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὀστρέου δίκην <περιπεφυκότος> περιαιρουμένου, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀπογυμνουμένης καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνθύνδε ποθοῦσης μετανάστασιν.¹⁸

Paul adopts none of these metaphors in 1 Corinthians.

The naked seed of 1 Cor 15 which dies in the ground does, however, resemble metaphors adopted by several early Christian writers.¹⁹ Neither uses the concept to refer to a soul. Whether or not one should use these dualistic texts to explain the occurrence of γυμνός in 2 Cor 5:3 is a separate matter and will be discussed elsewhere. There the context is entirely different.²⁰ To use a somewhat ambiguous affirmation (2 Cor 5:3) to explain 15:37 is extremely questionable exegetical methodology given the fundamental difference in context (e.g., in 15:37 the word modifies κόκκος [seed]). Methodologically the senses of the word may well be different in 15:37 and 5:3, and I believe that is the case.²¹

¹⁶ Porphyry Abst. 1.31.3. For comments on this text, cf. J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco Roman Paganism*, STAC 23, Tübingen 2004, 172–3. Cp. *De antro* 14: χιτῶν γε τὸ σῶμα τῆ ψυχῆ ὃ ἡμφιέσται (and the body is a tunic which has clothed the soul) and Plotinus Ennead. 1.6.7 ... ἱματίων ἀποθέσεις τῶν πρὶν καὶ τὸ γυμνοῖς ἀνιέναι (ascending to the mysteries requires putting off one's garments before ascending naked).

¹⁷ Naked mind: Philo Gig. 53, Cher. 31. Naked soul: Cher. 17 (γυμνὴν ψυχὴν), Mut. 199 (γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν), Praem. 166 (a variation). Cf. Cook, *Empty Tomb*, 580.

¹⁸ Philo Virt. 76, trans. of Philo, 10 vols., LCL, ed. and trans. F. H. Colson ed al., Cambridge, MA 1929–62, 8.209.

¹⁹ See the references to Clement and 3 Corinthians in § 1.1.4.

²⁰ Cf. chapter five § 1.3.

²¹ F. Lindgård, *Paul's Line of Thought in 2 Corinthians 4:16–5:10*, WUNT 2/189, Tübingen 2005, 162 writes, "the naked grain in 1 Cor 15:37 ... is not the inner self but the earthly body viewed as a whole."

Sources (Selected)

1 Greco-Roman Texts

Achilles		Alexander Aphrod.	
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2.11.2	57	2.13.11	31–32
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1.2, 269b.4–5	61	<i>Mir. ausc.</i>	
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1.3, 270a.12–4	85	3, 393a.1–5	73
1.3, 270b.1–3	85	Artemidorus	
1.3, 270b.16–31	61	<i>Onir.</i>	
2.3, 286a.9	332	3.5	166
2.7, 289a.13–16	85	4.30	9
2.12, 292a.18–21	73–74	5.40	9
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