

CHRISTOPHER G. FOSTER

Communal Participation in the Spirit

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575



Christopher G. Foster

Communal Participation in the Spirit

The Corinthian Correspondence in Light of Early
Jewish Mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Mohr Siebeck

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To the love of my life
Sarah Lynn Foster

“Two are better than one”
and
“A threefold cord is not quickly broken”
Ecclesiastes 4:9–12

Preface

The completion of this research, submitted originally as a PhD Thesis to the University of Manchester in December of 2013, came to fruition through the support of many. First, I would like to communicate my earnest appreciation to my *Doktorvater*, Dr Kent Brower, for his consistent encouragement, warm hospitality, and collegial supervision throughout the research. I am also thankful for the constructive feedback from my secondary supervisor, Dr Dean Flemming, my internal examiner, Dr Dwight Swanson, and my external examiner, the late Professor Larry Hurtado. Thanks are due to Professor Jörg Frey for accepting my monograph into the WUNT 2 series and to the Mohr Siebeck team for their help.

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March 8, 2021, Tulsa

Christopher G. Foster

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Abbreviations¹

Primary Sources

Abbreviations of Dead Sea Scrolls

1Q21	TLevi ar
1Q22	<i>Dibre Moshe</i> or <i>Words of Moses</i>
1Q34	LitPr ^a or <i>Liturgy Prayers</i> ^a
1QH ^a	<i>Hodayot</i> ^a or <i>Thanksgiving Hymns</i> ^a
1QM	<i>Milhamah</i> or <i>War Scroll</i>
1QpHab	<i>Pesher Habakkuk</i>
1QpIsa ^d	<i>Pesher Isaiah</i> ^d
1QS	<i>Serek Hayahad</i> or <i>Rule of the Community</i>
1QSa	1Q28a or <i>Rule of the Congregation</i>
1Qsb	1Q28b or <i>Rule of the Blessings</i>
4Q158	4QRP ^a or <i>4QReworked Pentateuch</i> ^a
4Q171	pPs ^a
4Q174	<i>Florilegium</i> or <i>Eschatological Midrash</i>
4Q175	4QTest or <i>Testimonia</i>
4Q180	<i>Ages of Creation A</i>
4Q181	<i>Ages of Creation B</i>
4Q202	En ^b ar
4Q204	En ^c ar
4Q212	En ^g ar
4Q213–214b	Levi ^{a–f} ar
4Q216	<i>Jubilees</i> ^a
4Q259	4QS ^e or 4QRule of the Community ^c
4Q266	4QD ^a
4Q267	4QD ^b
4Q286–290	4QBer ^{a–c} <i>Berakhot</i> ^{a–c}
4Q374	4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition
4Q377	<i>Apocryphal Pentateuch B</i>
4Q378	<i>Apocryphon of Joshua</i> ^a

¹ These follow P. H. Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999).

4Q385	4QpsEzek ^a or <i>Pseudo-Ezekiel</i>
4Q394	4QMMT ^a or <i>Miqṣat Ma'asê ha-Torah^a</i>
4Q400–407	<i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i> or <i>Songs</i>
4Q400	4QShirShabb ^a or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^a</i>
4Q401	4QShirShabb ^b or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^b</i>
4Q402	4QShirShabb ^c or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^c</i>
4Q403	4QShirShabb ^d or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^d</i>
4Q404	4QShirShabb ^e or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^e</i>
4Q405	4QShirShabb ^f or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^f</i>
4Q406	4QShirShabb ^g or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^g</i>
4Q407	4QShirShabb ^h or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^h</i>
4Q416	4QInstruction or <i>Instruction^b</i>
4Q417	4QInstruction or <i>Instruction^c</i>
4Q418	4QInstruction or <i>Instruction^d</i>
4Q427	4QH ^a or <i>4QHodayot^a</i>
4Q270	4QD ^e or <i>Damascus Document^e</i>
4Q440	<i>4QHodayot-like text C</i>
4Q471b	<i>4QSelf-Glorification Hymn^a</i>
4Q491	<i>War Scroll^a</i>
4Q491c	<i>4QSelf-Glorification Hymn^b</i>
4Q503	4QDaily Prayers or <i>Daily Prayers</i>
4Q504	DibHam ^a or <i>Words of the Luminaries^a</i>
4Q510	<i>Songs of the Sage^a</i>
4Q511	<i>Songs of the Sage^b</i>
4Q547	<i>Visions of Amram^c</i>
4QH ^{a-f}	<i>4QHodayot^{a-f}</i>
4QS	4QRule of the Community
11Q5	11QPsalms ^a or <i>Psalms Scroll^a</i>
11Q13	11QMelch or <i>Melchizedek</i>
11Q17	ShirShabb or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>
11Q19	11QT ^a or <i>Temple Scroll^a</i>
CD-A	<i>Cairo Damascus Document^a</i>
CTLevi ar	<i>Cairo Geniza Testament of Levi</i>
Mas1K	ShirShabb or <i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>

Abbreviations of Other Ancient Texts

A.J.	<i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
Abraham	<i>On the Life of Abraham</i>
ALD	<i>Aramaic Levi Document</i>
Ant.	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
Apoc. Ab.	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
Apoc. Mos.	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>

<i>Apoc. Zeph.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Zephania</i>
<i>Ascen. Isa.</i>	<i>Mart. Ascen. Isa.</i> 6–11
<i>As. Mos.</i>	<i>Assumption of Moses</i>
<i>b.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
<i>2 Bar.</i>	<i>2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)</i>
<i>3 Bar.</i>	<i>3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907
Bod.	Bodleian
<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i>
<i>2 En.</i>	<i>2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)</i>
<i>3 En.</i>	<i>3 Enoch (Sefer Hekhalot)</i>
<i>Ezek. Trag.</i>	<i>Ezekiel the Tragedian</i>
<i>L.A.B.</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo)
<i>L.A.E.</i>	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>
<i>Leg. 1, 2, 3</i>	<i>Legum Allegoriae</i> I, II, III
LXX	Septuagint
<i>Hag.</i>	<i>Ḥagigah</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
<i>Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis</i>
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Pss Sol</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
<i>Sobriety</i>	<i>On Sobriety</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>
<i>t.</i>	Tosefta
<i>T. Ab.</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>Tg.</i>	<i>Targum</i>
<i>T. Job</i>	<i>Testament of Job</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
<i>y.</i>	Jerusalem Talmud

Secondary Sources

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . 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
<i>AJS Review</i>	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
ALUOS	<i>Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3d ed. Chicago, 1999
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1976
BDF	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago, 1961
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIP	Biblical Institute Press
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>BJSUC</i>	<i>Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego</i>
BRLAJ	The Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism
BRS	The Biblical Resource Series
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBAA	Catholic Biblical Association of America
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEUP	Central European University Press
CEV	Contemporary English Version
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>DBCI</i>	<i>Dictionary of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation</i>

<i>DCH</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by D. J. A. Clines. Sheffield, 1993–2011
<i>DJD</i>	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DSSP</i>	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations</i>
<i>DSSSE</i>	Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . 2 vols. Leiden, 1997
<i>ECDSS</i>	Eerdmans commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>The Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>EDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>EJL</i>	Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>E.P.I.B.</i>	Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico
<i>ErJb</i>	<i>Eranos-Jahrbuch</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>The Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>GKC</i>	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2d. ed. Oxford, 1910
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>Hen</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTSTS</i>	<i>HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IES</i>	Israel Exploration Society
<i>IVP</i>	InterVarsity Press
<i>IVPNTC</i>	The InterVarsity Press New Testament Commentary
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JOTT</i>	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
<i>JPTSup</i>	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	<i>Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSPSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series

<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTI</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAIROS	KAIROS Religionswissenschaftliche Studien
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LDDS	The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls
LHB	Library of Hebrew Bible
LLJC	Litman Library of Jewish Civilization
LNT	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon, with a Supplement</i> . 9th ed. Oxford, 1976
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>MNTS</i>	<i>McMaster New Testament Studies</i>
NA ²⁷	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Nestle-Aland. 27th ed.
NAC	The New American Commentary
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i>
NIBCNT	New International Biblical Commentary on the New Testament
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>Numen</i>	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OTL	The Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. London, 1983–1985
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society</i>
PNTC	The Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>PRS</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>PrTMS</i>	<i>Princeton Theological Monograph Series</i>
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
<i>QC</i>	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RTL</i>	<i>Revue théologique de Louvain</i>

SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature monograph series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and related Literature
SHBC	Smith & Helwys Bible Commentary
SHR	Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, Jerusalem
SJ	Studies in Judaism
SJC	Studies in Judaism and Christianity
SJJTP	Supplements to the Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies in the New Testament and its world
SP	Sacra pagina
SR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
SSU	<i>Studia Semitica Upsaliensia</i>
STDJ	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
STJHC	<i>Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture</i>
STNJT	<i>Studia theologica – Nordic Journal of Theology</i>
SubBi	<i>Subsidia biblica</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SUNY	State University of New York
SUP	Stanford University Press
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TANZ	<i>Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter</i>
TBNJCT	<i>Themes in Biblical Narrative Jewish and Christian Traditions</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
UBS ⁴	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> . United Bible Societies. 4th ed.
UTPSS	University of Texas Press Slavic Series
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WSup	<i>The Way Supplement</i>
WTJ	<i>Wesleyan Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The main intent and heuristic focus of this monograph is the apostle Paul's Corinthian Correspondence and the religious ideas and practices which they reflect. In the history of Pauline scholarship, early twentieth-century *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* studies described Paul's experience of the divine and his theological thought as a kind of mysticism. These early assertions of Pauline mysticism, which claim either a Hellenistic or a Jewish eschatological derivation, had their fair share of shortcomings. As a result, E. P. Sanders proposed that "participationist" replace mysticism as a better descriptor of the centre of Paul's thought.¹ Many in Pauline studies have since appropriated this terminology. Participation, while more palatable to Western minds, remains at times, however, an inadequate expression of Paul's religious experience and that of his worshipping communities. Sanders acknowledges this and even re-employed the terms of 'mysticism,' 'mystical,' and 'mystic' as the most fitting language to describe Paul's religious experience and thought.² Rather than a full investigation of twentieth-century advocates of Pauline mysticism, which would require another examination altogether, this study will offer another way of approach into the apostle Paul and mysticism.

One area of recent scholarly development that has not been fully considered as an avenue of comparative study for Paul's religious thought and practice is early *Jewish* mysticism. Over the last two decades, Jewish mysticism has been recognised in the Dead Sea Scrolls³ through the identification of Jewish

¹ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 440, 440 n. 49.

² E. P. Sanders acknowledged its value during the Q&A session, "Review of E. P. Sanders, *Paul: The Apostle's Life, Letters, and Thought*," (response presented at the IBR Research Group: Pauline Theology at the annual meeting of SBL, San Antonio, TX, 18 November, 2016). He also utilises this language in his book *Paul: The Apostle's Life, Letters, and Thought* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 264–266, 611–614.

³ The Dead Sea Scrolls are documents from Qumran and related texts from Masada and Cairo Genizah. Translations will be from Martínez and Tigchelaar's *DSSSE* unless otherwise noted.

mystical elements⁴ and mystical praxis.⁵ Jewish mysticism has also proved fruitful to the study of Paul's Christology and his heavenly ascent in 2 Cor 12. What has not been considered, though, is how Jewish mysticism relates to or illuminates the broader context of the Corinthian correspondence and the worship practice of the Corinthian *ekklesia*. Since early Jewish mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls primarily concerns the pre-Christian, sectarian Jewish community⁶ at Qumran and its liturgical practices, this provides a rich and illuminating source for comparison to the Corinthian correspondence.⁷

For this reason, a heuristic approach that identifies mystical elements in Jewish mystical texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., *Hodayot*^a, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, *Self-Glorification Hymn*^{a-b}) 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.⁸ 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 Paul's largely communal orientation, his emphasis upon the central role of the holy spirit in this communal experience, and the common Jewish background he draws upon.

In leading up to the rationale for this comparison, this introduction will first briefly trace the scholarly development of Pauline mysticism and participation to justify the present task. Second, a survey of the history of interpretation on the relationship between Jewish mysticism and the Dead Sea scrolls will help establish a working definition of Jewish mysticism for this study and provide a foundation for further exploration of Jewish mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Part I. Third, previous scholarly approaches to the relationship

⁴ Jewish mystical elements are ideas and technical terminology of Jewish mysticism, 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. 112 below.

⁵ Mystical praxis or *via mystica* is the means to mystical experience (e.g., heavenly ascent).

⁶ There is an ongoing debate over the connection between the community located at Qumran, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and communities associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls 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 Dead Sea Scrolls from 170 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.

⁷ While Philo's works disclose another type of Jewish mysticism in the late Second Temple period, comparison between Philo and Paul must be left to another study due to the limitations of the current undertaking.

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

between Paul and Jewish mysticism will be reviewed. This will locate the specific contributions of Part II on the Corinthian correspondence within the broader discussion of Jewish mysticism and Paul. Afterward, the methodology and the monograph structure will be laid out.

1.2 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. In fact, Adolf Deissmann⁹ and Wilhelm Bousset,¹⁰ among others,¹¹ argued that Paul appropriates Hellenistic mysticism. Conversely, Albert Schweitzer¹² argues that Paul draws upon Jewish eschatology for his mysticism rather than Hellenism. While these studies pre-date the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and do not relate Paul's mysticism to early Jewish Mysticism, 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.¹³ A brief explanation of the contributions of Deissmann, Bousset, and Schweitzer will show how their work on mysticism and Paul warrants the current undertaking.

In 1892, Deissmann explained all one hundred sixty-four occurrences of "in Christ" in Paul's epistles as depicting a "Christ-mysticism," i.e., a mystical, intimate union between believers and Christ.¹⁴ While he may have overstated his case,¹⁵ Deissmann made two lasting contributions that challenged the scholarship of his day. First, Paul's religious experience of Christ drove his

⁹ Adolf Deissmann, in *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History* (trans. William E. Wilson; 2d ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926).

¹⁰ Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (trans. John E. Steely; 1921; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970).

¹¹ For example, see Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance* (trans. John E. Steely; PTMS 18; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978).

¹² Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of the Apostle Paul* (trans. William Montgomery; 2d ed.; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1953).

¹³ For other studies, see Martin Dibelius, "Glaube und die Mystik," *Botschaft und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1956), 2:94–116; idem, *Paulus und die Mystik* (Munich: Reinhardt, 1941), 134–59; Alfred Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism: Christ in the Mystical Teaching of St. Paul* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960); Hans-Christoph Meier, *Mystik bei Paulus* (TANZ 26; Tübingen: Francke, 1998), 20, 268–71; Celia Kourie, "Christ-Mysticism in Paul," *WSup* 201 (2001): 71–80.

¹⁴ Adolf Deissmann, *Die Neutestamentliche Formel "In Christo Jesu"* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche, 1892).

¹⁵ See Wikenhauser's critique, *Pauline*.

theology, not systematic thought. This countered “dogmatists” who too narrowly defined mysticism and neglected the study of mysticism (religious experience) in Paul.¹⁶ 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.”¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ Although Deissmann made a case for Hellenistic influence on Paul’s mysticism,¹⁹ 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.²⁰ For Deissmann, faith is the means to this mystical communion, not baptism and the Lord’s Supper.²¹

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 largely ignored Jewish sources aside from 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. It will differ significantly, however, through a comparison with Jewish texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In 1913, Bousset rightly attempted to correct through historical analysis the separation of New Testament 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 this comes in baptism. Paul developed Christ mysticism out of the cultic mysticism of the Hellenistic worshipping community. While Bousset argues for a Greek origin to Paul’s mysticism, Paul’s mysticism has a dissimilar communal focus and maintains a distinction between believers and Christ.²²

Bousset’s approach, although influential, had several problems. He presumed a doubtful pre-Christian redeemer myth to support his main thesis. This

¹⁶ Deissmann, *Paul*, 154.

¹⁷ Deissmann, *Paul*, 155–56.

¹⁸ Deissmann, *Paul*, 149.

¹⁹ Deissmann follows Reitzenstein’s overly simplistic Hellenistic derivation on this issue. See Wikenhauser on the fundamental differences between Paul’s and Oriental-Hellenistic mysticism, *Pauline*, 163–242.

²⁰ Deissmann, *Paul*, 152.

²¹ Deissmann, *Paul*, 145.

²² Bousset, *Kyrios*, 153–210.

was successfully debunked. He unnaturally 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.²³

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.²⁴ 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.²⁵ This creates a Pneuma-Kyrios doctrine. Deissmann and Bousset, however, drew upon tenuous parallels to Oriental-Hellenistic sources to oversimplify a Hellenistic derivation to Paul's Christ mysticism and spirit mysticism.²⁶

For this reason, the recent study of Jewish mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in addition to the abundance of references to the spirit in them, warrants a reinvestigation of the spirit and mystical elements in Paul's letters in light of these findings. This examination challenges several of Bousset's and Deissmann's conclusions – chiefly the Hellenistic source of Paul's mysticism and his *pneuma* doctrine. Furthermore, this study will reinforce Deissmann's emphasis upon the role of Paul's religious experience in his theological thought and religious practice and lend support to the communal dimension to the "Spirit mysticism in Paul" (especially in 2 Cor 3:18) highlighted by Bousset.²⁷

²³ For a critique of Bousset, see Larry W. Hurtado, "New Testament Christology: A Critique of Bousset's Influence," *TS* 40 (1979): 306–17 and idem, *A New Introduction to Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, by Wilhelm Bousset (trans. John E. Steely; repr., Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2013), v–xix.

²⁴ Deissmann, *Paul*, 138.

²⁵ Bousset, *Kyrios*, 154–57, esp. 156.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ Bousset, *Kyrios*, 163.

In 1930, Schweitzer swam against the theological currents of his day to contend for the mysticism of Paul. He argued that justification by faith is only a small part of the larger doctrine of Christ-mysticism. In contrast to Deissmann and Bousset, Schweitzer shifts away from Hellenism as a source for Paul's thought. He 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.²⁸ He did not, however, relate Paul's mysticism to apocalyptic throne-theophany traditions, esoteric practices of rabbinic Judaism, or *Merkabah* mysticism.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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).³¹ For Schweitzer, Christ mediated the mystical union, for there is no God mysticism in Paul.³² Although primarily eschatological, this relationship includes ongoing, ontological transformation ("the resurrection mode of existence") realised through efficacious, mystical sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper (congruent with Bousset).³³

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 manifestation of being-in-Christ. Both are descriptions of one and the same state."³⁴ The spirit is "the form of manifestation of the power of the resurrection" and acts as the "assurance" and "vehicle" of the resurrection.³⁵ He sees

²⁸ Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 16–23, 36–37, 140.

²⁹ *Merkabah* mysticism comes initially from rabbinic traditions on *ma'aseh 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).

³⁰ Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 96–97, 115–16, 125.

³¹ John 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, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 143–51.

³² Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 3, 12.

³³ Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 127.

³⁴ Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 167.

³⁵ Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 166.

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.”³⁶

Since Schweitzer’s study, the diversity of Second Temple Judaism, 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 Dead Sea Scrolls, justifies reconsideration of these aspects. Furthermore, this study can supplement Schweitzer’s study 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 reconsideration will challenge Schweitzer’s 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.³⁷ Thus, scholarship sidelined mysticism.³⁸ Consequently, participation language has largely replaced the designation *Christ mysticism*.³⁹ The shift, as noted above, can be traced back to the influence of E. P. Sanders. He further develops Schweitzer’s ‘Christ mysticism’ but renames it “participationist eschatology” to avoid problems with the diffuse term mysticism.⁴⁰ 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

³⁶ Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 166.

³⁷ For example, see Günter Bornkamm, *Paul* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 155; Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (trans. John Bowden; NTL; London: SCM, 1969), 184; and Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; London: SCM, 1980), 220–21, who contend that *mysticism* is an inappropriate description of Pauline thought.

³⁸ James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 390–412; Marguerat, “le mystique,” 475.

³⁹ 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, 1977), 522.

⁴⁰ 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.

3:25–29; Rom 8:9–11). Participation in the ‘Spirit’ and participation in Christ are an eschatological expectation *and* a present reality.⁴¹ Sanders describes this as a real participatory union. This ‘union with God’ precludes Jewish mysticism in Sanders’ view.⁴² 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.”⁴³

With Sanders’ proposal for the need of language or a category (other than mysticism) to delineate *real* participation in Paul’s soteriology, various

⁴¹ 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.

⁴² 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.

⁴³ 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.

scholars, such as Morna Hooker,⁴⁴ Richard Hays,⁴⁵ James Dunn,⁴⁶ N. T. Wright,⁴⁷ Douglas Campbell,⁴⁸ Gordon Fee,⁴⁹ M. David Litwa,⁵⁰ and

⁴⁴ 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: Cambridge University Press, 1990); idem, *Pauline Pieces* (London: Epworth, 1979), 26.

⁴⁵ Richard B. Hays describes participation as ontological and real, “a mysterious personal union with Christ” (Gal 2:2; 3:26–29), and participation is in the narrative pattern of Christ’s story, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* (BRS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 210–15. Hays considers participation neither as analogous to the magical transformation of mystery religions nor a mythological new “self understanding” like Bultmann proposes.

⁴⁶ 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 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, 1975), 323.

⁴⁷ 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 (*κοινωνία*), *Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 41–52.

⁴⁸ Douglas Campbell characterises 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.

⁴⁹ Gordon Fee prefers *κοινωνία* and exegetically delineates 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 Jewish Mysticism.

⁵⁰ M. David Litwa argues ‘participation’ language remains vague and instead 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.

Constantine Campbell,⁵¹ among others, 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.⁵² As Sanders noted, participation does not adequately explain the mysterious relationship between believers and Christ.⁵³ For this reason, scholars, such as Ulrich Luz⁵⁴ and Daniel Marguerat,⁵⁵ are still utilising the term mysticism to explain in part this relationship in Paul. While the appropriateness 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 monograph will contribute to the understanding of participation in Paul through the lens of early Jewish mysticism. 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 Jewish mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls. 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.

⁵¹ Constantine R. Campbell provides an overview of scholarship and his own proposal of a multifaceted understanding of this participatory union, *Paul and Union with Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2012). For other contributions on participation in Paul, see Michael J. Thate, Kevin J. Vanhoozer, and Constantine R. Campbell, eds., “*In Christ*” in *Paul: Explorations in Paul’s Theology of Union and Participation* (WUNT 2.384; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), Michael J. Gorman, *Participating in Christ: Explorations of Paul’s Theology and Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), and Grant Macaskill, *Living in Union with Christ: Paul’s Gospel and Christian Moral Identity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019).

⁵² 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, 2006), 151–90.

⁵³ See E. P. Sanders’s latest discussion of the term *mysticism*, which he continues to use along with *participation* and *union*, *Paul: The Apostle’s Life, Letters and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2015), 264–265, 611–614.

⁵⁴ Luz carefully defines *mysticism* abstractly and even notes methodological concerns regarding its *etic* use. His interpretation that Paul democratizes mysticism to all in 2 Cor 3:18 highlights Paul’s communal focus. Luz, however, does not consider the relationship of Jewish Mysticism to the central notion of the spirit in Paul’s letters. He associates Paul’s mysticism with participation in Christ, “Paul,” 131–43.

⁵⁵ Marguerat’s two articles consider how Paul’s experience and theology are mystical or a form of mysticism. He includes Jewish Mysticism in his evaluation of Paul’s heavenly rapture, “La mystique de l’Apôtre Paul,” in *Paul de Tarse: Congrès de l’ACFEB* (ed. Jacques Schlosser; Paris: Cerf, 1996), 307–29 and “le mystique.”

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